JOURNALS AND DIARIES

OF THE

War of the Revolution

WITH

LISTS OF OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS.

1775-1783.

EDITED BY
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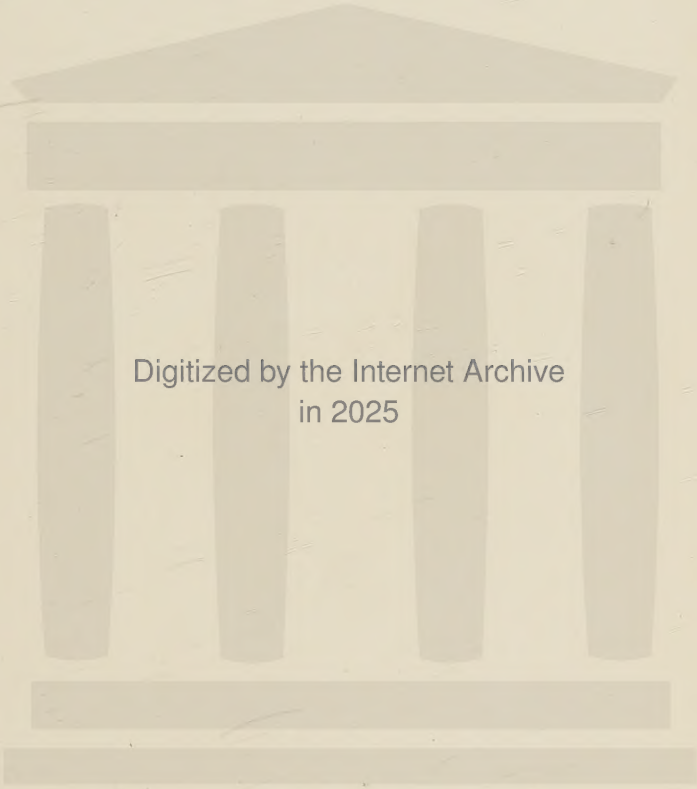
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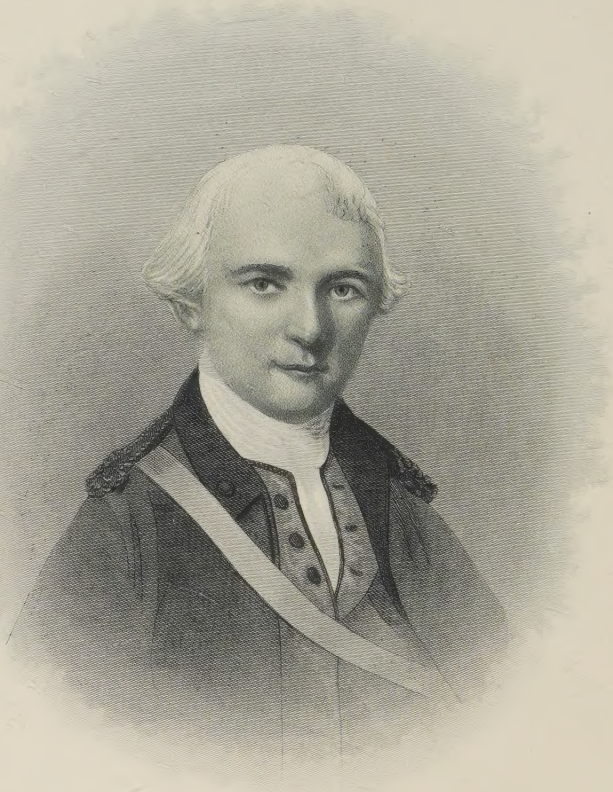


Ennion Williams

JOURNAL

OF

MAJOR ENNION WILLIAMS,

ON HIS JOURNEY

TO THE

AMERICAN CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, IN NEW ENGLAND.

1775.

[The following journal has been referred to in the History of the Pennsylvania Line in the Revolution. It has been carefully copied from the original.]

JOURNAL OF ENNION WILLIAMS ON HIS JOURNEY TO THE AMERICAN CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE IN NEW ENGLAND.

October 4, 1775. Left Philadelphia in company with my brother and Mr. P. Lloyd, passed through Bristol, Trenton, &c., and arrived in the evening at Princeton in health tho' it rained all day: the oil cloth sleeves which cover arms and shoulders prevents the rain and I think every traveler who has occasion to ride in the rain will find it of great service.

Thursday 5. Major Kelsey and myself joined in company with Major Bayard, Captain Gurney, Lieutenant Henry, Lieutenant Kepely and Mr. Bradford. I took leave of my dear brother as if it was the last time we should meet again in this world. At the same time requested him to respect a certain young lady as the particular object of his brother's attention and to my parents, brothers and sisters.

We left Princeton about eight, dined at Farmer's at Brunswick, and slept comfortably on a cot at Graham's at Elizabethtown. Rained almost all day.

October 6. Passed through Elizabethtown, down the creek to the old point and crossed the sound where there is a delightful prospect. We rode on Staten Island about two miles by the sound, and arrived at the Ferry where we met the coach. We arrived at Paulus Hook about half past ten o'clock and crossed in sight of the Asia (a man of war of 64 guns) which lay about one and a-half miles from New York, in the North river. Dined at Hull's, and after dinner we walked around the battery and saw many of the marks of balls in frame houses, chimney roofs that were fired from the Asia some weeks since to disperse the people who were attempting to carry off the cannon on the battery.

I delivered Mr. Smith (a partner of Mr. Robertson's) the letter from my worthy friend G. Bartram; who politely gave me an invitation. On my informing him of my short stay here at present, he invited me to call at my return, when he expected Mr. Robertson would return from Ticonderoga, where he is at present. I called on my worthy friend H. Hadock who appeared to be glad to see me as usual and invited me to his house. Caleb Lawrence came to me and spoke to me in a friendly manner. Christopher Colles, the projector of the great water works here showed us the works which were begun about

twelve months ago. He is in great spirits and thinks they will answer very well, and the cost will be far less than he expected. The Province is to give him 18,000 to complete them, and he expects to do it for less. The boiler iron cylinder (of about six feet in length and ten feet in diameter for the steam pump) the machine for raising the pump are finished, the well is about twenty feet in diameter, is walled and the basin of 100 feet long, 60 feet wide and about 11 or 12 feet deep.

By this amazing piece of mechanism the water is to be raised a great distance above its natural height, and passed through pitch pine pipes to be laid 4 feet under ground, to the city which is about one-fourth of a mile off, there to be conveyed through every street, and at a distance of every 100 yards is to be an upright pipe like a pump with a cork to it: the water may be conveyed over many houses and into every house from these upright pipes if private persons choose to have conductors from them.

If a fire should break out, water may be had in a few moments from the primary conductors by corks for that purpose. They are rebuilding the hospital here and raising a bridewell or work house in the field near the jail of bluish stone. In front of this are 21 cannon mounted which were brought by the people from the battery. I was informed here that General Wooster is erecting a fort on the North river about 30 miles from this and that these pieces would be sent up there.

The New York Associators do not wear their uniforms only on muster days. I saw a recruiting sergeant and 6 men beating up for soldiers about the streets as the regulars used to do, which appeared to me ridiculous and was disagreeable among American freeman, where I expect the poor would cheerfully offer to join and not wait for the importunity of a recruiting chattering sergeant.

Arrived in the night at King's Bridge, having rode through a level country, abounding in beautiful prospects of the Sound, hills, meadows, woods and rocks.

There is a small wooden bridge over the right branch of the North river, that divides New York from Long Island. Here the landlady being scarce of fresh beef had some oysters in a few minutes, drawn out of the river just before the door, thus happily does nature supply them in case of necessity. We slept comfortably in our great coats upon the floor.

Saturday, October 7. As soon as we left the bridge we entered a country which appears very different from that which we have passed through, no level plains appear but a rough hilly country, very stony yet very rich, the fields and roads are bounded by dry stone wall about four and a-half or five feet

high. Breakfasted at New Rochelle, at a Tory's who was unwilling to be called one yet his principles were inimical; this neighborhood abounds in Tories. The farmers are generally French at this small town. We passed through a small town called Rye on a stream navigable to this place. Dined at Horseneck.

October 7th. We passed by a meeting house or church situated on a hill of great height; from the foot of it to the door of the house there are 97 stone steps, many of them cut in the solid rock, by the zealous members of the church. We arrived at Fitch's at Stanford about 5 o'clock. The road is very hilly and stony, and the plantations divided by stone walls and no fences are to be seen. There are several very pretty prospects on the road as the sand often appears and renders the views very pleasing. I delivered R. S.'s letter to Mr. John Lloyd and had the pleasure of his company to spend the evening with us. Colonel Davenport also spent the evening with us.

Sunday 8th. Went to Presbyterian meeting. Dined at Mr. Lloyd's with Mr. Brown and Mr. Lloyd's two other agreeable daughters, Nabby and Sally. Went to meeting in afternoon, accepted of invitation to coffee at Mr. Lloyd's.

Spent an hour at Parson Well's, supped at Colonel Davenport's, slept there. Mr. Lloyd is a man of property and of merit. Mr. Davenport is a councilman and they do assure me that if the Wyoming people have marched in a hostile manner into Northumberland county, that they have done it without the consent or even knowledge of the Council or Assembly and those two gentlemen condemned these horrid proceedings and tell me that no armed men with hostile intentions have gone to Wyoming by direction or knowledge of them. Mr. Henry Bradford, Kepele and Gurney in the afternoon rode on to Norwalk, without molestation. Mr. Bayard, Kelsey, and myself slept at Colonel Davenport's.

Monday, October 9th. Started by moonlight before daybreak, breakfasted at a pretty little town called Norwalk. The road from King's Bridge to this is hilly and stony. At about 9 o'clock we met Mr. Jonathan Mifflin on his return from the camp with pleasure. I see my worthy friend and had so much influence as to prevail on him to ride back to Fairfield where we had the pleasure of his company at dinner. We were introduced to Mr. Davenport, Mr. Thaddeus Buon, and other gentlemen from this place. Fairfield is a beautiful little town; situated on a plain, it commands a very pleasing view around. The court house is a light airy frame building, the houses are all frames

Monday, October 9th, 1775. We passed through Stratford which is a pretty little town near the river Housatonack. We crossed the Ferry in a large boat built in the manner of our long boats.

The Sound here is so wide that the view is bounded by the water and sky. We arrived a little after sunset. At Milford we see by candlelight the inside of a church, a frame building, with two stories of galleries, is a large house. There is two other meeting houses near as large, and are generally filled. The people are generally ready to arm and march whenever ordered to support their liberty. Pursued our way and passed over Oyster river and through West Haven, a small town with a pretty church in it, where we see a number exercising by moonlight, such is their ardor to be disciplined and ready. We arrived at New Haven about 9 o'clock. New Haven is a very pretty town. There are several very neat churches. The buildings in general are wooden and covered with clap boards. From hence we had a view of North End of Long Island and our sight is terminated by the sea and sky.

October 9th, 1775, Monday. At New Haven at Bier's Tavern. There is a large and very neat building for the college. The streets are very wide near the centre where there is a large square with two churches in it. There are trees all around this square which render it very pleasant.

Tuesday, October 10th. See Mr. Samuel Broom here who informed me that Mr. Babcock is at the camp. Breakfasted at this place, rode through a most delightful part of the country. The river, the orchard, the fields, meadows and hills around afforded such pleasing views as must give even a sick man spirits and the man in health is delighted more than I can express.

We dined within sight of a small town called Wallingford which is situated on a hill of an easy ascent that seems raised on a plain on purpose to render the landscape more Heavenly. On the summit are two churches. The houses around are at a distance from each other of the breadth of a small garden. The sides of this hill are adorned with orchards, and green fields in a manner so very pleasing that it exceeds any idea of its beauty that I could form before I see it.

We dined with Mr. Dagget, President of New Haven College who is a sensible man and he politely invited us to call and see him on our return.

Mr. Bradford and myself stopped at Weathersfield, which is a very pretty town situated on a plain, near the river Connecticut; the streets are about 120 feet wide, the houses very neat and airy and in general separated by a garden. There is one

house here finished in an elegant manner and is the first that shows the owner to be a man of great property. It is said he is worth $15,000. There is a beautiful large brick church and the steeple is so neat and prettily finished that it would be adorned in the first city that I have seen.

I spent the evening happily at our lodgings in company with a gentleman (traveling), he is a member of the House of Assembly from Norwich, is now employed to fit out a frigate, is a man of property, of good education, of good sense and sociable disposition, and behaved politely. His person is lusty and well proportioned. His features pleasing and his complexion ruddy.

Tuesday, October 10th, 1775. This gentleman's name I could not learn. He did not ask us any such impertinent questions as it is usual here. We therefore avoided it too. Respecting the Connecticut Claim to part of Pennsylvania, he informed me a right to Wyoming, &c., yet the Government would not have resolved to insist on this land unless Col. Dyer and a few others had been indefatigable in persuading the Assembly. He tells me that the Susquehanna Company consists of a great number of members and that they have not had any meeting, and have not given any orders to disturb the Pennsylvanians, and he is certain that the Assembly or Government have not known or been concerned in this unjustifiable, hostile attempt. He condemns it and assures me it is generally disapproved. The report of the defeat came to hand three days ago and the Wyoming people will not be supported in this desperate scheme. He tells me that the people there in general are bankrupt, runaways, lawless persons, &c.

Wednesday, October 11th, 1775. Breakfasted at Hartford, which is a regular laid out town, the streets are wide, the buildings as usual are frame houses; there are several very handsome churches. The court House is a plain neat building in the centre of a large open square. The river Connecticut runs by this lively place. The ship carpentry are busily employed, finishing two sloops here. There are about 400 houses here, Major French, Ensign Moland, Mr. W. Dermont, Ensign, are here prisoners of war on their parole.

Mr. Henry and Mr. French were particular acquaintances. Mr. Bayard is acquainted. Therefore we were all pressed to dine at their lodgings, where we were agreeably entertained.

We arrived at Windsor about sunset. Mr. W. Dermont and Mr. Moland overtook and spent the evening with us. These gentlemen behaved genteely and conversed with us respecting their situation and the present situation of affairs, and they esteemed their opposition to us as constitutional.

Thursday, October 12th, 1775. Rode through a pretty country

though not very fertile, and breakfasted at Suffield where the front lots of this little town sell for about £35 lawful per acre. Crossed the Connecticut river at the Ferry in a large flat that took in four sulkeys with horses in the shafts, and cost but $30.00, so cheap is work of this kind, and timber bro't down this beautiful river in rafts. We dined at Springfield a pretty little town about a mile from the ferry. Rode about 15 miles through a sandy, barren, rocky, hilly country to Grave's. This part of Massachusetts is very different from Connecticut. The people appear of a less education and different manners. Passed on over a very hilly, stony road to Hunt's Tavern. Here the Post waited while I wrote home a few lines acquainting of our good health and that it was told the Post on his leaving Cambridge that our frigates had been taken the Lively of 24 guns.

Arrived safe this evening at Wooster which is a small town, rendered by the trade of the several stores quite lively. The last part of this road is very hilly and very stony, the land in general is poor.

Friday, October 13th, 1775. There appears more runs and creeks in this colony than in Connecticut, but as yet we have not seen any such delightful prospects as before we crossed. There is a great part of timbered land along this road. The remarks on the ladies which I have often heard, I now find to be very true, that is that their features and complexions are very good in general.

The Connecticut men are lusty and stout in general, and seem determined to turn out on any alarm to support their liberties. The people I believe are very kind and hospitable, and no doubt very happy in Connecticut, as each one has a garden and orchard, with a frame house; the peasants are inquisitive yet kind, an instance the other day, as Mr. Henry and myself were passing some sour apples that hung over the road, the good farmer's wife at a distance called out to us that there were some better apples and directly sent her little child for its apron full of very good fruit and seemed happy in having this opportunity of kindness. At Wooster a small town where are several large stores, we lodge here.

October 14th, Saturday. Rode on through this pretty country 43 miles to Cambridge. The countersign is Norfolk. Saturday evening five o'clock we arrived at Cambridge, which is about one mile from the encampment on Prospect Hill, &c. Such was our anxiety that we went down directly to the camp and lines on Prospect, but the night came on and we could not see the hills around. We called at Col. Thompson's quarters and found him and all his officers all well. I was introduced to his Excellency, General Putnam, to Col. Reed and Mr. White.

Major Mifflin offered me a bed at his quarters, which I accepted of and delivered Mrs. Mifflin her letters, and had the pleasure to see Miss Abbie Collins there.

15th, Sunday. We had the honor of being introduced by Col. Reed to his Excellency General Washington, who thinks it very extraordinary that as the Colonies have voted the opposition general, that some of the Provinces should supply the King's ships with Provisions. When here there is war in its full force, and all seizures made that possible can be. He says the officers in picking their men and therefore they have imposed on him, particularly one company to the westward. Accepted of an invitation from Major Mifflin to dine at Jamaica at Miss Tyler's.

Sunday, October 15th. At Jamaica was introduced to Miss Broadstreet. In the afternoon went to meeting, supped at our lodgings. At Captain Brown's with Mr. Bodenoutt, Mr. Smith, Mr. White and other gentlemen. Countersign, Plymouth. Slept at Mr. Mifflin's.

Introduced to Col. Baldwin and Deputy and Mrs. Frazier and General Sullivan.

Monday, 16th. Rode round by the Fort number one and along by the mouth of Charles river. We walked down on the marsh within about a half a mile of the man of war, but they were so sulky that we could not tempt them to give us a shot. We then rode round the lines and Prospect Hill. We dined at Major Mifflin's and were introduced to Mr. Lynch and Col. Harrison, the Major introduced me to General Lee and I delivered him Mr. Delaney's letter. Wrote home to my father and sister. Slept at the Major's. Countersign, Richmond.

Tuesday, October 17, 1775. We rode over Mystic Bridge, through a little trading town, to Powder Horn Hill, which is very high and commands the most beautiful view I ever beheld. We see the evening camps on Charlestown Island, the spot on which the battle was fought, at foot of Bunker Hill, and see the straight line of breastworks thrown up by the brave General Putnam, Boston, the remains of the Castle, the Island, the ocean, &c. I drank salt water out of the remains of the hull of the armed schooner burnt by Gl. Putnam. We were down at Penny Ferry and I walked down to our lowest sentry with Col. Baldwin where we heard them talking very plain on Bunker Hill, and see every one that moves out of their tents and here on these points and in the meadow all around with about 200 yards of Bunker Hill and some points nearer to the man of war our people let their horses and cattle feed and mow the grass and make up the hay without any fear of the balls which they have often thrown from the cannon

and musquets. We fear them not, and laugh at their firing, which they like Dastards will not permit a man except the sentries to run the least risk and if their cattle or hay were as far from their ships and batteries as ours are we would directly seize them in spite of their musketry. They are so amazingly terrified by our rifle men that they will not stir beyond their lines. We returned from Winnisinet Ferry to Mauldin and dined. Passed through the little town on Mystic called Meadford and drank a glass of wine with Mr. Frazier who is an intelligent and worthy gentleman. We passed through our camp at Winter Hill and viewed the Fort of Ploughed Hill, and with Col. Baldwin I walked through the upper orchard down to our out sentry beyond the guard house, at the head of the neck and down to the lower orchard, about 300 yards from their outguard behind some brush thrown up for their protection, and every night the sentries go down with in 150 yards of each other. Here we have distinct view of Bunker's Hill and their fortifications.

Supped at our lodgings at Brown's, where we heard whispered that an expedition was on foot. Mrs. Mifflin informed me that a play was to be acted in Boston and that Major Mifflin was gone to see the expedition. Our company directly hastened to Prospect Hill Fort, where we see the flashes of the guns of our two batteries of about one mile from Boston. The intent of these 14 or 15 shot we can't tell; however the enemy did not return a single shot, and unfortunately for us, one of our cannon burst to pieces, killed one man and wounded six others, blew off the cover and started two plank and she sunk in about four feet of water. But our boats directly unloaded her and towed her up Charles river and thus finished this expedition and we supposed, without doing any mischief to our enemy on account of the great distance. I returned to the Rifler's Camp and slept at Capt. Loudon's.

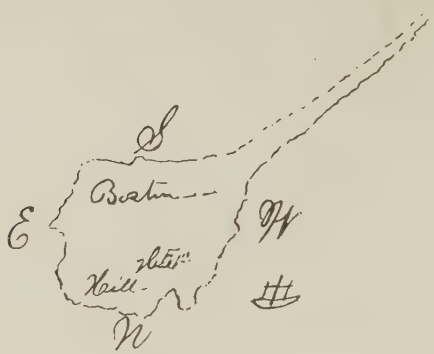
At day I awoke, and in a few minutes the morning gun was fired all around. Directly the men repaired with arms and accoutrements to the forts and lines and in about ten minutes the Captains with their companies over in the Fort drawn up along the sides of the Fort. In two or three minutes they began their firing. The Captains stepped on the banket or step inside at foot of breastworks and gave the word, "make ready." The front rank step on the banket and second step forward. "Present;" he does not give word "Fire," but makes a pause. Then they recover and face the right about, and march through the files and load. At the word "Make ready" again, the next rank step on the banket and so on continually. Every man is to be sure of his object before he fires, as he rests his piece on

the parapets. In about half an hour the flag was hoisted, and they ceased and retired by regiments to their quarters, and the orderly sergeant read the orders of the day and trials of the court martial, &c. Breakfasted at our lodgings; then we rode down to Roxburg to Waterman's; then we walked down to the outer lines and see an interview by flag of truce. Thus Mr. Henry and Mr. Morton, having drawn by lot the right to go out, they attended with the Captain of our guard, Col. Parsons, and the drummer. The Captain carried a stick with a white handkerchief on it, and the drummer beat a parley. Their out-sentry directly ran through their line and gave information of the flag. An officer [Captain Dundas] came out alone, unarmed and met our Captain, Col., Mr. Bayard, Mr. Henry, and Mr. Morton, about midway between the out sentries.

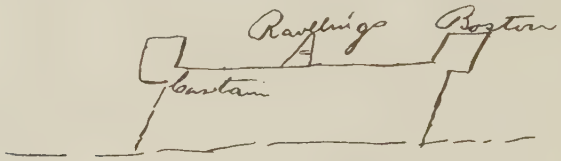
The officer behaved very politely. He received the letters for Boston which had been opened by General Washington and he promised to deliver several messages to gentlemen in Boston, and told them a man of war was arrived. Upon Col. Parsons saying it was a pity that we could not meet on different terms,—"yes," says the Captain "it is an unnatural war, and we wish matters were settled." Seeing Major Bayard in regimentals, he asked him what rank he held. He was answered a Major. We see many of the houses that the balls had passed through in the lower part of the town of Roxburg. We passed around the great length of breastworks across the meadow and with our spy glasses distinguished the sentries and works on Boston Neck, which are very strong indeed.

We dined at Waterman's with a large company. Countersign "Kempton." We rode down to Dorsetshire Hill, along a narrow strip of made road across the open marsh where the enemy might have fired a point blank shot from Boston Neck, and let us hear their balls whistle, but they were so ill-natured that we could not provoke one shot. We thus went up and stood in a cluster together, in such a manner as never before happened without shot, yet we had none.

Wednesday, October 18th. From the summit of this lofty and delightful Hill we could see all the south side of Boston and the Neck Harbor, the Castle, Ocean, Islands, &c., beautiful view presents itself. I can't tell whether it exceeds the view from Powder Horn or not.



We returned to Cambridge. All the beds at Major Mifflin's being occupied, I was obliged to lodge at Brown's. Wrote to my father and Jno. Mifflin and Post.



Breastwork, ground thrown up, banquet step or standing place inside the breastwork parapet. The breastworks banquet and beam together. The beam is a little space of ground left at the foot of the breastworks. Bastions are Ravellins at the corners or angles as above. Ravellins are breastworks thrown up anglewise as above. Curtains are the breastworks that connects the Ravellins or Bastions. Fosse is the ditch. Scrap is the inside of the Fosse; Counter scrap is outside. Glacis is the bank thrown up in front of the breastwork. Gabions are stakes interwoven with twisted bundles of switches like baskets without bottoms. Fascines, Bundles of switches about 6 feet long. Breastworks at our camp are banks composed of Gabions, Fascines, Stakes and Earth. The fortifications of the enemy are made in the same manner.

Thursday, October 19th. Dined at our lodgings and spent the afternoon there. Lodged at Lieutenant Connor's on Prospect Hill.

Friday, 20th. Breakfasted at Mr. Connor's. Dined at Cambridge. Drank coffee at Mr. Mifflin's, supped at Brown's, and joined in an Indian frolic, which to me has been the most unlucky accident since I left home.

Saturday 21st. It rained all day. I wrote to my good mother, sister, to W. Morgan, and J. Parker, and Captain Gurney. Dined and supped at lodgings with agreeable company. Delivered General Greene Hanson's Evolutions [not complete], Plates No. 1 to 30. Explanation, page 1 to 40. Art of Gunnery Page 1 to 16.

Sunday, October 22d. From Cambridge rode thro' a small irregular town about three miles, called Medford on the north side of Mystic, from thence accompanied by the worthy Mr. Jno. George Frazier as Lt. Gen'l, to Linn about 9 miles, to Salem about 12 miles, to Beverly about 2 miles; breakfasted at the worthy Captain Francis'. Linn is a small town with some neat buildings, situated on a plain. Beverly is a pretty town of great length, has a small front on the river, the bank of which is very high, and there is a descent from the bank towards the rest of the town. Though the sloop of war fired many shots at this town, there was no damage done. There are several very pretty houses here. We crossed the ferry, returned to the beautiful town of Salem. There are many beautiful houses here. Several delightful streets more resembling Philadelphia than any I've seen in New England. It has been a place of great trade. There are a great number of wharves filled with storehouses. There are tradesmen of all kinds almost. We put up at Goodloe's which is a very good tavern, and we had as good a glass of wine as need be drank. The ladies here are handsome and genteely dressed, and the practice is for them to spend their leisure moments in the first story and they are so pleased to see gentlemen from the southward, that the windows were filled with women, girls and children, and we were entertained very highly by viewing the great variety of faces, and their entertainment seemed equal to ours, so that we were smiling, then laughing, then smiling, and so on alternately for hours. Such is the custom amongst even the genteel young ladies, as well as others, that they will look at you with a pleasing countenance, and if your admiration excites a smile, they will answer it, and if you should speak they will familiarly answer you. This behaviour of ladies, we knew were modest and virtuous, appeared to us extraordinary and for a short time very amusing. On Sunday evening we walked the streets which were filled with girls and a greater number of them than I ever see walking in Philadelphia. The tide rises amazingly here. Came to 17 or 18 feet.

October 23d. Salem is almost surrounded by water, and schooners and brigs in high tide run up back of the town, and at low water are quite dry. There is a point of land runs

out to the bay and they have erected a battery to prevent the men of war from getting near enough to Beverly and Salem, to burn them. At Beverly, which is the opposite side of the river, there is two armed schooners, fitted out which cruise about the coast. There is, I believe, about 1000 houses in Salem. The streets near the centre are paved, the others are as sandy soil, high in the middle, and kept clean of rubbish. The account of the destruction of Falmouth arrived here, and the people began directly to move the West India and other valuable goods away, lest the men of war should get up there. We passed on over a stony road to Marble Head, which is a dirty disagreeable place. At present they are here in great distress, as the town is built amongst rocks and stones, where is no land to cultivate. Marble Head and the people in general are fishermen or concerned in that way, which source of support is now at an end. Many of the men are in the army and the rest are out of employ, and almost every house swarms with children of these hardy temperate men. Their situation is miserable; the streets and roads are filled with poor little boys and girls who are forced to beg of all they see. The women are lazy, and of consequence dirty creatures. There are about 400 houses here, and four or five of them large neat houses. They have a small battery on a point near to try to keep off the men of war. One remarkable object of charity here, was a little boy whose left arm was shrivelled up and dead, and his legs were contracted and folded up like a tailor's and of no strength. This emaciated creature would move in an odd manner with the assistance of his right hand into the middle of the road before your horse and would beg in a most moving manner and you must give him something or drive over him. I do not want ever to see such another place.

Linn, October 23d. We passed through this town to the Half Way House at Newell's, where we spent the evening happily.

24th. Breakfasted at Medford with Col. Frazier, spent the remainder of the morning with viewing the lines, &c., on Winter, Ploughed and Prospect Hill. Dined at Brown's with company F.

25th, Thursday. Dined with Colonel Thompson. Last night I went the grand rounds with General Greene, Col. Vernon, &c., &c. We found the sentries in general alert, but some had not the right countersign, for which the sergeants were severely reprimanded and threatened We were with our sentries near Charlestown Neck about 200 yards from the enemies sentries. Our sentries were at the lowest trees 100 yards from the enemy. The form was this·

The sentry next the guard, on hearing us within about 30

yards, hollows out "who goes there," Sergeant answers "Rounds." "What rounds." "The grand rounds." "Sergeant Advance and give the countersign." He advanced and whispers it. The sentry then calls to Sergeant of the Guard. The Guard turn out, under arms to near the sentry. The sergeant then advances and says, "Who goes there." Answer, "Rounds." "What Rounds," "The grand Rounds." "Sergeant, Advance and give the parole." He gives it to him. The Sergeant of the Guard then returns to his Captain, and tells him the parole and if it is right, he cries out "Grand Rounds Pass" The grand rounds then pass through the Guard drawn up in two ranks, with arms at the rest. The single sentries require only the countersign.

Cambridge, Oct. 26th. The intrenchments are made in the following manner:

Having the Fascines, Gabions, and Stakes prepared, the ground for the lines are marked out. The gabions are then set on the lines, three or four deep. They are then filled with earth, dug up alongside. Fascines are then piled up in front, and within side, and stakes about four feet long drove through to keep them down, and Fascines are laid upon the top of the Gabions and covered with earth, and are thus filled with Fascines and earth to a proper height. Then the inside and outside and top are faced and covered with sods of earth and grass pinned down with stakes. There should be proper intervals left for ambizures. The inner part is to be higher than the outer and the slope is to be in a direct line with the Glacis. The berm (General Greene says) should be at least two feet to these lines. The inside nearly perpendicular, the outside should slope parallel to the scarp or ditch. The front breastworks on Bunker's Hill have picquets in the berm about 5 feet long. There are the following Forts, &c., here:

Fort on Winter Hill and Plowed Hill.

On a rising ground between Winter's and Prospect Hill, French Fort.

On Prospect Hill.

Two redoubts between ditto and Plowed Hill.

Three Half Moons or Transes in front of Prospect Hill, with pickets communicating to each, about 35 yards from the breastworks.

On the plain about 300 yards south of Prospect Hill.

West of Prospect, about 400 yards, to command the road.

Three south of Prospect, to command the Plain and Charles River.

One at Sewell's Point to the southward of this. The marsh and broken ground render it almost impossible for the

enemy to land there, so that it is several hundred yards below this that the next fort is.

Roxburg is a small town on and at foot of a small Hill, (on which is the church.) At the foot of a very large ridge of hills on one of these is a pretty large fort. There is a breastwork in the town. One ditto at the lowest part of ditto. A fort a little to the southward of the Neck, to command it and the meadow, about 500 yards with a few hundred yards of the enemy. Works on Boston Neck. Several redoubts in and around Roxburg. Their lines appear very strong.

JOURNAL

OF

CAPTAIN WILLIAM HENDRICKS

FROM CARLISLE TO BOSTON,

THENCE TO QUEBEC.

1775.

[The Journal of Captain William Hendricks as herewith given is copied from a rare pamphlet printed at Glasgow, Scotland, in connection with an account of the Siege of Quebec, from the hands of a British officer, and it has been given page for page as in the original. For a notice of Captain Hendricks, see Volume One, Battalions and Line.]

A

JOURNAL

OF THE

MARCH OF A PARTY

OF

PROVINCIALS

FROM

CARLISLE TO BOSTON,

AND FROM

THENCE TO QUEBEC,

BEGUN THE 13TH OF JULY, AND ENDED THE 31ST OF DECEMBER, 1775.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ATTACK AND ENGAGEMENT AT QUEBEC, THE 31ST OF DECEMBER, 1775.

GLASGOW:
PRINTED BY R. CHAPMAN AND A. DUNCAN.
MDCCLXXVI.

THE following authentic Journal, wrote by an Officer of the Party, was sent from a Gentleman in Quebec to his Friend in Glasgow, who put it into the hands of the Printers. They have subjoined an Account of the Engagement at Quebec, which was wrote by the same Gentleman who transmitted the Journal.

THE

JOURNAL

OF

Capt. WILLIAM HENDRICKS, and Capt. JOHN CHAMBERS, of the Rifle-Men, from Carlisle in Pennsylvania, to Boston in Massachusets, and from thence to Quebec, begun July 13th, and ending December 31st, 1775.

July 13*th*,

Miles

MARCHED from Carlisle, the county town of Cumberland, with my company of 90 men, John McClellan, Francis Nichols, and Matthew Irvine, my lieuten-

(4)

	Miles.
ants. First day came to John Harris's ferry on Sasquehanna river, two miles wide, and there we encamped, ...	18
14. Marched to Hummelstown, ...	8
15. To Lebanon, ...	17
16. To the sign of the King of Prussia, .	18
17. To Riding, county town of Berks, .	14
Staid at Riding until the 22d. Here we met Capts. Paterson, Smith, Lowden, and Noggle, with their companies, destined for Cambridge.	
22. To Swan's Tavern, ...	18
23. To Allan's town, ...	18
24. To *Bethlem, over the rivers Jordan	
Carried over, ...	111

* Bethlem is a small town pleasantly situated on the banks of the Lehay. Here are beautiful gardens, with all kinds of fruit and flowers, and also an elegant nunnery.

(5)

	Miles.
Brought over, ...	111
and great Lehay, to Easten, ...	18
25. Crossed Delawar river into the Jerseys, and to Oxford Meeting-house, . . .	13
26. To the Log goal, where we tarr'd and feather'd one of the ministerial tools, who refused to comply with the resolves of our Continental Congress.	
27. To Sussex Court house, ...	10
28. To Dr. Hinksman's, ...	23
29. To Brewster's Tavern, ...	22
30. To New Windsor, on North or Hudson's river, ...	11
31. Rested at New Windsor, to get our linens washed, and ourselves recruited, being weary, marching in exceeding hot weather.	
August 1. Proceeded on our march to	
Carried over, ...	208

(6)

	Miles.
Brought over, ...	208
Takin's, ...	27
2. To Baker's Tavern, ...	25
3. Thro' Litchfield, a small town in Connecticut government, where Capt. Price, from Maryland, came up with us, and brought with him another ministerial tool, whom he had caught on his march. Here they tarr'd and feather'd him; and, after his making acknowledgements, was drummed out of town. We then marched on to ——— Tavern, ...	29
4. Arrived at Hartford, the chief town in Connecticut government. This town is pleasantly situated on Connecticut river. In this place are seven very elegant Presbyterian parish churches, ...	22
5. Crossed the river, about 80 perches	
Carried over, ...	311

(7)

	Miles.
Brought over, ...	311
wide, and marched through Farmington to Tunis', ...	29
6. To Mr. Thomson's Meeting-house, . .	28
7. To Mindon, a small village, ...	21
8. To Mr. Ellis's Tavern, ...	23
9. To head quarters at Cambridge, four miles from Boston, ...	20
Encamped at Cambridge until the 11th of September, and met with 11 companies of musqueteers, which, with our two companies from Carlisle, made 13, amounting to 1000 men, under the command of Colonel William Thomson of Carlisle.	
During our stay here, nothing very material happened until the 3d of September, that 1000 of the American troops went	
Carried over, ...	432

(8)

	Miles
Brought over, ...	432
from Prospect-hill, to raise a battery on Plowed-hill, about a quarter of a mile from the enemy on Bunker's-hill; during the time that our men were at work, the enemy kept a constant fire from their cannon on Bunker's-hill, and from a floating battery which lay contiguous to us in the bay, which killed 2 or 3 of our people, and wounded a few more; but as soon as our people got some of their cannon mounted, they sunk the floating battery, killed several of the enemy, and obliged them on Bunker's-hill to keep close within their entrenchments. This day was wounded Mr. William Simpson, a young gentleman volunteer with Capt. Smith, from Lancaster	
Carried over, ...	432

(9)

	Miles.
Brought over, ...	432
county (Pennsylvania.) He was wounded in the foot, had his leg cut off, and died soon after. During these transactions, we were informed General Washington had received letters from gentlemen in Quebec, inviting him to send some troops thither, concluding it would be for the safety of the colonies. Accordingly General Washington ordered 11 companies of musket-men, with three of rifle-men, to march for Canada. The rifle captains cast lots who should go, and it fell to Capts. Hendricks and Smith of Pennsylvania, and Capt. Morgan of Maryland, who, together with 11 companies of musket-men, under the command of Colonel Benedict Arnold, began	
Carried over, ...	432

(10)

	Miles.
Brought over, ...	432
their march for Canada; the whole detachment amounting to 1000 men.	
Sepember 11. Marched to Mr. Neal's Tavern, ...	13
12. To Mr. Bunkham's Meeting-house,	15
13. Arrived at Newberry, a sea-port town, 45 miles N. E. of Boston, and there encamped until the 18th, when we embarked on board 11 sail of sloops and schooners, which lay ready to receive us. Lay on board all night in the harbour.	
19. In the morning we weighed anchor, and steered our course for Kinnebec river, 36 leagues N. E. of Newberry.	
20. Arrived at the mouth of the river in	
Carried over, ...	460

(11)

	Miles.
Brought over, ...	460
the morning, after a good passage of 23 hours, fair wind, round sea. Most of our people were sea-sick, ...	125
21. Sailed up the river for Fort Western, where we arrived the 23d, ...	45
25. Embarked on board 200 batteaus ready to receive us, and rowed up to Fort Hallifax, ...	18
27. Pushed against the stream to Taconic falls. Here we carried our boats, provisions, &c., forty perches or so, and pushed up farther, ...	3
28. Pushed up eight miles, the water full of rocks and shoals. The men got into the water to haul the boats over; the bottom so uneven, that the men were sometimes	
Carried over, ...	651

B

(12)

	Miles.
Brought over,	651
up to the chin in water,	8
29. Pushing against the stream to the second Carrying Place, Cohigin falls,	10
30. Carried boats &c. over 60 perches, and pushed up the stream,	5
October 1. Pushed and dragged up over rocks and shoals, where we, from the unevenness of the bottom, sometimes plumped over head, we got to the third Carrying Place, Norridge Walk falls.	7
2. Carried over boats, &c. and encamped, and entered a wild barren wilderness, birch, pine, hemlock. Some parts of the river side good bottom, with sugar trees,	1¼
3. Pushing and dragging. To-day killed	
Carried over,	682¼

(13)

	Miles.
Brought over, ...	682¼
a moose-deer, ...	11
4. Pushed and dragged to Tentucket falls (Hellgate. Carried 40 perches, and encamped, ...	8
5, 6, 7. We poled and dragged against a shallow stream, and encamped at the place where we leave Kinnebec. Three days made, ...	20
8. Lay in our tents on account of a heavy rain.	
9, 10, 11. Carried boats, &c. three miles and a quarter over a high hill, very bad way, to the first pond in the Carrying Place, and made one mile and an half more, and encamped, ...	5
12, 13. Carried three quarters of a mile to a second pond, a mile over; then two miles land to the third pond, two miles	
Carried over, ...	726¼

(14)

	Miles.
Brought over, ...	726¼
over, and encamped, ...	5
14, 15. Carried three miles and a quarter to Dead river, a mile of this way very swampy. We were up to the knees in mud. Then up the river's side a mile more, . . .	
16. The water now being deep and dead, we plied our oars, and rowed. This river comes from the N. W. running S. E. four perches wide. Here the water very black,	10
17. After having carried over a short Carrying Place, rowed, ...	16
18. Rowed up 20 miles, and carried over a short Carrying Place, ...	20
19. This day we made 4 Carrying Places, and on our way, ...	5
20, 21, 22. Encamped on account of the	
Carried over, ...	786¼

(15)

	Miles.
Brought over, ...	786¼
heavy rain.	
23. The water now being shallow, we threw our oars aside, and took to our poles.	
We pushed up, ...	10
24. Our provisions now growing very scant, and some of our men sick, the several captains concluded to send the sick back and a captain, with 50 men, forward, to reach the inhabitants as soon as possible, in order to send us supplies of provisions before we should run out. Accordingly the sick were sent back, and Capt. Hanchet, with 50 men, forward. Sometime before this, Colonel Innes, with three companies of musket-men, turned back, being discouraged by the many difficulties they met with; and our third lieutenant,	
Carried over, ...	796¼

(16)

	Miles.
Brought over, ...	796¼
Mr. Irvine, being sick, was left at the first pond, in care of a corporal and three men. This day several of our boats were overset, and much baggage, provision, and ammunition, were lost, with some few guns. We got forward this day, ...	9
25. Snowed all last night, and very cold. Pushed up this day, and crossed two Carrying Places, ...	8
26. This day pushed up through four ponds, and carried over two Carrying Places, one a mile over, the ground covered with snow, ...	7
27. This day crossed a pond half a mile over, carried 15 perches to another pond, two miles over, to the greatest Carrying	
Carried over, ...	820¼

(17)

	Miles.
Brought over, ...	820¼
Place. Here it was agreed, by the several companies, to leave all the boats, except a few to carry the sick down Chaudiere, after having carried them near 20 miles over mountains and rocks, and through such swamps as were never passed by man before. Our shoulders were so bruised by them that we could not suffer any thing to touch them. Our company carried but one boat over, which was to take our lieutenant down the Chaudiere. The carriage here to a small stream leading to Chaudiere pond four miles and an half. Here we encamped, ...	7
28. We dealt out our flour, (meat we had none) four pints per man. Here we received a letter from Colonel Arnold, who	
Carried over, ...	827¼

(18)

	Miles.
Brought over, ...	827¼

had gone two days before, letting us know we were within four days march of the inhabitants, and might expect to meet provisions in three days time. That General Schuyler had gained an advantage over the ministerial troops near St. John's, by killing and taking a number of them. This news put us in high spirits; but it proved hurtful to many of us; for we, supposing we were much nearer the inhabitants than we really were, ate up our bread more lavishly than otherwise we would have done.

October 29. Set out thro' the woods for the head of Chaudiere river, and marched fourteen miles to-day, through swamps,

Carried over, ...	827¼

(19)

	Miles.
Brought over, ...	827¼
in many places up to our knees, and over trees; that lay on the ground, covering it for several perches together, ...	14
30. This day went astray over mountains, and through swamps, which could scarcely be passed by wild beasts ——. Waded a small river up to our wastes, then marched on until night in our wet clothes. At night we found ourselves within five miles of the place we started from. We marched fifteen miles in vain, ...	5
31. This morning set off on the path our advanced party had taken before, in better spirits than for many days past. In the evening came up with Mr. McClellan, our first lieutenant, who had come down the	
Carried over, ...	846

(20)

	Miles.
Brought over,	846
Chaudiere, in a batteau, with four of our men to row the boat. They had been over set in the river, narrowly escaping being drowned; they lost clothes, blankets, and ammunition. Capt. Smith and Morgan were also cast away in the river. Capt. Smith lost his chest and clothes, with his officers clothes, and a considerable sum of money Capt. Morgan also lost his clothes and cash; one of his men was drowned. They then all took to the land, and made the best of their way towards the inhabitants. Mr. McClellan being far spent, and unable to march, was left in care of two of our company; he was greatly beloved by the whole detachment. Here	
Carried over,	846

(21)

	Miles.
Brought over, ...	846
our Captain, and some others of our company divided their small moiety of bread and flour with him, parting in great tenderness, never expecting to see him more; we then marched on till night, in a very deplorable condition, several of the company being out of provisions. We marched to-day, ...	25
November 1. This morning many of the company falling behind, being weary and faint for want of provisions, Capt. Hendricks thought it best to make forward as fast as possible to the innabitants, with what men were with him. Our case being desperate, and every man, willing to save his life, if possible, marched on over mount-	
Carried over, ...	871

(22)

	Miles.
Brought over, ...	871
ains, and through swamps, enough to weary and discourage the stoutest traveller. On our way, passed some of the musket-men eating two dogs, which they had roasted skins, guts, and all, not having eat any thing for two some three days before. I myself saw one of them offer a dollar, to one of our company, for a bit of cake not above two ounces. At night, we encamped in a very deplorable condition; some of us had not eaten for 24 hours. We made to-day, ...	20
December 2. This morning, when we arose, many of us were so weak that we could scarce stand; I myself staggered about like a drunken man. We got our	
Carried over, ...	891

(23)

	Miles.
Brought over, ...	891
packs on our backs, and marched off, hoping to see the inhabitants this day: A small stick, lying across the way, was sufficient to bring the stoutest of us to the ground. In the evening, we saw some cattle coming up the river, the most joyful sight that we had ever seen. When we came to them, the men who drove them told us, we were then 20 miles from the nearest inhabitants; and that Colonel Arnold had got in two days before, and immediately sent off these cattle for our relief. Accordingly some went to work, and, in a short time, had one of the beasts killed and dressed. This night we fared sumptuously. We marched	
Carried over, ...	891

(24)

	Miles
Brought over, ...	891
this day, ...	20
3. This day marched 20 miles, wading several small rivers, some of them up to our waists, the water exceeding cold. In the evening came in sight of a house, the first we had seen for four weeks. Here we encamped all night, and got plenty of good beef and potatoes, little or no bread, . .	20
4. Snow in the night. Marched down the river, which was thickly settled, ...	10
5. Continued our march down the river, the people kind and hospitable,—— provisions plenty, at a high price; we paid 1 sh. Sterl. per quart for milk, and 1 sh. for a small loaf of bread, about 3 lb. To-	
Carried over, ...	941

(25)

	Miles.
Brought over, ...	941
day we came, ...	12
6. Came up with Col. Arnold and the advanced party, halted till 2 o'clock, then marched till 12 at night, most of the way half leg deep in mud and water, ...	17
7. Marched this morning 3 miles, halted till evening, when a Lieut. with 20 men, was ordered forward to see if the way was clear. Accordingly they marched till near 2 o'clock in the morning, then halted in sight of Quebec, the river St. Lawrence being between us and the city, ...	9
In all, ...	979

8. Quartered along the river's side (Point Levy) until our men, which were behind, should come up.

(26)

Remained here until the 13th, when most of the men, who were behind alive, came up, who informed us that several of the musket-men had perished of hunger in the woods, and also some riflemen, among whom was John Taylor of Capt. Hendrick's company. During our stay here, Capt. Morgan took a mid-shipman, belonging to a frigate in the harbour, who came a-shore, with some men in a boat, to carry away flour from a mill on our side the river. A frigate of 20 guns, some few merchant-men, and small craft, in the harbour.

13. Crossed the river, this night, in long boats and canoes. Some of the canoes overset in the river, by which some clothes and guns were lost. Got all safe over in the morning to a place called Wolf's cove.

14. This morning were fired upon by the frigate, but received no damage. Took up our quarters in some

(27)

good houses, near the town, which were deserted by the owners. Took several prisoners, who informed us that there was not more than 100 regular soldiers in the town, besides a number of sailors, and other new recruits, amounting, in the whole, to between 3 and 400 men under arms. The first day we came over the river, we passed close by the city walls, and gave three cheers, then marched off, without being molested by them in the town. ——— They fired some cannon, but did no execution.

21. Marched up the river to Point au Tremble, 20 miles; our ammunition being insufficient to attack the town with. Here we were joined by Gen. Montgomery, with the New York troops, who had taken St. John's, Fort Chamblee, and Montreal, where they found considerable stores of ammunition, provisions, and clothing, with a great number of cannon, and took near 700 prisoners. Here the two

D

(28)

men, who had been left with Mr. McClellan upon Chaudiere, came to us and informed us that they had buried him at the first inhabited house they came to, after he had been brought down by two Indians, hired by Capt. Smith for that purpose. Continued at Point au Tremble till the 5th of December, when we marched back to Quebec, and laid siege to the town. We continued the siege till the 30th of December, during which time some were killed on both sides. The evening of the 30th prepared to attack the city. Gen. Montgomery, with the New York forces, on one side, and Col. Arnold, with his detachment from Boston, on the other side. Accordingly, about 5 o'clock in the morning of the 31st began the attack; but the snow being so deep, where the General made the attack, they could not reach the wall; they retreated back to their quarters. Col. Arnold's party carried on the attack, but he being wounded in the beginning

(29)

of the affair, went back. Capt. Morgan then took the lead, who with Capt. Hendricks, and four or five other companies, (say Capts.) with some of their men, got over the walls, drove the enemy from their cannon, and got a considerable way into the town, when, at length, they being surrounded on all sides, and over powered by numbers, we were obliged to surrender prisoners of war, being assured of good quarters.

THE END OF THE JOURNAL.

The following Account of the Engagement at QUEBEC, *from a Gentleman to his Friend in this City, is subjoined, as the Writer of the above* JOURNAL *leaves it rather unfinished.*

I INTEND to send you a journal, containing every material occurrence during the blockade; [*He apologizes for not sending it with the Journal.*]

(30)

mean time, shall give you the words of it on the day the rebels attempted to storm us.

December 31st, 1775.

Wind N. E. snowy and cloudy Capt. Malcolm Fraser, of the Royal Emigrants, in going his rounds between four and five o'clock this morning, perceived signals made by the enemy; he immediately alarmed the guards, and picquets, who stood to their arms. All our centries saw flashes like lightning every where round about. Those between St. John's-gate and Cape Diamond saw an avenue of lanthorns, as if set upon poles, at regular distances; their sky-rockets were seen which was instantaneously followed by ashower of balls, from the rebels, on our people who lined the walls at Cape Diamond. The drums beat to arms; all the bells rang the alarm; and, in less than ten minutes, every person able to bear arms was in motion; Even old men,

(31)

upwards of seventy, were forward in appearing for the defence of the town.

A party of the British militia, under colonel Caldwell, was immediately detached by colonel Maclean, to reinforce Cape Diamond, as it was said an attack would be made there: There he posted the party, and returned to the parade. Mr. Montgomery attacked, at the same time, at Pres de Ville (a strong barrier and guard-house, at the southern extremity of the town,) with 900 picked men; and Arnold, attacked at Saut au Matelot (the battery at the northern end of the lower town,) with 700 chosen fellows. Still the fire was kept up at Cape Diamond; and a strong body (it is said they were Canadians) appeared on St. John's suburbs, and their bomb battery played on us from St. Roc.

The guard at Pres de Ville had perceived flashes for some time; and every man was ready at his post. The

(32)

gunners, with lighted matches, stood ready to give the rebels a warm reception. Though the night was very dark, with thick snow, yet they were seen approaching. A body of about 150 came within 50 yards of our guns. They made a stand, at a narrow pass, as if in consultation. Captain Barnfair, who commanded the guns, watched time, and fired the instant they began to move forwards. Shrieks and groans were heard, but nobody was seen. After this cool discharge, he continued his fire for some time. ——— At the other end of the town, the rebels had better success: They forced our guard at Saut au Matelot, penetrated to the end of the street, where our people made a stand behind a barrier. A very hot fire began on both sides; the rebels fired under cover as much as possible. At this time general Carleton saw their error, and improved the opportunity. He sent captain Laws, with a party, out at

(33)

Palace-gate, to attack the enemy in rear; and colonel Maclean sent captain Macdougal to support him, and take possession of the post which our guard had abandoned. Major Nairne, also of the Royal Emigrants, or colonel Maclean's regiment, was detached to the lower-town with a strong party; and colonel Caldwell, with a detachment of the British militia, was sent there also.

Major Nairne, and lieutenant Dembourges, of the same corps, attracted the notice of every body, and gained much honour by their gallant behaviour. They entered a house by the windows where the rebels had lodged themselves, and, with charged bayonets, forced them to desert it, and thus secured a post, which had the enemy kept, must have been attended with the worst consequences for us, as it commanded a principal street, and overlooked the strong battery on Lymburner's wharf.

(34)

The general, from his knowledge in military affairs, forsaw that the *sorti* would be crowned with success. The different corps, confiding in his abilities, marched with alacrity wherever they were led; and advanced, secure of gaining victory.

Colonel Maclean, the second in command, with all the presence of mind which distinguishes the brave soldier, made his dispositions in most excellent order, to counteract the plans of the attackers. In short, his indefatigability, ever since the town was invested, gave us a favourable presage of our success.

Colonel Caldwell, by his example, made his corps of militia emulous to appear where danger made their assistance necessary. ——— Therebels, perceiving themselves vigorously attacked in front and rear, called for quarter, which was granted. In this affair, we made the flower of Mr. Montgomery's army prisoners; and we have reason to think

(35)

that many have been killed, and many wounded. ——— Arnold was carried off at the first onset: He was shot in the leg, while he was passing the picquets behind the Hotel Dieu; from whence an inconceivable fusilade was poured on the rebels as they marched to the Saut au Matelot.

The prisoners say, that if Mr. Montgomery's party had attacked at Pres de Ville with equal bravery to that which was shown at Saut au Matelot, they would have carried the Lower-town: But, after the Lower-town is taken, it is commanded by the Upper-town.

The rebels had slips of paper pinned to their caps, with the words *Liberty or Death!* wrote on them.

We lost, this morning, capt. Anderson, formerly lieutenant in the navy, killed; five privates killed; one private wounded.

We took two royals, three howitzers, two brass

(36)

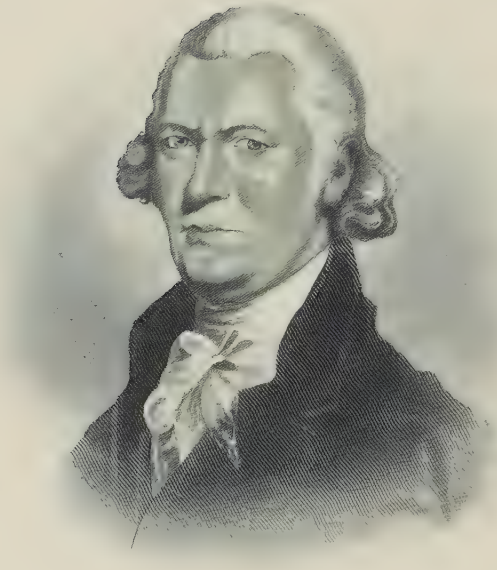
three pounders, with a quantity of small shells.

We made prisoners, 1 lieutenant colonel, 2 majors, 8 captains, 15 lieutenants, 1 adjutant, 1 quarter master, 4 volunteers, 350 privates; 44 officers and soldiers wounded. — — —426 taken in all.

Our fatigue this winter, has been excessive. Every man able to carry a musket became soldier, and did his duty cheerfully. We lived on salt beef, salt pork, and salt fish. Fresh meat was from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d. per pound; a turkey 1s. 3d. a dozen of eggs 2s. 6d. and every thing in proportion. The news-papers will have informed you of our success on the day the rebels attempted to storm us.

Quebec, May 14th, 1776.

FINIS.



Yr. obs. Jos. Henry

JOURNAL

OF

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST QUEBEC,

BY

JOHN JOSEPH HENRY.

1775.

[The following journal by Hon. John Joseph Henry has been recently reprinted with notes, but as it is a companion journal to that of Captain William Hendricks, and a record of the Pennsylvania troops which took part in the campaign against Quebec, under Gen. Benedict Arnold in the autumn and winter of 1775, it is given in this volume chiefly made up of Revolutionary documents. As will be seen, Judge Henry wrote out the journal for his children.]

AN ACCURATE

AND

INTERESTING ACCOUNT

OF THE

HARDSHIPS AND SUFFERINGS

OF THAT

BAND OF HEROES,

WHO TRAVERSED THE WILDERNESS

IN THE

CAMPAIGN AGAINST QUEBEC

IN 1775.

BY JOHN JOSEPH HENRY, ESQ.

LATE PRESIDENT OF THE SECOND JUDICIAL DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

LANCASTER:

PRINTED BY WILLIAM GREER.

1812.

TO THE PUBLIC.

THIS work is given to the world, as left by judge HENRY. Had he lived to superintend the printing of it himself, many alterations would, no doubt, have been made, many passages which may at present appear obscure, would have been fully explained, and many differences of style corrected. As the work purports to be written by judge HENRY, it was thought improper to make any alterations or additions, trusting that the world, when acquainted with the circumstances under which it was published, will be disposed to pardon trivial errors, as to the truth of the principal facts; the following letter, from general Michael Simpson, is ample testimony:

DEAR SIR,

I have read your work "of the expedition through the wilderness in 1775." So far as I was concerned, in the transactions related in the work, they are truly stated. That expedition, perhaps, the most arduous during the revolutionary war, is truly represented. The public may, in the general, be assured, that the account is genuine.

Your humble servant,

MICHAEL SIMPSON.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST QUEBEC, ETC.

THERE is a point, in the history of the American revolution, hitherto little attended to; as yet imperfectly related, and now at this late day almost forgotten; which would deserve and require the talents and genius of a Xenophon, to do it real justice. As your father in early life had a concern in that adventure, permit him to relate to you in the words of truth, a compendious detail of the sufferings of a small band of heroes; unused, to be sure, to military tactics and due subordination, but whose souls were fired by an enthusiastic love of country, and a spirit such as has often inspired our ancestors, when determined to be free. In giving you this relation, knowing him as you do, you will scarcely call in question his veracity; particularly when he assures you upon the honor of a gentleman and an honest man, that every word here related, to the best of his recollection and belief, is literally true. He could not be so unjust to your morals, your veracity, or integrity, as to state any thing to you which he knew, or even suspected to be untrue. He has himself been too much the victim of base liars, not to endeavour to eradicate so vile a principal from your minds. His own education, though made by his truantism, (in avoidance of the bounteous and liberal designs of his good father,) an incorrect one, yet the piety and real religious fervour of his parents, never would tolerate a lie. This mental vice, to them, was the greatest of all abominations, as it is with your father: it is also his most fervent hope and prayer, that every one of you, will not only contemn the lie, but hold in sovereign detestation the liar.

Persons at your age, and at this advanced stage of the improvement and melioration of our soil, in a climate so far south as ours, can scarcely form a correct conception, but from actual observation, of the sterility, the dreariness and the destitution of every comfort of life, which a wilderness in a high northern latitude exhibits. A confidence however in your good sense, encourages, and in fact animates him, to put that upon paper, which has a thousand times, in detached parcels, been the subject of amusing prattle around the fireside. This is done the rather at this time, as some very atrocious scoundrels

who never looked an enemy in the eye, now assume the garlands and honors, which ought to adorn the brows of more worthy men.

In the autumn of 1775, our adorable WASHINGTON, thought it prudent to make a descent upon Canada. A detachment from the American grand army, then in the vicinity of Boston (Massachusetts,) was organized, to fulfil this intention, by the route of the Kennebec and Chaudiere rivers. It was intended as a co-operation with the army of General Montgomery, who had entered the same province, by the way of Champlaine and Montreal. Colonel Benedict Arnold was appointed the commander in chief of the whole division. The detachment consisted of eleven hundred men. Enos was second in command. Of this I knew nothing, but from report. Riflemen composed a part of the armament. These companies, from sixty-five to seventy-five strong, were from the southward: that is, captain Daniel Morgan's company from Virginia; that of captain William Hendricks' from Cumberland county in Pennsylvania, and captain Matthew Smith's company from the county of Lancaster, in the latter province. The residue, and bulk of this corps, consisted of troops from Massachusetts, Rhode-Island and Connecticut. It has flown from my memory, whether we had any from New-Hampshire; but there is an impression on my mind that we had, as general Dearborne, who was of the latter province, commanded a company in the expedition. All these men were of as rude and hardy a race as ourselves, and as unused to the discipline of a camp, and as fearless as we were. It fell to me to know many of them afterwards intimately; speaking generally, without any allusion to particulars, they were an excellent body of men, formed by nature as the stamina of an army, fitted for a tough and tight defence of the *liberties* of their country. The principal distinction between us, was in our dialects, our arms, and our dress. Each man of the three companies, bore a rifle-barreled gun, a tomahawk, or small axe, and a long knife, usually called a "scalping-knife," which served for all purposes, in the woods. His under-dress, by no means in a military style, was covered by a deep ash-colored hunting-shirt, leggins and mockasins, if the latter could be procured. It was the silly fashion of those times, for riflemen to ape the manners of savages.

Our commander Arnold, was of a remarkable character. He was brave, even to temerity, was beloved by the soldiery, perhaps for that quality only:—he possessed great powers of persuasion, was complaisant: but withal sordidly avaricious.

Arnold was a short handsome man, of a florid complexion, stoutly made, and forty years old at least.

On the other hand Morgan was a large strong bodied personage, whose appearance gave the idea history has left us of Belisarius. His manners were of the severer cast; but where he became attached he was kind and truly affectionate. This is said, from experience of the most sensitive and pleasing nature; activity, spirit and courage in a soldier, procured his good will and esteem.

Hendricks was tall, of a mild and beautiful countenance. His soul was animated by a genuine spark of heroism. Smith was a good looking man, had the air of a soldier, was illiterate and outrageously talkative. The officers of the eastern troops, were many of them men of sterling worth. Colonel Christopher Green seemed too far advanced in life for such hard service, yet he was inspired by an ardour becoming a youth. He afterwards did the public good service at Red bank on the Delaware, in the autumn of 1777. Majors Meigs, Febiger and Biglow, were excellent characters. As we acted in the advance, the latter gentlemen were not well known to us, until some time afterwards. Your father was too young to enjoy any other honor, than that of exposing himself in the character of a cadet, to every danger. This little Army in high spirits, marched from Prospect-hill near Cambridge in Massachusetts, on the 11th of September, 1775, and arrived at Newburyport (which is formed by the waters of the Merrimac river) on the following day. This place, at that time, was a small but commercial town, near the border of Massachusetts. Here we remained encamped five days, providing ourselves with such articles of real necessity, as our small means afforded. On the afternoon of the sixth day, we embarked aboard of ten transports; sailed in the evening, and at dawn of day descried the mouth of the Kennebec river. The wind was strong but fair. The distance of this run was 150 miles. We ascended the river to colonel Coburn's shipyard; here we left our vessels, and obtained batteaux, with which we proceeded to Fort-western. At this place, on the day of our arrival, an arrangement was made by the commander in chief, which in all probability sealed the destiny of your parent. It was concluded, to despatch an officer and seven men in advance, for the purposes of ascertaining and marking the paths, which were used by the Indians at the numerous carrying-places in the wilderness, towards the heads of the river; and also, to ascertain the course of the river Chaudiere, which runs from the heighth of land, towards Quebec.

To give some degree of certainty of success to so hazardous an enterprise, Arnold found it necessary to select an officer of

activity and courage; the choice fell upon Archibald Steele of Smith's company, a man of an active, courageous, sprightly and hardy disposition, who was complimented with the privilege of naming his companions. These consisted of Jesse Wheeler, George Merchant, and James Clifton, of Morgan's; and Robert Cunningham, Thomas Boyd, John Tidd, and John M'Konkey, of Smith's company. Though a very youth, yet in a small degree accustomed to hardships, derived from long marches in the American woods, Steele's course of selection next fell upon your father, who was his messmate and friend.

Two birch-bark canoes were provided; and two guides, celebrated for the management of such water craft, and who knew the river as high up as the Great-carrying-place were also found. These were Jeremiah Getchel, a very respectable man, and John Horne, an Irishman who had grown grey in this cold climate.

This small party, unconscious of danger, and animated by a hope of applause from their country, set forward from Fort-western in their light barks, at the rate of, from fifteen to twenty and in good water, twenty-five miles per day. These canoes are so light, that a person of common strength, may carry one of the smaller kind, such as ours were, many hundred yards without halting.*

Yet they will bear a great burthen, and swim nearly gunwale deep; an admirable description of them is given by Hearne, in his Journey to the Coppermine-river. Steele's canoe, bore five men with their arms and baggage, which last was indeed light in quantity and quality, one barrel of pork, one bag of meal, and 200 weight of biscuit. The other canoe carried seven men, their arms and baggage, and a due proportion of provisions.

*The gentlemen composing this party, were unwilling to impose upon me, any thing above my apparent strength, yet in the heyday of youth, I would clap a canoe on my back, and run a hundred yards across a carrying-place. This is done by a particular mode of management. There is a broad stave, some thing like a flour barrel-stave but strait and thicker, with two perforations in it, an inch or more apart, towards the middle of the stave. A thong of stout leather is inserted through those holes, and tightly bound to the central cross-bar of the canoe. The carrier swings the canoe by a sudden jerk upon his shoulders, and which he can handle with ease, throwing the hollow side of the canoe on his back, the stave, if it may be so called, resting principally on the hind part of the head, and the prominences of the shoulders, Thus he may, if a strong man, pass over a considerable space of ground of a difficult nature, in a short time with much speed.

On the *evening of the* 23d of September, our party arrived at Fort-Halifax, situated on the point, formed by a junction of the Sabasticoog and Kennebec rivers. Here our commander Steele, was accosted by a captain Harrison, or Huddlestone, inviting him and the company to his house. The invitation was gladly accepted, as the accommodation at the Fort, which consisted of old Block-houses and a stockade in a ruinous state, did not admit of much comfort; besides it was inhabited, as our friend the captain said, by a *rank tory.* Here for the first time the application of the American term "*tory,*" was defined to me by the captain. Its European definition was well known before. Another interesting conversation, upon the part of the captain, struck my mind as a great curiosity in natural history, and well deserving commemoration; he observed that he had emigrated to the place he then resided at, about thirty years before, most probably with his parents, for he did not then appear to be much beyond forty. That at *that* period the common-deer which now inhabits our more southern climate, was the only animal, of the deer kind, which they knew, unless it was the elks; and them but partially. In a short space of time the moose-deer appeared in small numbers, but increased annually afterwards, and as the one species became more numerous, the other diminished: so that the kind of deer first spoken of, at the time of this information, according to the captain, was totally driven from that quarter. The moose-deer reigned the master of the forest. This anecdote, if true, might in such minds as those of Buffon, or De Paw, give occasions to systems in natural history, totally inconsistent with the laws of nature; still there may be something in it; animals like human beings, whether forced by necessity or from choice, do emigrate. Many instances might be given of this circumstance of the animal economy in various parts of the world. The above relation is the only instance which has come to my knowledge where one species has expelled another of the same genus. If the fact be true, it is either effected by a species of warfare, or some peculiarity in the appearance of the one kind, and of horror or perhaps of disgust in the other, we know the rock-goat (*steinbock* of the Germans and *boquetin* of the French) formerly inhabited the low hills of southern France and of the Pyrenees; they have been driven thence by some peculiar cause, for they are now confined to the tops of the highest mountains in Europe. It is true, it has been frequently advanced by men of respectability and information in Pennsylvania, that the grey-fox which is indigenous in the United States, and all North America, has been driven from the Atlantic sea-coast into the interior, by the introduction

of the red-fox from Europe. But we have no sufficient data to warrant this assertion. The truth probably is, that as the grey-fox is a dull and slow animal, compared with the sprightliness, rapidity, and cunning of the red-fox, that the first has been thinned by the huntsmen, and gradually receded from the seacoast to the forest, where, from his habits, he is more secure. The cunning and prowess of the latter, has enabled him to maintain his station among the farms, in despite of the swiftness and powerful scent of the dogs. But that which puts this assertion out of view, is that the red-fox is indigenous throughout North America. He and the grey-fox are found in the highest latitudes, but there, their skins are changed into more beautiful furs than those of ours, by the effects of climate. Another notion has been started within these 20 years past, of the fox squirrel, expelling the large grey squirrel: but it is fallacious.

Be these things as they may, we spent an agreeable and most sociable evening with this respectable man, and his amiable family. On the following day, our party rose early, and accompanied by our host, waited upon the *tory*, who then shewed himself to be an honest man, of independent principles, and who claimed the right of thinking for himself. He exchanged a barrel of smoke-dried salmon for a barrel of pork, upon honest terms. We set out from this place, well pleased with our host, the old tory, and our bargain. In a very few days, without other accident than the spraining of Lieutenant Steele's ancle, by his slipping, when carrying a canoe over the path, at one of the intermediate portages, we arrived safely at Norrigewoc falls. Coming to the landing place, the water being smooth and very deep, a rock, as we passed it, drew my attention very particularly, it was standing in a conical form, five feet in perpendicular height, and ten or twelve feet in diameter at the base. I observed that next the water, the face of the rock, which was a bluish flint, was, as it were, scolloped out, down to the very water's edge. Asking Getchel how this had occurred, his reply was that the Indians, in former times, had from thence obtained their spear and arrow points. It seems unreasonable that without a knowledge of iron, they should have been capable of executing such a labour. However, upon observation and reflection, since Getchel's time, an inducement from experience and reasoning occurs, which influences me to believe, that he might have been correct in his observation. The rock, no doubt, still remains, and there is leisure for inquiry and discussion. We were hurried. The village within one hundred yards of the pitch of the fall, was evidently a deserted Indian town. We saw no one there; It

was without the vestige of inhabitants. Dressing our victuals here at mid-day, an occurrence happened, which disgusted me in an extreme degree On this day, an estimate of our food was made, and an allotment in quantity to each man, though no actual separation of shares took place, as *that*, it was agreed, should happen at the twelve-mile carrying place. By the estimate now made, it seemed that there was something of a surplus. As we had had hard work, that and some preceding days, and harder fare, our good commander was inclined to indulge us. The surplus was allotted for this day's fare. It happened that M'Konkey was, by-routine, the cook. He boiled the meat, (vegetable food of any kind was not attainable,) and when sauntering towards the fall, he called us to dinner. We came eagerly. He was seated on the earth, near the wooden bowl. The company reclined around in a like posture, intending to partake; when M'Konkey raising his vile and dirty hands, struck the meat, exclaiming, "By G—d this was our last comfortable meal." The indelicacy of the act, its impiety, and the grossness of the expression, deprived the company of appetite. On several subsequent occasions M'Konkey showed himself as mean in spirit, as he was devoid of decency. We soon rid ourselves of him. Many years afterwards, at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, he applied and received a loan by way of charity from me, which he meanly solicited with the most abject sycophancy. So true it is, in general, that those who disregard the social decencies of life, are equally incapable of those virtues which make man respectable in society.

On the afternoon of this day, we crossed to the west side of the river below the fall: searched for, and with difficulty found the carrying place. Having marked it with precision, we rested awhile. On the west side of the river, not very distant from us, there was a considerable extent of natural meadow.* One of our party, exploring the country for deer,

*In traversing this meadow, which was a beautiful plain, one of the party, found the horns of a moose-deer, which from appearances had been shed in the foregoing summer, or perhaps in the beginning of autumn: being then about five feet ten inches high. Getchell facetiously, yet gravely, insisted by way of measurement, that I should stand under the main fork. The crown of my head, rubbed against the crown-work of the horns. This to all of us, was matter of great surprise. However, in a short time afterwards the circumstance of size, was thought little of, when we came into contact with the living animal, upon whose head such horns grew. There is a paucity of words for a description upon paper, of the enormous dimensions of the male moose which we saw, and of their horns. The male-deer bears horns; the female bears none. Those horns, which we examined

met with two white men who had come from a distance, mowing the wild grass of the meadow. An agreeable barter ensued—we gave salted pork, and they returned two fresh beaver tails, which, when boiled, renewed ideas, imbibed with the May-butter of our own country. Taste, however, is arbitrary, and often the child of necessity. Two years before this, acorns had supplied me with a precarious sustenance, on a journey from Sandusky to Pittsburg, it momentarily sustained life and

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minutely, were of a large size, but not so large as some we saw on the living deer. About midway of the horn, from the crown of the head, there is a broad flat part of the horn, called the blade, which in the specimen under examination, was full two of my spans, or nearly twenty inches from whence branched the proud antlers or prong. There is no beast of the forest more handsomely decorated, unless it be the rein-deer of the north of Europe and Asia. In the evenings, in the first ascension of the Kennebec and Dead-rivers, sitting around our solitary smoke fires, we have often seen those stately deer, passing the river in droves, sometimes of fifteen or twenty in number, the one walking after the other in the accustomed path, but due care and discipline kept our arms quiet. The country around Natanis house, a circle of ten or fifteen miles, was at that time, an admirable "hunting ground." One day, suddenly passing a sharp point of the river, about five miles below Natanis cabbin, we as suddenly fell back. We wanted fresh food. Regardless of what might follow, Steele permitted us to fire. We had seen five or six of those monstrous deer standing in the water knee-deep, feeding on their favorite food, the red willow. Boyd, Wheeler and myself passed the river, out of sight of the moose, in the most cautionary manner. The stream here was not more than sixty yards wide. We approached them through the thick underwood, which clothed the bank. Boyd preceded. The rustling of the leaves alarmed the deer. They threw up their heads. What a sight! The antlers of several of them, seemed to exceed in size, those we had already seen. Boyd apprehensive they were about to run from us, fired without giving Wheeler and myself, an opportunity to take a stand, but the greatest misfortune was, that the worthy Boyd, had neglected to clean his gun that day, it made long fire, and but a trifling report. The bullet scarcely reached the deer. Wheeler and myself were creeping to our places, when Boyd's gun disturbed the animals. The guns in our hands, were ineffectually discharged. This jejune occurrence, is related merely, for the introduction of a single observation. When the bull moose, at the rustling of the leaves, and afterwards when Boyd fired, threw up their heads—the tips of their horns, seemed to me to stand eighteen feet in the air. The ridge of the shoulder, seemed seventeen hands high. The largest of these animals was a *lusus naturæ*. The moose in ordinary, is of an ash-colored grey. The one I speak of, was flecked, in large spots of red, on a pure white ground. His skin, if we could have obtained it, would have been a valuable curiosity.

bodily labour, but the consequence was ill health. Your respectable kinsman, General Gibson, received me into his house at Logstown on the Ohio, and restored me sound to my parents. These minute matters are noted here, from an expectation, that knowing the privations men may suffer in respect to food, you will each of you remember to receive the dispensations of Providence, of every kind, if not with thankfulness, at least with submission.

We passed the portage of Norridgewoc falls. Thence for several days, the navigation for such canoes as ours, was tolerable, and in the most part convenient. We ascended the river rapidly, blazing every carrying-place. Having now seceded many miles from the last white inhabitants at Norridgewoc, it became us therefore to proceed cautiously. A circumspection was adopted, which though prudent in the predicament we were in, appeared to be rather harsh to the feelings; the firing of a gun was inhibited; though the weather was chilling, we dared scarcely make a smoke at night. Angling for trout and chub in the morning and evening, made up our stock of fresh food. We frequently saw ducks, &c. and many moose-deer, yet we discharged not a gun; in truth we had been made to believe, that this country had numerous Indians in it.

The party proceeded without molestation, but from natural rock, and a strict current (by the 27th of September,) to the twelve-mile carrying-place. Here a new scene opened. Our guides professed that neither of them had ever been north of this place across the carrying-place, but Getchel alleged he had hunted to the east of the river.

Now we assumed the title of being our own guides, giving to Getchel due respect and attention for his information relative to the route north. He informed me that the course of the river which is injudiciously called the "Dead river" tended 60 or 100 miles northerly, took a short turn southwardly, and was then within 12 miles of us. That that part was full of rapids, and impassable to boats, or even canoes. We searched for the carrying-place, and found a path tolerably distinct, which we made more so by blazing the trees and snagging the bushes with our tomahawks; proceeding until evening, the party encamped at the margin of a small lake, perhaps about half a mile wide, where there was plenty of trout, which old Clifton, who was good at angling, caught in abundance. Here, in a conference on the subject, it was resolved that two persons of the party should remain, (with about one half of the provisions,) until the return of our main body, calculating the return would be in eight or ten days. It had been observed

that Clifton, being the oldest of the company, yet brave and a good shot, from the fatigues we had endured, had begun to flag. With the assent of our chief, the younger part of us proposed to him to remain where we then were, with the better part of the provisions. After considerable altercation he assented, on condition of his having a companion. The youngest of the party, nominated M'Konkey, who could not restrain his joy at the proposal. It was advised for them to retire to the south end of the pond, perhaps a mile, and there, as in a perfect recess, remain concealed; knowing M'Konkey, the consequences were foreseen. After the accomplishment of this affair, lieutenant Steele parted the provision appropriated for the marchers not by pounds or ounces, my dear children but by "whose shall be this." Some of you have been taught how this is done, if, you should have forgotten, it will be well now to tell you of it. The principal of the party, if he is a gentleman and man of honor, divides the whole portion equally into as many parts as there are men including himself; this is done under the eyes of all concerned, and with their approbation, the officer then directs some one of the company to turn his back upon him, and laying his hand on a particular portion, asks "whose shall be this?" The answer is hap-hazard, A. S. &c. or any other of the party. It has frequently occurred, that we were compelled to divide the necessaries of life in this way, and it could not be fairly said, that any fraud or circumvention took place.

September 28th, we left Clifton and his companion in a most dreary wild, but with enough to support them; and if they would act honorably, to assist us. A laughable occurrence ensued. Sergeant Boyd and myself had, that day, the charge of unloading and loading the canoes, which, as customarily, being very light and easily blown off shore by a puff of wind, were drawn half their lengths on the beach; we ran a race who should perform his duty soonest—he arrived first. Taking up his canoe suddenly, but hoping to have a better stand than the shore presented, he set his foot on a large bed of moss seemingly firm, and sunk ten feet into as cold water, while fluid, as was ever touched. We soon passed the pond, found the path, marked it, and came, at the end of several miles, to a second pond, if my recollection serves, larger than the former: traversing this, we encamped more cautiously than ever. On the next day, pursuing the path, and marking it, a third pond of small diameter was presented to our view. Passing this, by the evening we encamped on the north-bank of the *Dead-river*.

This river, which is nothing more than an extension of the Kennebec, is called by this remarkable name, because a current, a few miles below the place we were now at, and for many

miles above it, is imperceptible. It is deep and perhaps two hundred and fifty yards wide. The ground we footed within the last three days, is a very rugged isthmus, which forms the great bend of the Kennebec. Coming from the high ground towards the Dead-river, we passed a bog which appeared, before we entered it, as a beautiful plat of firm ground, level as a bowling green, and covered by an elegant green moss That day, to save my shoes for severer service, mockasins had been put in their place. Ever step we made, sunk us knee-deep in a bed of wet turf. My feet were pained and lacerated by the snags of the dead pines, a foot and more below the surface of the moss; these and many other occurrences, which happened afterwards, convinced me more than reading could, of the manner of the formation of turf. Sometimes, to lighten the canoes when ascending strict water, several of us would disembark, and proceed along shore, and on many occasions, traverse a point of land to save distance. Doing this, we often met with what we thought a flat ground covered by moss. Entering the parterre, as it might be called, and running along that which we found to be a log covered with moss, the moisture on the log, would cause a foot to slip—down we would come, waist deep in a bed of wet moss; such incidents always created a laugh. A spark, if these beds of moss had been dry, as they were wet, would have made a dreadful conflagration: the upper country seemed throughout as if covered with it. To the south and west of the bog first mentioned, there was a natural meadow of great extent. On the west it reached, seemingly, to the foot of the mountains several miles off. A beautiful creek serpentined through it and formed a convenient harbor and landing place, opposite to our camp, and directly to which the Indian path led us.

The timber trees of this, are in a great measure different from those of our country Here are neither oaks, hickories, poplars, maples or locust; but there is a great variety of other kinds of excellent timber, such as the white and yellow pines, hemlock, cedar, cypress, and all the species of the firs. These trees, in the low grounds, grow to a very large size, on the hills, as we approach northwardly, they seem to dwindle, particularly as we come to the "heighth of land;" but again rise to a superb height, as we descend into the intervale, on the streams running into Canada. Among the trees of this country, there are two which deserve particular notice, because of their remarkable qualities. These are the balsams fir, (Canada balsam, Balm of Gilead fir, or *balsamum Canadense pinus balsomea:* which produces the purest turpentine,) and the yellow birch. The first, as its vulgar name imports, yields a bal-

samic liquid, which has been, and perhaps now is, much esteemed by the medical profession. The bark is smooth, except that there are a vast number of white and lucid protuberance upon it, of the size of a finger or thumb nail, bulging from the surface of the bark. This tree grows to the size of from 15 to 20 inches in diameter. From the essays made, it seemed to me that a vial containing a gill, might be filled in the space of an hour. Getchel, our guide, taught me its use. In the morning when we rose placing the edge of a broad knife at the under side of the blister, and my lips at the opposite part, on the back of the knife, which was declined, the liquor flowed into my mouth freely. It was heating and cordial to the stomach, attended by an agreeable pungency. This practice, which we adopted, in all likelihood, contributed to the preservation of health. For though much wet weather ensued, and we lay often on low and damp ground, and had very many successions of cold atmosphere, it does not now occur to me, that any one of us was assailed by sickness, during this arduous excursion. The yellow birch is useful in many particular instances to the natives. They form the body of the tree into setting-poles, paddles, spoons and ladles. The bark, its better property, serves as a covering for the frame of the canoe, much in the same manner as the Esquimaux and Greenlanders apply the seal skin. To you it may appear to be a strange assertion, but to me it seems true, that the birch-bark canoe is the most ingenious piece of mechanism, man in a rude state is capable of performing. This bold idea requires a disclosure of the means and the manner of the work, which shall be done before I leave the subject.* From the bark of yellow-birch, the Indian also

*The birch-bark-canoe, as intimated before, in the body of the work, is not only a curious, but a most ingenious machine. So far as my descriptive powers extend, you shall have its construction, described in writing, but without the aid of the pencil, it seems to be almost impossible to convey to you a just and accurate comprehension, of the distinct parts of this beautiful piece of water-craft. Having had several opportunities to observe the manner of the formation of the birch bark canoe, in its various stages, a description of its sections may not be disagreeable to you. In the construction of the canoe, the bow and stern pieces are separate frames, alike in dimensions, and made of cedar, cypress, or any other light wood; yet very light, and so well or tightly bound by tenons, as to require a considerable effort to break them. These bow and stern pieces, suppose a canoe of ten, or even fifty feet, are connected by laths, with that which I have called gunwales, (gunnels,) correspondent in size with the intended length of the canoe. These gunwales are made from the toughest and best of the timber that the country produces. The gun-wales are strongly secured to the head and stern by tenons and the cedar root in a most neat

forms bowls, and baskets of a most beautiful construction, and it even serves as a wrapper for any nice matter which it is wished to keep securely, much in the manner we use brown wrapping paper. The appearance of the yellow-birch tree at a distance, is conspicuous. Approaching near it, in the autumn, it seems involved in rolls, something resembling large circular rounds of parchment, or yellow paper. There is in my mind no question, but that among a numerous and industrious people, such as the Chinese, this indigenous pro-

and strong manner. The ribs of the canoe, according to its size, are from two to five inches in diameter, of the straightest cedar, or fir, without knots, closely fitted together, side by side, and well sewed by means of an awl to the gun-wales. This frame is covered with the yellow-birch-rind, an eighth, a sixth, or a fourth of an inch thick. This bark, when applied to canoes, is from two to four feet in length; commensurate with the extension of the bow and stern from each other. Each part of this bark, where the seams meet, is nicely sewed together by the split cedar root, these seams are then pitched over in a ridge, by a hard pitch, in the width of perhaps an inch or more, so as to make the vessel, truly that which seaman call water-tight. But to this clumsy attempt to describe to you a boat, which you have never seen, and perhaps never will see, it seems requisite to add another observation. The bark which encircles the bottom of the canoe, is strongly attached to the gun-wales by cedar root, much in the same manner as I have seen you threading wire, for the making of artificial flowers. This bark, thus prepared and applied, speaking comparatively, (great with small,) is a much stronger material, than your thread, either of flax or silk. The gunwale was as neatly laced by the cedar, and almost as ornamental, and equally strong in texture, as the canes we sometimes see from India, covered with splits of ratteen, or some other pliant plant, of southern growth. The paddles are uniformly made of ash, where it can be obtained, but most usually of birch, or even of softer wood, in this part of Canada. Many of the paddles which I saw, were double-bladed, that is a blade at each end of the handle or pole, and in the hands of a strong person would be from its formation, apparently as light as a feather. The pushing-pole was of the same kind of materials, but light, and if iron could be had, was shod at the but-end. The rapid and rocky rivers which those poor people the Indians, must ascend and descend in their hunting excursions, and which they do with inconceivable dexterity, requires a quickness of motion of the body, particularly the arms, which is truly astonishing. The paddle, at this moment used on the right, and then instantly cast on the left hand of the canoe, requires a celerity of action which none but such as are used to those exercises dare undertake. In those instances the double-bladed paddle, saves half the time which would be employed by the single bladed, in these arduous but necessary labours. Activity and agility, from the circumstances, of the precariousness of an Indian life, and their manner of subsisting

duct would become an article of general use in various ways. The bark, when taken from the tree, may be obtained lengthwise of the tree, from one to four feet in breadth, and of a length equal to the circumference. It is sometimes white with a yellowish cast, but more usually of a pale, and sometimes of a deep gold colour. It is partible, when ever so thick, into the most filmy sheets. The Indians, for canoes, use it of the thickness of from a fourth, down to the eighth of an inch, according to the size of the vessel. Curiosity and convenience, made us reduce it often to a filmy, by no means thicker or more substantial, than the silky paper we obtain from India. It serves equally well for the pencil as paper. Ink however, flows upon it.—In the course of time a medium may be discovered to preclude this inconvenience—this bark will preserve better than paper.

The company, not apprehending the reverses which fortune had in store for them, left the encampment (September 30th) full of courage and hope, though a strong drift of snow, which whitened all the surrounding hills, had fallen during the night. Having smooth water, we paddled away merrily, probably for thirty miles. Getchel, besides his *sheer* wisdom, possessed a large fund of knowledge, concerning the country, which he had derived from the aborigines, and much humorous anecdote, with which, in spite of our privations, he made us laugh. It was omitted to be mentioned, that before we left our last encampment, it became a resolution of the whole party, that the pork in the possession of each one, should be eaten raw, and to eat but in the morning and evening. As we could not obtain food, in this miserable portion of the globe, even for

become in their education a primary parental motive; without those qualities, an Indian can never acquire fame, and is often starved.

It often re-exhilirates my mind, when reflecting on the waywardness and unhappiness of my life, to remember the occurrences, (July 1773,) in a part of a days journey from the windlass of the old carrying place, on the south side of the river, west of Niagara, by a path which led us to a celebrated fountain, a little below the brow of the hill, called Mount Pleasant, and thence to the falls. My youthful imagination was greatly excited. The company consisted of a French gentleman, my uncle John Henry, and myself. The Frenchman was a trader who had but just arrived from the Illinois country, and had dealt beyond the Mississippi. When we came to Stedman's, his canoe, attended by three or four *couriers de bois*, lay on the beach turned upside down, with an immense number of packs of beaver, press-packed, strewed around, perhaps the whole might have been 3000 lb. wt. The canoe was of birch, fifty feet in length, most beautifully made, its breadth was probably from six to seven feet in the middle, I examined with a curiosity, such as a boy of my age might possess.

money, if we had it, and having nothing else than our arms and our courage to depend on: unacquainted with the true distance of our expedition, for we had neither map nor chart, yet, resolved to accomplish our orders at the hazard of our lives—we prudently began to hoard our provision; half a biscuit and half an inch square of raw pork, became this evening's meal. The days journey brought us to the foot of a rapid, which convinced us that the term "Dead-river," was much misapplied. The night was spent, not upon feathers, but the branches of the fir or the spruce. It would astonish you, my dear children, if there was leisure to explain to you the many comforts and advantages, those trees afford to the way-worn traveller. Suffice it now to say we rested well.

October 1st. The morning brought on new labors. Our secondary guide and myself, thinking that we could manage the water, slipped into our canoe.—Getchel and another worked Steele's, while our companions, crossing the hill, marked the carrying-place. From our camp two-thirds at least of these rapids, were concealed from our view. In much danger, and by great exertion, we surmounted them, in less than an hour. Taking in our company, we had good water till the evening, when we were impeded by a precipitate fall of four feet. We encamped. October 2d. Carrying here, we had good water all the next day: Mere fatigue and great lassitude of body, most likely, in a good measure, owing to the want of food, caused us to sleep well. From cautionary motives our guns, though not uncared for, were considered as useless, in the way of obtaining food. Several of our company angled successfully for trout, and a delicious chub, which we call a fall-fish. This place became remarkable to me, as sometime afterwards, my friends general Simpson, Robert Dixon, and myself, were here at the point of death. This you will find in the sequel. Carrying a few perches around this precipice, we got into good water, and then performed a severe days labor.

October 3d. The evening brought us to our encampment, on the south side of the river. Angling was resorted to for food—Sergeant Boyd, observing low ground on the other side of the river, and an uncommon coldness in the water, passed over, and in an hour returned with a dozen trout, of extraordinary appearance. Long, broad and thick. The skin was of a very dark hue, beautifully sprinkled with deep crimson spots. Boyd had caught these in a large and deep spring-head. Contrasting them with those we caught in the river, they were evidently of a different species. The river trout, were of a pale ground, with pink spots, and not so flat or broad. The next day, proceeding onward, we here and there met with rough

water. In the evening we were told, that on the next day, we probably should arrive at the camp of Natanis, an Indian, whom our commander was instructed to capture or kill. Natanis was well known to the white inhabitants of the lower country: they knew from him the geographical position of his residence. The uninstructed Indian, if he possesses good sense, necessarily from his wanderings as a hunter, becomes a geographer. This good man (as we subsequently knew him to be) had been wrongfully accused to Arnold, as a spy, stationed on this river to give notice to the British government, of any party passing this way into Canada: hence that cruel order.

October 4th. We landed some miles below where we supposed his house was. Our canoes were brought upon the shore, and committed to the care of two of the party. We arrived at the house of Natanis, after a march, probably of three miles, over a flat country covered with pines, &c. Approaching on all sides with the utmost circumspection, we ran quickly to the cabin, our rifles prepared, and in full belief that we had caught Natanis. Some were persuaded, at the distance of 200 yards from the place, that they saw the smoke of his fire: But the bird was flown. He was wiser and more adroit, than his assailants, as you will afterwards learn. The house was prettily placed on a bank twenty feet high, about twenty yards from the river, and a grass plat extended around, at more than shooting distance for a rifle, free from timber and brushwood. The house, for an Indian cabin, was clean and tight, with two doors, one fronting the river, the other on the opposite side. We found many articles of Indian fabrication, evidently such as would not be totally abandoned by the owner: besides, it was remarked, that the coals on the hearth, from their appearance, had been burning at least within a week past. These notions did not allay our apprehensions of meeting with Indian enemies. The canoes, in the meantime, having been brought up, we embarked and proceeded with alacrity. This afternoon, in a course of some miles, we came to a stream flowing from the West, or rather the northwest. As we were going along in uncertainty, partly inclined to take the westerly stream, one of the party fortunately saw a strong stake, which had been driven down at the edge of the water, with a piece of neatly folded birch-bark, inserted into a split at the top. The bark, as it was placed, pointed up the westerly stream, which at its mouth, seemed to contain more water than that of our true course. Our surprize and attention, was much heightened, when opening the bark, we perceived a very perfect delineation of the streams above us, with several marks which must have denoted the hunting camps, or real abodes

of the map-maker. There were some lines, in a direction from the head of one branch to that of another, which we took to be the course of the paths, which the Indians intended to take that season. This map we attributed to Natanis, if not his, to his brother Sabatis, who, as we afterwards knew, lived about seven miles up this westerly stream. For when our party, after returning to the twelve-mile carrying-place, had again re-ascended the river, we were told, by the crew of one of Morgan's boats, that they had mistaken the westerly stream as the due route, and had found deserted cabins at the distance already mentioned, and the property of the late inhabitants, placed in a kind of close cages, made of birch-bark in the forks of the trees; these they most iniquitously plundered. Venison, corn, kettles, &c. were the product. Inspecting the map thus acquired, we pursued our journey fearlessly. Now the river became narrower and shallower. The strength of each of us, was exerted at poling or paddling the canoes. Some strict water interfered, but in a few days, we came to the first pond, at the head of the Dead-river. October 7th. This first pond, in the course of the traverse we made, might be about a mile, or a little more, in diameter. Here, on a small island, scarcely containing one-fourth of an acre, we discovered and ate, a delicious species of cranberry, entirely new to us. It grew upon a bush from ten to twelve feet high, the stock of the thickness of the thumb, and the fruit was as large as a Mayduke cherry. In the course of one or two miles, we reached a second pond. Between this pond and the third, we carried; the communication, though not long, was too shallow for our canoes. The carrying-place was excessively rugged, and in high water, formed a part of the bed of the stream. The country around us, had now become very mountainous and rough. Several of these mountains seemed to stand on insulated bases, and one in particular, formed a most beautiful cone, of an immense height. We rested for the evening.

October 8th. Being near the *heighth of land*, which divides the waters of New-England, from those of Canada, which run into the St. Lawrence. The weather in consequence of the approaching winter, had become piercingly cold. My wardrobe, was scanty and light. It consisted of a roundabout jacket, of wollen, a pair of half worn buckskin breeches, two pair of wollen stockings, (bought at Newbery-port,) a hat with a feather, a hunting-shirt, leggins, a pair of mockasins, and a pair of tolerably good shoes, which had been closely hoarded.

We set out early, yet jovially. We entered a lake surrounded by high and craggy mountains, and perpendicular rocks of very considerable altitude, which about eleven

o'clock, A. M. cast us in a dusky shade. Pulling the paddle, as for life, to keep myself warm, some trifling observation, which fell from me, relative to the place we were in, such as its resemblance to the vale of death, which drew the attention of the company: Getchel, in his dry way, turning toward me, said "Johnny, you look like a blue leather whet-stone." The simplicity and oddity of the expression, and the gravity of his manner, caused great merriment at my expense, it was enjoyed on my part, certain that it was not an expression of dis-esteem, but affection, for the man liked me. These minim tales and jejune occurrences, are related to convey to your minds, an idea, how men of true spirit will *beard* death in every shape, even, at times, with laughter, to effectuate a point of duty which is considered as essential to the welfare of their country. Thus we went on, incessantly laboring, without sustenance, until we came, about 3 o'clock, to the extreme end of a fifth and the last lake. This day's voyage might amount to fifteen or twenty miles.

On this lake, we obtained a full view of those hills which were then, and are now, called the "Heighth of land." It made an impression upon us, that was really more chilling, than the air which surrounded us. We hurried ashore—drew out our canoes, and covered them with leaves and brush-wood. This done, with our arms in our hands, and our provision in our pockets, we made a race across the mountain, by an Indian path, easily ascertainable, until we arrived on the bank of the Chaudiere river. The distance is about five miles, counting the rising and descent of the hill as two. This was the acme of our desires. To discover and know the course of this river, was the extent of our orders: beyond it, we had nothing to do. Our chief, wishing to do everything a good officer could, to forward the service, asked, if any one could climb a tree, around the foot of which we then stood? It was a pine of considerable height, without branches for forty feet; Robert Cunningham, a strong athletic man, about twenty-five years old presented himself. In almost the twinkling of an eye, he climbed the tree. He fully discerned the meandering course of the river, as upon a map, and even descried the lake Chaudiere, at the distance of fourteen or fifteen miles. The country around and between us and the lake, was flat. Looking westward, he observed a smoke; intimating this to us, from the tree where he sat, we plainly perceived it. Cunningham came down; the sun was setting seemingly in a clear sky.

Now our return commenced—It so occurred, that I was in the rear, next to Getchel, who brought it up. We ran in single file, and while it was light, it was observed by me, as we

tried to stride into the footsteps of the leader, that he covered the track with his feet; this was no mean duty. It required the courage, the vigour, and the wisdom, which designates genuine manhood. Our object was to be concealed from a knowledge of any one who might communicate our presence there, to the Canadian government. The race was urged, and become more rapid by the indications of a most severe storm of rain; we had scarcely more than gotten half way up the hill, when the shower came down in most tremendous torrents. The night became dark as pitch; we groped the way across the ridge, and in descending, relied on the accuracy of our leader, we continued with speed. The precipice was very steep; a root, a twig perhaps, caught the buckle of my shoe: —tripped—I came down head foremost, unconscious how far, but perhaps twenty or thirty feet. How my gun remained unbroken, it is impossible to say. When I recovered, it was in my hands. My companions had out-stripped me. Stunned by the fall, feeling for the path with my feet, my arrival at the canoe-place was delayed, till ten at night, an hour and more later than my friends. An erection called a tent, but more correctly a wigwam, was made in the hurry with forks, and cross-poles, covered by the branches of fir. It rained incessantly all that night. If the clothes we wore had been dry, they would have become wet—so we laid down in all those we had on. Sleep came to my eyes, notwithstanding the drippings of the pelting storm, through the humble roof.

October 9th. We arose before day. The canoes were urged suddenly into the water, it still rained hard, and at day light we thought of breakfasting. Gracious God! what was our fare? What could we produce for such a feast? Rummaging my breeches pockets, I found a solitary biscuit and an inch of pork. Half of the biscuit was devoted to the breakfast, and so also by each person, and that was consumed in the canoes as we paddled over the lake. The rain had raised the lake, and consequently the outlets about four feet. We slided glibly along, over passages where a few days previously, we had toted our canoes. At the outlet of the fourth lake, counting as we came up, a small duck appeared within shooting distance. It was a *diver*, well known in our country—a thing which we *here* contemn. Knowing the value of animal food, in our predicament, several of us fired at the *diver*: Jesse Wheeler, however, (who all acknowledged as an excellent shot,) struck it with his ball. A shout of joy arose—the little diver was safely deposited in our canoe. We went on quickly, without accident, till the evening, probably traversing a space of more than forty miles. At night-fall we halted, weary and without tasting food

since morning. Boyd and Cunningham, who were right-hand-men on most occasions, soon kindled a fire against a fallen tree. An occurrence this evening took place, which my dear children you will hardly credit, but which (permit me to assure you) is sacredly true; the company sat themselves gloomily around this fire. The cooks, according to routine, (whether our chief or others,) picked the duck, and when picked and gutted, it was brought to the fireside. Here it became a question, how to make the most of our stock of provisions. Finally it was concluded to boil the duck in our camp-kettle, together with each man's bit of pork, distinctly marked by running a small skewer of wood through it, with his particular and private designation. That the broth thus formed, should be the supper, and the duck on the ensuing morning should be the breakfast, and which should be distributed by "whose shall be this." Strange as this tale may appear to you, in these times; the agreement was religiously performed. Being young, my appetite was ravenous, as that of a wolf, but honor bound the stomach tightly.

We rose early, and each person selected his bit of pork, which made but a single mouthful;—there was no controversy. The diver was parted most fairly into ten shares, each one eyeing the integrity of the division. Lieutenant Steele causing the "turning of the back," the lottery gave me a victory over my respectable friend Cunningham. His share, was the head and the feet, mine one of the thighs. Hungry and miserable as we were, even this was sport to our thoughtless minds. In fact, we were sustained by a flattering hope, that we should soon meet our friends "the army."

Setting out early on the 10th of October, by the evening we had made nearly fifty miles. The bit of pork and the rest of the biscuit became my supper. My colleagues were similarly situated. The morning sun saw us without any food. We did not despond. The consolatory idea, that on that or the next day, we should certainly join the army, infused energy into our minds and bodies. Yet being without food, though we loved each other, every endearment which binds man to man, was as it were forgotten, in a profound silence. After a long day's journey still we were supperless.

The succeeding morning, (11th,) starting early, we ran at a monstrous rate. The waters by additional rains above, had risen greatly. By ten or eleven o'clock A. M. we observed a great smoke before us, which from its extent, we could ascribe to nothing else, than the encampment of the army, our friends and fellow soldiers. After some time, the light canoe, several hundred yards before us, (with Steele and Getchel in it,) passed

between the forks of a tree, which lay rooted in the middle of the stream, where most likely it had lain for many years. All its branches had been worn away by the annual frictions of the ice or waters, except those which formed the fork, and those stood directly against the current, nearly a foot out of water, and ten or more feet apart. Seeing our friends pass through safely, and being unconscious that we were worse or less adventurous watermen than they were, we risked it. We ran with great velocity. My good Irishman steered. By an unlucky stroke of some one of our paddles, (for each of us had one,) but from his situation and power over the vessel it was fairly attributable to the steersman, the canoe was thrown a little out of its true course, just as it was entering the prongs of the fork. Trifling as this may appear to you, to us it was the signal of death. One of the prongs took the right hand side of the canoe, within six inches of the bow, immediately below the gunwhale. Quick as lightning that side of the canoe was laid open from stem to stern, and water was gushing in upon us, which would inevitably have sunk us in a second of time, but for that interference of Providence, which is atheistically called presence of mind, otherwise a host of men could not have saved us from a watery grave. Instinctively leaning to the left, we sunk the gunwale of that side down to the water's edge, by which we raised the broken side an inch and more out of it. Calling loudly to our companions ahead, they soon saw our distress and put in, at the great smoke. Carefully and steadily sitting, and gently paddling, many hundred yards, we landed safely. Here was no army, no friends, no food, —only a friendly fire, kindled by ourselves as we ascended the river: it had been our camp. The fire we had made had scarcely more than smoked, but now it had crept into the turfy soil, and among the roots of trees, and was spread over half an acre. Our situation was truly horrible. When we had examined the broken canoe, and had rummaged both for the means of mending it, every heart seemed dismayed. Our birch-bark and pitch, had been exhausted in former repairs,—we were without food,—perhaps one hundred miles from the army, or perhaps that army had returned to New England. That sensation of the mind called "The horrors," seemed to prevail. Getchel alone was really sedate and reflective. He ordered the other guide to search for birch-bark, whilst he would look among the pines for turpentine. We followed the one or the other of these worthies, according to our inclinations, and soon returned with those desirable materials. The cedar root was in plenty under our feet. Now a difficulty occurred, which had been unforeseen, and which was seemingly destruc-

tive of all hope. This was the want of fat or oil of every kind, with which to make the turpentine into pitch. A lucky thought occurred to the youngest of the company, that the pork bag, lay empty and neglected, in one of the canoes. The thought and the act of bringing it were instantaneous. The bag was ripped, and as if it had been so much gold dust, we scraped from it about a pint of dirty fat. Getchel now prepared an abundance of pitch. The cedar root gave us twine. The canoe was brought up to the fire. We found every rib except a few at the extreme points, actually torn from the gunwale. All hands set to work—two hours afterwards, the canoe was borne to the water.

We embarked, and proceeding cautiously, as we thought, along the shore, (for we dared not yet, with our craggy vessel, venture into deep water,) a snag, standing up stream, struck through the bottom of the canoe. This accident happened about five hundred yards from the fire. We put back with heavy hearts and great difficulty—our friends followed. It took an hour to patch the gap. The cup of sorrow was not yet full. As the men were bearing the wounded canoe to the water, sergeant Boyd who paddled in the small canoe, which was drawn up as usual, taking hold of the bow raised it waist high (as was right) intending to slide it gently into the water—the bank was steep and slipp'ry. Oh! my dear children, you cannot conceive the dread and horror the succeeding part of this scene produced in our minds: Mr. Boyd's feet slipped—the canoe fell from his hands—its own weight falling upon the cavity, formed by the declivity of the bank and the water—broke it in the centre, into two pieces, and which were held together by nothing but the gunwales. Now absolute despair for the first time seized me. A thought came across my mind, that the Almighty had destined us to die of hunger, in this inhospitable wilderness. The recollection of my parents, my brothers and sister, and the clandestine and cruel manner of my deserting them, drew from me some hidden, yet burning tears, and much mental contrition. This was unknown, unseen and unheard of by any, but he who is present every where, knows every thing, and sees our inmost thoughts. Getchel, (comparing small things with great, who much resembled Homer's description of Ulysses, in his person, and whose stayed and sober wisdom and foresight, also bore a likeness to the talents of that hero,) resigned, yet thoughtful and active, instantly went to work. The canoe was brought to the fire, and placed in a proper posture for the operation. The lacerated parts were neatly brought together, and sewed with cedar root. A large ridge of pitch, as is customary in the construction of this kind of

water craft, was laid over the seam to make it water-tight. Over the seam a patch of strong bark a foot in width, and of a length sufficient to encircle the bottom, even to the gunwales, was sewed down at the edges and pitched. Again over the whole of the work, it was thought prudent to place our pork bag, which was well saturated with liquid fat. It was a full yard wide, and was laid down in the same manner. This work which was laborious nearly consumed the rest of the day.

We set out not withstanding the lateness of the hour, and would it is likely have gone all night, well knowing the water below to be good, but for an enlivening occurrence, which soon after happened. Hunger drove us along at a cautious but rapid rate. The sterility of the country above, had afforded us no game, neither moose, bear nor wolf: nothing in short, but the diver, and a red pine squirrel, which was too small and quick to be killed by a bullet. These squirrels did not much exceed in size our striped ground squirrel. About dusk the lieutenant's canoe, four hundred yards before us, had within view, turned a sharp point of land, when we heard the crack of a rifle, and presently another and a huzzza. Apprehending an attack from an enemy, we pulled hard to be enabled to sustain our friends. In a moment or two, observing them pulling for the north shore, which was steep, we looked up it for the enemy. Good Heavens! what a sight! We saw a moose-deer, falling on the top of the bank. A cry of exultation seemed to burst the narrow valley of the river. Steele had struck the deer in the flank, as it was leaving the water, but it sprung up the bank with agility. Wheeler, with better fortune for us all, pierced its heart as it arrived at the top. Seeing this you can scarcely imagine the celerity of our movements. We were ashore in a moment. A fire was kindled, the secondary guide cut off the nose, and upper lip of the animal, instantly, and had it on the fire. What a feast! But we were prudent. We sat up all night, selecting the fat and tit-bits—frying, boiling, roasting and broiling, but carefully eating little at a time. Towards morning, we slept a few hours, absolutely careless of consequences. We knew that we had arrived in a land where game was plentiful, and where there were no foes superior to our number to oppose us,

Oct. 12. We arose after sunrise, and began according to practice, to examine and prepare our guns. Prepared, mine, was placed against a tree; my duty, in course, was of the culinary kind. George Merchant, my coadjutor, had gone to the river for water. He ran back seized his own gun, and intimated that a bull moose was swimming across the river towards the camp. We jumped to our arms—it so happened that my sta-

tion was rearward. The enormous animal was coming towards us, and not more than fifty paces off, his head and horns only above water. The sight was animating. Wheeler and some others fired at his head, but without effect. The extreme desire they had to possess so noble a prey, probably caused a tremor of the hand, or that part of his body was impenetrable to our small balls, which is most likely. The moose turned and swam to the opposite bank. Having got to the verge of the river, his emerging was awaited. My ball struck precisely where it ought to kill. The huge animal rose the bank by several boggling leaps, but seemed unknowing which way to run—We thought he would fall. Wheeler, and some others, getting into the canoes, pursued him by his blood half a mile. When Wheeler returned, he overloaded me with praises for the accuracy of the shot, and was confident that the deer was killed. We had no time to spare. We feasted till noon, and in the intermediate moments, culled the entrails for the fat: we even broke the bones, and extracted the marrow, under the full persuasion, that food of an oily nature, is one of the strongest mainstays of human life. Of this principle, if we had a doubt, we were shortly afterwards, most irrefragably convinced. We departed from our camp joyously, untortured by the fear of starving: our canoe sunk deep by the weight of our venison. Running some miles and suddenly doubling a point we saw a large grey wolf sitting on his haunches—he was fired at, but the distance was too great,—He escaped. Looking down the river we saw a moose swimming from the main to an island—it was soon brought down. It proved to be young—of about 300 weight. Its ears and flanks were much torn by the wolf. This prize constituted veal in our larder. The choice parts were deposited in the canoes—the residue was at the disposal of the wolf.

The following morning, (October 13th,) embarking early, after noon we arrived at our first encamping ground on the "Dead river," in good health and spirits, though pallid and weak, for the want of substantial food in due quantity.

By this time the fat and marrow, of the animals we had killed, were exhausted, and our stock of salt had been long since expended. One who has never been deprived of bread and salt nor known the absence of oleaginous substances in his food cannot make a true estimate of the invaluable benefits of such ingredients, in the sustentation of the bodily frame; nor of the extremity of our corporeal debility.

We ascended the bank, which is steep, and about fourteen feet high, carrying our baggage, arms and venison, leisurely, by piecemeal. The canoes, as being too heavy for our strength,

were secured below, in the water, by withes. It was immediately concluded to preserve our provisions by jerking. This operation is done by slicing the meat into thin strips. Then driving four forks into the earth, in a square position, at the required distance perpendicularly, and laying poles from fork to fork, and poles athwart from pole to pole. A rack is thus made, about four feet high, on which the sliced meat is laid, and smoke-fires are made underneath. This duty was soon performed. We now began to look about us, and discuss the subject of our return to the army, which we had, before this time, persuaded ourselves we should meet at this place. The non-appearance of the army and our distress, induced a conclusion that we were deserted, and abandoned to a disastrous fate, the inevitable result of which would be, a sinking into eternity for want of food, for though we might have killed more deer, the vigour of our bodies was so reduced, that we were convinced that that kind of food, could not restore us to our wonted energy, and enable us to perform so rugged and long a march, as that to the frontiers of Maine. The notion of navigating the river, was scouted as a fallacy, because we did not possess a sufficient degree of bodily force, to bear the canoes across the twelve-mile carrying-place. As, in the case of the retreat of the army, we had determined to follow, it became requisite to finish the jerking, which would take six days, to make it the more portable, for our feebleness, and preservable if we should have wet weather on the march. It was further concluded "That lieutenant Steele, Getchel and Wheeler, should immediately proceed on foot across the twelve-mile-carrying-place, to meet the army: If they did meet it, that they should return to us with supplies by the end of three days, but in all events to return." Having no doubt of the honor of those gentlemen, the rest of the party remained, cheerfully jerking the meat. Now we experienced the full extent of a new species of starving. Having neither bread, nor salt, nor fat of any kind, every day we remained here, we became more and more weak and emaciated. We had plenty of meat, both fresh and dried, of which we ate four, five and six times a day, in every shape we had the means of dressing it. Though we gorged the stomach, the appetite was unsatiated. Something like a diarrhœa ensued, which contributed to the imbecility of our bodies. Bears oil would have made our venison savoury, but such an aimal as a bear, we had as yet not seen in all our wanderings. On the evening of the fourth day, we looked out for our absent companions with much heartfelt anxiety. They came not. In the morning of the next day, we consulted upon the question whether we should follow the army. A ma-

jority voted for staying a few days longer to complete the jerking. To shew you the great bodily weakness we were brought to, it may be proper to relate the following anecdote as more evincive of the fact, than any other method which might be adopted, to bring it fully to your minds. Sergeant Boyd (the strongest and stoutest man of the party, and perhaps of the army,) and myself, taking our arms, descended into a canoe, and passed the river, to the mouth of the creek before mentioned, intending to go to the next pond on the carrying-place, there to meet, as we hoped, the advance of the army. We staggered along through the plain, falling every now and then, if our toes but touched a twig or tuft of grass. Thus going forward, we arrived at the edge of the moss-bog, which is mentioned as we ascended the river, and which is one and a half, or two miles from the pond. Here my worthy friend Boyd, unable to proceed, sunk down upon a log. My seat, in tears of excruciating grief, was taken beside him, endeavoring to infuse comfort and courage into his manly mind—it was in vain. The debility of his body had disarmed his courageous soul. Every art in my power was exercised to induce him to pass the bog—he would not listen to me on that subject. Melancholy of the desperate kind oppressed me. Convinced that the army had retreated, a prognostication resulted in my mind, that we should all die of mere debility in these wilds. We sat an hour. At length we agreed to return to our camp, though it was yet early in the afternoon. Our companions were pleased to see us, thinking our coming so soon, indicated good news, but a gloom of desperation followed. As a last effort to save our lives, we all agreed to pass the river the next morning and follow the army, which we were now assured, had returned to Fort-Western. Each one put into his knapsack, as much of our mawkish food, as he could conveniently carry.

Oct. 17. We started early, passed the river, but from mere inability to carry our canoes, left them behind us, at the bank of the creek. Marching forward, as fast as our feeble limbs would carry us. When we came to the log where Boyd had seated himself, we were filled with extatic joy to observe, on the far side of the bog, a party of pioneers forming a causeway for the passage of the army. Our strength redoubled—we passed the bog with considerable speed. Our wan and haggard faces, and meagre bodies, and the monstrous beards of my companions, who had neglected to carry a razor with them, seemed to strike a deep sorrow into the hearts of the pioneers. They gave us a little of their food, but what exhilerated us more, was the information, that major Febiger with the ad-

vance-guard, lay at the next pond. We urged forward as fast as we could. Arriving at his fire a little before my company, an incapacity to stand compelled me to sit. Febiger, in a hurried manner, asked who we were? and from whence we came? A few words explained the mystery and cause of our distress. A glistening tear stood in this brave soldier's eye. As it were with a sudden and involuntary motion and much tenderness, he handed me his wooden canteen, (which contained the last spirits in the army,) from me it passed to Cunningham, who had just come up, the most ghastly and way-worn figure in nature, from him it went round to the rest, who arrived gradually, but slowly. The heart of Febiger seemed overjoyed at the relief he had, and could afford us. The liquor had restored our fainting spirits, but this was not enough for his generosity to exhibit. He requested us to take seats around the fire, and wait the boiling of his kettle, which was well replenished with pork and dumplins. This was all devoted to our use, accompanied by an open heartedness and the kindest expressions of interest for our sufferings, and regard for our perseverance in our duty as military men. This meal to all of us seemed a renewal of life. It was accustomed food. Febiger, ere this time, was unknown to us, but in the process of events, he acquired our esteem and entire confidence, as a friend and a real soldier. Our more immediate and intimate friends, were still beyond the pond, but coming forward. By-and-by Morgan came, large, a commanding aspect, and stentorian voice. He wore leggins, and a cloth in the Indian style. His thighs, which were exposed to view, appeared to have been lacerated by the thorns and bushes. He knew our story from Steele and Wheeler, and greeted us kindly. We now found ourselves at home, in the bosom of a society of brave men, with whom we were not only willing, but anxious to meet the brunts of war. This was the twenty-sixth day we had been absent from the army. In the evening we resumed our stations in our respective messes. It was now fully explained to us, why Steele had not brought us relief. He had met the advance of the army on the Kennebeck side of the carrying-place. Always alert and indefatigable, when any duty was to be done: the labours of the men in carrying boats, barrels of flour, &c. were intolerable, and required the strength and athletic exertions of the officers, and particularly such as lieutenant Steele, to enliven them in their duty. In bearing a heavy burden over rugged ground, he fell and sprained or dislocated his shoulder. Notwithstanding this accident, he had sent us supplies, but the bearers, either from cowardice or other cause, never came near us. Getchel and Wheeler had other duties to attend to—

they were under immediate command. We also discovered from Steele, that Clifton and M'Konkey, soon after we left them, had deserted their post, carrying all they could on their backs, to meet the army.—The dastardly vices of the latter, prevailing over the known courage, good sense, and sedate age, of the former: nothing occurs to me contributory to the fame of these men afterwards. The first was an invalid, the latter a catiff coward. In your scanning the characters of men, which you will be compelled to do in your own defence, in the course of your lives, it will be a good general rule for you to adopt: That whether you be in the company of military men—scholars—men of the law—legislators, &c. &c. in short, persons of any profession or class, if you find a person very loquacious—*dragging* the conversation to himself, and in a dictatorial way taking the lead; but more especially if he talks of his own prowess—deep reading—causes he has gained—eloquence, &c. &c. but still more so if the party boasts of wealth or ancestry. In the first instance, without hesitation, set such a person down in your memory as a braggadocio, a mere puffer, until you can inquire further for proof to the contrary. There are, to my knowledge, exceptions to this general rule, but few in number, particularly in the military class. M'Konkey was of the puffing sect, and there never was a more consummate scoundrel and coward.

October 18th. Now we turned our faces towards the north. Having rejoined our messmates, enjoying substantial food and warm tents, we soon recruited a good degree of strength, and our former gaiety of temper and hilarity returned to us. We accompanied the army, and became a kind of guides in minute matters, for the paths and carrying places we had sufficiently developed, for captain Ayres and his pioneers, by strong blazing and snagging of bushes, so that he might proceed in perfect security in the performance of the duties of his office. The three call companies of riflemen under Morgan took up our old encamping ground on the "Dead river," during the afternoon of the following day.

Oct. 19th & 20th. Here we lay encamped for several days, waiting the arrival of the rear of the New England troops: they came up hourly. During or stay here, it pleased me internally, to observe, that Morgan adopted certain rules of discipline, absolutely necessary to the state we were in, but discordant with the wild and extravagant notions, of our private men.*

*Morgan was a strict disciplinarian. Permit an anecdote. He had obtained the command of the rifle corps from Arnold, without any advertence to the better claim of Hendricks, who, though the youngest man was of the three captains, in point of rank, by the dates of

Powder and ball, particularly the first, to us riflemen was of the first consequence. At Cambridge the horns belonging to the men, were filled with an excellent rifle powder—which, when expended, could not be replaced in Canada by any powder of an equal quality. The men had got into a habit of throwing it away at every trifling object. Upon our return from the Chaudiere, this circumstance raised disgust in us: for we had been studiously careful of our ammunition, never firing but at some object which would give us the means of subsistence. Though we drew our loads every morning, from a fear of the dampness of the atmosphere, yet the ball and powder were never lost. Our bullet screws brought the first out with ease, and it was recast—the latter was carefully returned to the horn, where, if moist, it soon became dry. The principal of Morgan's rules were, that there should be no straggling from the camp;—and no firing without authoritative permission. Reasonable as these injunctions were, they were opposed. Being young and my friend Steele absent, a whisper of appro-

commissions, the superior officer. Hendricks, for the sake of peace in the army, and of good order, prudently and good naturedly acquiesced in his assumption of the command, for Morgan had seen more service in our former wars.

At this place, Morgan had given it out in orders that no one should fire. One Chamberlaine, a worthless fellow, who did not think it worth while to draw his bullet, had gone some hundreds of yards into the woods, and discharged his gun. Lieut. Steele happened to be in that quarter at the time; Steele had but arrived at the fire, where we sat, when Morgan, who had seen him coming, approached our camp, and seated himself within our circle. Presently Chamberlaine came, gun in hand, and was passing our fire, towards that of his mess. Morgan called to the soldier—accused him as the defaulter—this the man, (an arrant liar,) denied. Morgan appealed to Steele. Steele admitted he heard the report, but knew not the party who discharged the gun. Morgan suddenly springing to a pile of billets took one, and swore he would knock the accused down unless he confessed the fact. Instantly, Smith seized another billet, and swore he would strike Morgan if he struck the man. Morgan knowing the tenure of his rank, receded. This was the only spirited act I knew of Smith, Such were the rough-hewn characters, which, in a few subsequent years, by energy of mind and activity of body, bore us safely through the dreadful storms of the revolution. Morgan was of an impetuous temper, yet withal, prudent in war, as he was fearless of personal danger. His passions were quick and easily excited, but they were soon cooled. This observation is applicable to many men of great talents, and to none more than Morgan. His severity, at times, has made me shudder, though it was necessary, yet it would have been a pleasing trait in his character, if it had been less rigid.

bation did not fall from me, which, in my subordinate station, might have been indelicate. It was left to the energy of Morgan's mind, and he conquered. During our resting here, Arnold, accompanied by Steele and some excellent boatmen, proceeded to the head of the river. The rifle corps preceded the main body of the army, both by land and water. The boats, which were heavily laden with baggage and provisions, took in no more men than were necessary to navigate them, that is, three to a boat. The remainder of the army marched by land, the river being generally the guide.

Here, my dear children, permit me to give you the genuine character of my friend, general Simpson, whom you all know personally. He was among my earliest and best friends. He was then as apparently eccentric, as he is at this time: there is no obvious difference in his manners between the two periods. As an officer, he was always active and keen in the performance of his duty. Hard was the service; but his heart was soft to his friend. Simpson invited his messmate aboard his boat, being still somewhat feeble from our late privations: the invitation was gladly accepted.

Oct. 21st.—We embarked. Having lieut. Simpson for a steersman, and John Tidd and James Dougherty as boatmen, we went gaily on for that and the next day: able to lead any boat in the river.

October 22d.—On the evening of this second day, we encamped on a bank eight or nine feet high, at a place where we had rested when ascending the river the first time. In the evening a most heavy torrent of rain fell upon us, which continued all night. Having now a good tent over our heads, the inconvenience was not much felt. We slept soundly. Towards morning, we were awaked by the water which flowed in upon us from the river. We fled to high ground.

Oct. 23d.—When morning came the river presented a most frightful aspect: it had risen at least eight feet, and flowed with terrifying rapidity. None but the most strong and active boatmen entered the boats. The army marched on the south side of the river, making large circuits to avoid the overflowings of the intervale or bottom lands. This was one of the most fatiguing marches we had as yet performed, though the distance was not great in a direct line. But having no path and being necessitated to climb the steepest hills, and that without food, for we took none with us, thinking the boats would be near us all day. In the evening we arrived at the fall of four feet, which was mentioned when ascending the river. Alas! all the boats of the army were on the opposite side of the river. The pitch of the fall made a dreadful noise, and the

current ran with immense velocity. We sat down on the bank sorely pinched by hunger, looking wistfully towards our friends beyond the torrent, who were in possession of all the provisions, tents and camp equipage. Convinced, however, that the most adventurous boatman would not dare the passage, for the sake of accommodating any of us. We were mistaken. There were two men, and only two who had skill and courage to dare it. Need lieutenant Simpson on an occasion like this, be named; he, accompanied by John Tidd, entered his empty boat. What skill in boatmanship! what aptitude with the paddle was here exhibited. The principal body of the water run over the middle of the fall, and created a foaming and impetuous torrent, in some measure resembling, at this particular time, of a very high freshet, that of the Oswego-falls, which had been known to me ere this. The river was about 150, or 200 yards in breadth, counting on the increase of water by the rains. The force of the central current, naturally formed considerable eddies at each side of the river, close under the pitch. Simpson now disclosed his amazing skill. Though there was an eddy, even that was frightful, he came by its mean nearly under the pitch, and trying to obtain an exact start, failed. The stream forced his boat down the river, but he recovered and brought it up. Now we, who were trembling for the fate of our friend, and anxious for our own accommodation, began to fear he might be drawn under the pitch. Quick, almost in a moment, Simpson was with us. He called in his loud voice to Robert Dixon, James Old (a messmate) and myself to enter the boat—We entered immediately. He pushed off; attempting the start by the favor of the hither eddy, which was the main thing—we failed. Returning to the shore, we were assailed by a numerous band of soldiers, hungry, and anxious to be with their companions. Simpson told them he could not carry more with safety, and would return for them. Henry M'Annaly, a tall Irishman, who could not from experience, comprehend the danger, jumped into the boat, he was followed by three or four other inconsiderate men. The countenance of Simpson changed, his soul and mine were intimate "O God," said he, "men we shall all die." They would not recede. Again we approached the pitch; it was horrible. The batteaux swam deep, almost ungovernable by the paddle. Attempting again to essay the departure—we failed. The third trial was made: It succeeded. As lightning we darted athwart the river. Simpson with his paddle, governed the stern. The worthy Tidd in the bow. Dixon and myself, our guns stuck in the railing of the batteaux, but without paddles, sat in the stern next to Simpson. Mr. Old was in the bow

near Tidd. Henry M'Annaly was adjoining Mr. Old. The other men sat between the stern and bow. Simpson called to the men in the bow, to lay hold of the birch bushes—the boat struck the shore forcibly: they caught hold, M'Annaly in particular, (this was in the tail of the eddy,) but like children, their holds slipped, at the only spot where we could have been saved; for the boat had been judiciously and safely brought up. Letting go their holds, the bow came round to the stream, and the stern struck the shore. Simpson, Dixon, and myself, now caught the bushes, but being by this time thrown into the current, the strength of the water made the withes, as so many straws in our hands. The stern again swung round: the bow came again ashore. Mr. Old, Tidd, and M'Annaly, and the rest, sprung to the land to save their lives. Doing this, at our cost, their heels forced the boat across the current. Though we attempted to steady it, the boat swagged. In a moment after, at thirty feet off shore, it being broad side to the current, turned; borne under, in spite of all our force, by the fury of the stream. The boat upsetting, an expression, as going into the water, fell from me, "Simpson we are going to heaven." My fall was head-foremost. Simpson came after me—his heels, at the depth of fifteen feet or more, were upon my head and neck; and those grinding on the gravel. We rose nearly together, your father first—my friend followed. The art of swimming, in which, I thought myself an adept, was tried, but it was a topsy-turvy business. The force of the water threw me often heels-over-head.

In the course of this voyage, after a few hundred yards, Simpson was at my side, but the force of the stream prevented the exertion of swimming; yet the impetuosity of the current, kept us up. It drove us toward the other-side of the river, against a long ridge of perpendicular rocks of great extent: Luckily in the course of some hundred yards, the current changed, and brought us perforce to the north side of the river. Floating along with my head just above water—prayers in sincere penitence having been uttered, a boat's crew of eastern men, handed me a pole. It was griped as by the hand of death—but griped the pole remained to me. The strength of the water was such, that the boat would inevitably have upset, if the boatman had kept his hold. A glance of the eye informed me, that my companion in misfortune, had shared the same fate. Resigned into the bosom of my Saviour, my eyes became closed; the death appeared to me, a hard one; sensibility in a great degree forsook me. Driving with the current some hundreds of yards more, the most palpable feeling recollected, was the striking of my breast against a root or hard

substance. My head came above water. Breathing ensued; at the same moment Simpson raised his head out of the water, his gold laced hat on it, crying "Oh!" neither of us could have crept out: we should have there died; but for the assistance of Edward Cavanaugh, an Irish man, an excellent soldier, who was designated in the company by the appellation of "Honest Ned." Passing from the lower part of the river, he happened to come to the eddy, at the instant of time my breast struck. He cried out "Lord Johnny! is this you?" and instantly dragged me out of the water. Simpson immediately appearing, he did him the same good office. Lying on the earth perhaps twenty minutes, the water pouring from me, a messenger from the camp came to rouse us. Roused we went to it. But all eyes looked out for Dixon, all hearts were wailing for his loss. It was known he could not swim, but none of us could recollect whether he had dropped into the water or had adhered to the boat. In some time we had the inexpressible pleasure of Dixon in our company. He had stuck to the side of the boat, which lodged on a vast pile of drift wood some miles below, and in this way he was saved. Arriving at the camp our friends had a large fire prepared, particularly for our accommodation; heat upon such an occurrence is most agreeable. My two friends in distress, whose clothing was principally woollen—felt none of my private disaster. My leather breeches attached closely and coldly to the skin. Modesty prohibited a disclosure. The sense of pain or inconvenience which was observed by my seniors, caused an inquiry. Immediately the breeches were off and stuck upon a pole to dry. Simpson was so much exhilerated by our escape, that seated on a stump, he sung "Plato," in great glee. It became a favorite with us. During all this time, perhaps till one or two o'clock, my breeches were in my hand almost in continued friction. The laugh of the company was against me, but it was borne stoically.

The following morning, (October 24,) presented me with many difficulties: to be sure my horn, with a pound of powder, and my pouch, with seventy bullets, were unharmed by the water, though around my neck in the course of our swimming: Yet I had lost my knapsack, my hat, and my most precious rifle. Awaking, the world appeared to be a wild waste. Disarmed, my insignificance pressed strongly on my mind—dishonor seemed to follow of course Without the armour of *defence*, men and nations are mere automatons, liable to be swayed by the beck of power and subject to the hand of oppression. Young as your father was, his soul was oppressed. To return with the invalids was dreadful, and without arms, he could not proceed. Comfort came to me in the shape of lieutenant, now

general Nichols, then of Hendricks. He had two hats—he presented me one: but what was more to my purpose, he, or general Simpson, informed me, that some of the invalids wished to dispose of their rifles. With the assistance of Nichols and Simpson, a bargain was struck with a person called William Reynolds, or Rannels, of our company; who was miserably sick, and returned in the boats. Money was out of the question, an order upon my father, dated at this place, for the price of twelve dollars was accepted, and afterwards in due time, paid honorably. This gun was short, about 45 balls to the pound, the stock shattered greatly, and worth about 40 shillings. Necessity has no law. Never did a gun, ill as its appearance was, shoot with greater certainty, and where the ball touched, from its size, it was sure to kill. This observation, trifling as it may seem, ought to induce government to adopt guns of this size, as to length of barrel and size of ball. There are many reasons to enforce this opinion. We departed from this place, without any material occurrence, and went rapidly forward.

Somewhat laughable ensued on the morning of the 27th of October, near the first pond, at the head of the river. The Virginians (though it is not probable that any of the officers, excepting one) had taken up the idea, that they were our superiors in every military qualification, and ought to lead. Hendricks, though the oldest commissioned officer of the rifle companies, was still the youngest man. For the sake of peace and good order, he had not assented to, but merely acquiesced in Morgan's assumption of the command of our corps, as the elder *person*. Those men, who were clever and brave, were just such in that behalf, as we were ourselves: but a Mr. Heath, who was blind of an eye, a lieutenant of Morgan's, seemed to think, that all others were inferior to those of the "ancient dominion." We had a hard morning's *pushing*, when coming up to the first pond, at the head of the "Dead-river," we saw Heath before us. Observing to Simpson, "*push him*," we went up with much force; poor Heath laboring as a slave, to keep his place. Tidd and Dougherty, felt my spirit, as much as Simpson did. At the moment of our passing, for we went up on the outside of him, towards the middle of the current, his pole stuck—upon which he gave us a few hearty curses. Entering the lake, the boat under my guidance and information, steered directly for the passage to the second lake. Humphreys (Morgan's first lieutenant) a brave and most amiable man, whom we highly esteemed, was in a boat far to the left, searching for a passage. Simpson, at my instance, hailed him to

come on.—He answered there was no passage *there*, alluding to the place we steered for. Encouraging my friend to go on, the deception Humphreys lay under, was soon discovered. The creek was deep and serpentine, and the country around, for a considerable distance, a flat. A log brought down by the last freshet, lay across the stream, so as to give to a stranger the idea, that the mouth of the creek, was merely a nook of the lake. Setting the log afloat, as was easily done, the boat proceeded.

October 28. Continuing rapidly, for now we had no carrying, nor marking of trees, there being plenty of water, the evening was spent at the foot of that mountain, called the Heighth-of-land. This was a day of severe labor. The navigation of the Chaudiere, being so far as our information went, represented to the captains, Hendricks and Smith, as very dangerous, they, to save their men, concluded to carry, over the hill, but one boat for each of their companies. This resolution was easily accomplished. Morgan, on the other hand, determined to carry over all his boats. It would have made your heart ache, to view the intolerable labors his fine fellows underwent. Some of them, it was said, had the flesh worn from their shoulders, even to the bone. The men said it; but by this time an antipathy against Morgan, as too strict a disciplinarian had arisen.

On the following day, (October 29th,) the army, disjointed as was our corps, at least Hendricks' and Smith's encamped on the plain, on the bank of the Chaudiere. Morgan afterwards took his station near us. Here it first became generally known, that Enos had returned from the twelve mile carrying-place, with 500 men, a large stock of provisions, and the medicine chest. It damped our spirits much, but our commander conceived, it was better to proceed than return. We were about a hundred miles from the frontier of Canada, but treble that distance from that of New-England. Our provisions were exhausted. We had no meat of any kind. The flour which remained, so far as I know, was divided fairly and equally, among the whole of the troops, the *riflemen* shared *five pints of flour* per man. During the night and the ensuing morning, the flour was baked into five cakes per man, under the ashes, in the way of Indian bread.

On the 30th of October, we set forward. The men were told by the officers "that order would not be required in the march, "each one must put the best foot foremost." The first day's march was closed by a charming sleep on fir-branches. The gentlemen of our mess lay together, covering themselves, with the blankets of each one. My memory does not serve, to say,

that any stir was made by any one, during the night. Happening to be the first who awaked, in the morning, the blanket was suddenly thrown from my head, but what was my surprise to find, that we had lain under cover of at least four inches of snow. We scarcely had risen and had our kettle on the fire, when our drummer, (we had no bugles,) John Shaeffer, came slipshod to our fire, complaining, that all his cakes had been stolen from him. A more wretched figure was scarcely ever beheld. He was purblind. This circumstance, though he was my townsman, and acquainted with me from my earliest infancy, was yet unknown to me until this last march, ascending the "Dead-river," commenced. My station in the line of march, which was in the single file, (or Indian, as it was then called,) was next to the captain; the drummer followed. Here it was his defect of sight was most effectually shewn. Smith was lithsome and quick afoot, as we all were, (except poor Shaeffer.) In the course of this toilsome march, without a path, many deep ravines presented, over these lay many logs, fallen perhaps many years before. The captain took the log, preferring it to a descent of 20 or 30 feet into the gulph below, which at times was quite abrupt. Following me, Shaeffer would frequently, drum and all, tumble headlong into the abyss. His misfortunes in this way, for he was a laughing stock, excited contempt in the soldiers, but in me compassion.* Often, he

* I cannot exactly recollect the time, but the records of Government will show, that this miserable man, was indicted of a burglary and convicted. His respectable brother, Mr. Jacob Shaeffer of Lancaster, (Penn.) applied to me, to certify in his favor, [It was in 1780 or 1781,] to the president and council, who had the power of pardon. The representation was, in substance similar to the present. This part of our transactions, rests in my memory; but the impression is so strong, that I cannot forget it. It gave me great pleasure to imagine, that probably I might again contribute to the saving the life of a man, which I had actually saved once before. At that time, by our law, the punishment of burglary was death, and my compatriot Shaeffer, was under that sentence. My soul was grieved.

In a drunken bout at Philadelpnia, he had blindly stumbled into a house, which he took to be his lodgings. Here detected in one of the chambers, he was charged as a felon. Gracious God! upon the superfices of thy earth, there was never a more unoffending soul. He could scarcely see a yard before him.

It has amused and pleased me often, to hear that he extols me. He is now industrious.

The fate of James Warner, (see p. 102.) among others, was really lamentable. He was young, handsome in appearance, not more than twenty-five years of age; he was athletic and seemed to surpass in bodily strength. Yet withal, he was a dolt. His wife was beautiful

required my aid. On this latter occasion, our kettle, boiling a bleary, which was no other than flour and water, and that without salt, my solicitations prevailing, the mess gave him a tin cup full of it. He received from me my third cake. This man, blind, starving, and almost naked, bore his drum (which was unharmed by all its jostlings) safely to Quebec, when many other hale men died in the wilderness.

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though coarse in manners. The husband on the other hand, was a poor devil, constantly out of view, or in the background of the picture.

We heard nothing of them after entering the marsh, and until a month had elapsed at Quebec. In December, the wife or widow of poor James Warner, came to our quarters on the Low-grounds, bearing her husband's rifle, his powder-horn and pouch. She appeared fresh and rosy as ever. This arose from the religious and gratuitous spirit of the Canadians.

The story Mrs. Jemima Warner told, was extremely affecting, and may be worth remembering, as it is something like a sample of the whole of our distresses and intolerable disasters.

The husband was a great eater. His stores of provisions, after the partition, at the head of the Chaudiere, were in a little time consumed. The consummate wife ran back from the marsh, and found her beloved husband sitting at the foot of a tree, where he said he was determined to die.

The tender-hearted woman, attended her ill-fated husband several days, urging his march forward; he again sat down. Finding all her solicitations could not induce him to rise, she left him, having placed all the bread in her possession, between his legs with a canteen of water. She bore his arms and ammunition to Quebec, where she recounted the story. The nephews of Natanis, afterwards at Quebec, confirmed the relation of this good woman. For when going up, and returning down the river with our inestimable friend M'Cleland, she urged them, suffused in tears to take her husband on board. They were necessarily deaf to her entreaties. Thus perished this unfortunate man, at a period of his age, when the bodily powers, are generally in their full perfection. He and many others, who died in the wilderness, lost their lives by an inconsiderate gluttony. They ate as much at a meal, as ought to have been in our circumstances the provision of four days, and a march of one hundred miles. Young men, without knowledge or a previous experience, are very difficult to govern by sage-advice, when the rage of hunger assails.

To conclude this lengthy note, allow me to introduce to you, another instance of human misery, which came under my eye, in this dolorous and dreadful march. As was before observed in the body of the work "At the head of the Chaudiere, it was given out by the officers that order would not be required from the soldiery in the march, &c." Yet the companies, being in the most part either fellow-townsmen, or from the same county adhered together, bound by that affectionate

This morning, the first of November, breakfasting on our bleary, we took up the line of march through a flat and boggy ground. About ten o'clock A. M. we arrived, by a narrow neck of land at a marsh which was appalling. It was three-fourths of a mile over, and covered by a coat of ice, half an inch thick. Here Simpson concluded to halt a short time for the stragglers or maimed of Hendricks' and Smith's companies to come up. There were two women attached to those companies, who arrived before we commenced the march. One was the wife of serjeant Grier, a large, virtuous and respectable woman. The other was the wife of a private of our company, a man who lagged upon every occasion. These women being arrived,

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attachment, which is engendered by the locality of birth, or the habitudes of long and severe services, in a communion and endurance of hardships and desperate adventures. It appears to me, to be a principle of the human mind, "that the more hardships we endure in company of each other, the greater becomes our esteem and affection for our fellow-sufferers." For myself, this is said from experimented woe and extreme calamity.

We had no path, the river was our guide. One day, either the second or third of this march, a mountain jutting in a most precipitate form into the river, compelled us to pass the margin of the stream upon a long log, which had been brought thither by some former freshet. The bark and limbs of the tree had been worn away by the rubbings of the ice, and the trunk lay lengthwise along the narrow passage, smooth and slippery, and gorged the pass. This difficulty had collected here a heterogenous mass of the troops, who claimed the right of passage according to the order of coming to it. The log was to be footed, or the water, of the depth of three or four feet, must be waded. There was no alternative. An eastern man, bare-footed, bare-headed, and thinly clad, lean and wretched from abstinence, with his musket in hand, passed the log immediately before me. His foot slipped, and he fell several feet into the water. We passed on regardless of his fate. Even his immediate friends and comrades, many of whom were on the log at the same moment, did not deign to lend him an assisting hand. Death stared us in the face. I gave him a sincere sigh at parting, for to lose my place in the file, might have been fatal. This pitiable being died in the wilderness. The hard fate of many others might be recapitulated, but the dreadful tale of incidents, if truly told, would merely serve to lacerate the heart of pity, and harrow up the feelings of the soul of benevolence. Tears many years since, have often wetted my cheeks, when recollecting the disasters of that unfortunate campaign, the memorable exit of my dearest friends, and of many worthy fellow-citizens, whose worth at this time, is embalmed solely in the breasts of their surviving associates. Seven died sheerly from famine; and many others by disorders arising from hard service in the wilderness.

it was presumed that all our party were up. We were on the point of entering the marsh, when some one cried out "Warner is not *here.*" Another said he had "sat down sick under a tree, a few miles back." His wife begging us to wait a short time, with tears of affection in her eyes, ran back to her husband. We tarried an hour. They came not. Entering the pond, (Simpson foremost,) and breaking the ice here and there with the buts of our guns and feet, as occasion required, we were soon waist deep in the mud and water. As is generally the case with youths, it came to my mind, that a better path might be found that than of the more elderly guide. Attempting this, in a trice the water cooling my armpits, made me gladly return into the file. Now Mrs. Grier had got before me. My mind was humbled, yet astonished, at the exertions of this good woman. Her clothes more than waist high, she waded before me to the firm ground. No one so long as she was known to us, dared to intimate a disrespectful idea of her. Her husband, who was an excellent soldier, was on duty in Hendricks' boat, which had proceeded to the discharge of the lake with lieutenant M'Cleland. Arriving at firm ground, and waiting again for our companions, we then set off, and in a march of several miles, over a scrubby and flat plain, arrived at a river flowing from the east into the Chaudiere lake. This we passed in a batteau, which the prudence of colonel Arnold had stationed here, for our accommodation; otherwise we must have swam the stream, which was wide and deep. In a short time we came to another river flowing from the same quarter, still deeper and wider than the former. Here we found a batteau, under the superintendency of capt. Dearborne, in which we passed the river. We skirted the river to its mouth, then passed along the margin of the lake to the outlet of Chaudiere, where we encamped with a heterogeneous mass of the army. It was soon perceived, that the French term Chaudiere, was most aptly applied to the river below us. Indeed every part of it, which came under our view, until we arrived at the "first house" in Canada, might well be termed a caldron or boiler, which is the import of its French name. It is remarkable of this river, and which, to me, distinguishes it from all others I had seen, that for 60 or 70 miles, it is a continued rapid, without any apparent gap or passage; even for a canoe. Every boat we put into the river, was stove in one part or other of it. Captain Morgan lost all his boats, and the life of a much valued soldier. With difficulty he saved his own life and the treasure committed to his care. Arnold, accompanied by Steele, and John M. Taylor, and a few others,

in a boat, were in the advance of the army. He may have descended in a boat, it is most likely he did. *

On the morning of the 2d of November, we set off from the Chaudiere lake, and hungered, as to my own particular, almost to death. What with the supplies to Shaeffer, and my own appetite, food of any kind, with me, had become a nonentity. My own sufferings, in the two succeeding marches, from particular causes, were more than ordinarily severe. My mockasins had, many days since, been worn to shreds and cast aside: My shoes, though they had been well sewed and hitherto stuck together, now began to give way, and that in the very worst part, (the upright seam in the heel.) For one to save his life, must keep his station in the rank—The moment that was lost as nature and reason dictate, the following soldier assumed his place. Thus, once thrown out of the file, the unfortunate wretch must await the passage of many men, until a chasm, towards the rear, happened to open for his admission. This explanation will answer some questions which you might naturally put. Why did you not sew it? Why did you not tie the shoe to your foot? If there had been awl, and thread, and strings at command, which there was not, for the causes above stated, one dared not have done either, as the probable consequences would ensue, "Death by hunger in a dreary wilderness." For man when thrown out of society is the most helpless of God's creatures. Hence you may form a conception of the intolerable labour of the march. Every step taken the heel of the foot slipped out of the shoe: to recover the position of the foot in the shoe, and at the same time to stride, was hard labour, and exhausted my strength to an unbearable degree. You must remember that this march was not performed on the level surface of the parade, but over precipitous hills, deep gullies, and even without the path of the vagrant savage to guide us. Thus we proceeded till towards mid day, the pale and meagre looks of my companions, tottering on their feeble limbs, corresponding with my own. My friend Simpson, who saw my enfeebled condition and the cause, prevailed with the men to rest themselves a few minutes. Bark, the only succedaneum for twine, or leather, in this miserable country, was immediately procured and the shoe bound tightly to the foot. Then marching hastily, in the course of an hour or more, we came within view of a tremendous cataract in the river, from 12 to 20 feet high. The horror this sight gave us, fearing for the safety of our friends in the boats, was aggravated, when turning the point of a steep cragg, we met those very friends,

* June 26th, 1809. John M. Taylor tells me, that they descended by land.

having *lost all* but their lives, sitting around a fire on the shore. Oh God! what were our sensations! Poor M'Cleland, first lieutenant of Hendricks', and for whose accommodation the boat was most particularly carried across the mountain, was lying at the fire; he beckoned to us—His voice was not audible, placing my ear close to his lips, the word he uttered scarcely articulate, was "Farewell." Simpson, who loved him, gave him half of the pittance of food which he still possessed; all I could was—a tear. The short, but melancholy story, of this gentleman, so far as it has come to my knowledge, may be detailed in a few words. He had resided on the Juniata at the time he was commissioned. My knowledge of him commenced in the camp near Boston. He was endowed with all those qualities which win the affections of men. Open, brave, sincere, and a lover of truth. On the "Dead river," the variable weather brought on a cold which affected his lungs. The tenderness of his friends, conducted him safely, though much reduced, to the foot of the mountain, at the head of the "Dead river." Hence he was borne in a litter across the mountain by men. If you had seen the young, yet venerable capt. Hendricks, bearing his share of this loved and patriotic burthen, across the plain to our camp, it would have raised esteem, if not affection, towards him. From our camp, M'Cleland was transported, in the boat, to the place where we found him. The crew, conducting the boat, though worthy men and well acquainted with such kind of navigation, knew nothing of this river. They descended unaware of the pitch before them, until they had got nearly into the suck of the falls. Here, luckily, a rock presented, on which it was so contrived as to cause the boat to lodge. Now the crew, with great labor and danger, bore their unfortunate lieut. to the shore, where we found him. We passed on, fearful for our own lives. Coming to a long sandy beach of the Chaudiere, for we sometimes had such: some men of our company were observed to dart from the file, and with their nails, tear out of the sand, roots which they esteemed eatable, and ate them raw, even without washing. Languid and woe-begone, as your father was, it could not but create a smile, to observe the whole line watching with "Argus eyes," the motions of a few men, who knew the indications in the sand of those roots. The knowing one sprung, half a dozen followed, he who grabbed it, eat the root instantly. Though hunger urged, it was far from me to contend in that way with powerful men, such as those were. Strokes often occurred.

During this day's march, (about 10 or 11, A. M.) my shoe having given away again, we came to a fire, where were some of

captain Thayer, or Topham's men. Simpson was in front, trudging after, slipshod and tired, I sat down on the end of a long log, against which the fire was built, absolutely fainting with hunger and fatigue, my gun standing between my knees. Seating myself, that very act gave a cast to the kettle, which was placed partly against the log, in such a way, as to spill two-thirds of its contents. At the moment a large man sprung to his gun, and pointing it towards me, he threatened to shoot. It created no fear; his life was with much more certainty in my power. Death would have been a welcome visitor. Simpson soon made us friends. Coming to their fire, they gave me a cup of their broth. A table spoonful, was all that was tasted. It had a greenish hue, and was said to be that of a bear. This was instantly known to be untrue, from the taste and smell. It was that of a dog. He was a large black Newfoundland dog, belonging to Thayer, and very fat. We left these merry fellows, for they were actually such, maugre all their wants, and marching quickly, towards evening encamped: We had a good fire, but no food. To me the world had lost its charms. Gladly would death have been received as an auspicious herald from the Divinity. My privations in every way, were such as to produce a willingness to die. Without food, without clothing, to keep me warm, without money, and in a deep and devious wilderness, the idea occurred, and the means were in my hands, of ending existence. The God *of all goodness inspired* other thoughts. One principal cause of change (under the fostering hand of Providence) in my sentiments, was the jovial hilarity of my friend Simpson. At night, warming our bodies at an immense fire, our compatriots joined promiscuously around—to animate the company, he would sing "Plato;" his sonorous voice gave spirit to my heart, and the morality of the song, consolation to my mind. In truth the music, though not so correct as that of Handel, added strength and vigour to our nerves. This evening it was, that some of our companions, whose stomachs had not received food, for the last forty-eight hours, adopted the notion, that leather, though it had been manufactured, might be made palatable food, and would gratify the appetite. Observing their discourse, to me the experiment became a matter of curiosity. They washed their mockasins of moose-skin, in the first place, in the river, scraping away the dirt and sand, with great care. These were brought to the kettle and boiled a considerable time, under the vague, but consolatory hope, that a mucilage would take place. The boiling over, the poor fellows chewed the leather, but it was leather still: not to be macerated. My teeth, though young and good, succeeded no better. Disconsolate and weary, we passed the night.

November 3d. We arose early, hunger impelling, and marched rapidly. After noon, on a point on the bank of the river, some one pretended, he described the "first house," ten miles off. Not long after another discerned a boat coming towards us, and turning a point of land—presently, all perceived cattle driving up the shore. These circumstances, gave occasion to a feeble huzza of joy, from those who saw these cheerful and enlivening sights. We were now treading a wide and stony beach of the river. Smith, our captain, who at this moment happened to be in company, elated with the prospect of a supply of food, in the joy of his heart, perhaps thoughtlessly, said to me, "take this Henry." It was gladly received. Opening the paper, which had been neatly folded, there appeared a hand's breadth and length of bacon-fat, of an inch thick; thoughtlessly, it was eaten greedily, inattentive to all former rule, and thanks to God, did me no harm. Here it was that for the first time, Aaron Burr, a most amiable youth of twenty, came to my view. He then was a cadet. It will require a most cogent evidence, to convince my mind, that he ever intended any ill to his country of late years, by his various speculations. Though differing in political opinion from him, no reason has as yet been laid before me, to induce a belief, that he was traitorous to his country. However, take this as the wayward ideas of a person totally excluded from a knowledge of the secrets of the cabinet; who was somewhat attentive to its operations, so far as newspaper information can elucidate.

We marched as hastily as our wearied and feeble limbs could admit, hoping soon to share in something like an abysinian feast. The curvatures of the river, had deceived us in the calculation of distance. It as many hours ere we came to place of slaughter. We found a fire, but no provision, except a small quantity of oaten meal, resembling in grit, our chopped rye. Simpson warmed some of this in water, and ate with gout. To me it was nauseous · this may have been owing to the luncheon from Smith's hoard. The French men told us, that those who preceded, had devoured the very entrails of the cattle. One of the eastern men, as we came to the fire, was gorging the last bit of the colon, half rinsed—half broiled. It may be said, he ate with pleasure, as he tore it as a hungry dog would tear a haunch of meat. We soon encamped for the night, cheered by the hope of succor.

November 4th. About two o'clock, P. M. we arrived at a large stream coming from the east, which we ran through, though more than mid-deep. This was the most chilling bath we had hitherto received: the weather was raw and cold. It was the 17th, and the harshest of my birth-days. Within a few hundred

yards of the river, stood the "first house" in Canada: we approached it in extacy, sure of being relieved from death, by the means of famine. Many of our compatriots were unaware of that death, which arises from sudden repletion. The active spirit of Arnold, with such able assistants as John M. Taylor and Steele, had laid in a great stock of provisions. The men were furious, voracious, and insatiable. Three starvations had taught me wisdom. My friends took my advice. But, notwithstanding the irrefragable arguments the officers used to insure moderation, the men were outrageous upon the subject, *they* had no comprehension of such reasoning. A Pennsylvania German of our company, a good and orderly soldier, who, from my affection towards him, I watched like another doctor Pedro Positive; yet all representation and reasoning on my part, had no influence. Boiled beef, hot bread, potatoes, boiled and roasted, were gormandized without stint. He seemed to defy death, for the mere enjoyment of present gratification, and died two days after. Many of the men sickened. If not much mistaken, we lost three of our company, by their imprudence on this occasion. The immediate extension of the stomach by food, after a lengthy fast, operates a more sudden extinction of life, than the total absence of aliment. At this place, we, for the first time, had the pleasure of seeing the worthy and respectable Indian, Natanis, and his brother Sabatis, with some others of their tribe, (the Abenaquis.) Lieutenant Steele told us, that when he first arrived, Natanis came to him, in an abrupt but friendly manner, and gave him a cordial shake by the hand, intimating a previous personal knowledge of him. When we came, he approached Cunningham, Boyd, and myself, and shook hands in the way of an old acquaintance. We now learned from him, that on the evening when we first encamped on the "Dead-river," (September 29th) in our first ascension, he lay within view of our camp, and so continued daily and nightly to attend our voyage, until the path presented, which led directly into Canada. This he took; to the question, "Why did you not speak to your friends? He readily answered, and truly, "You would have killed me." This was most likely, as our prejudices against him had been most strongly excited, and we had no limit in our orders, as to this devoted person. He, his brother Sabatis, and seventeen other Indians, the nephews and friends of Natanis, marched with us to Quebec. In the attack of that place, on the morning of the first of January following, Natanis, received a musquet ball through his wrist. He adopted a chirurgery, which seemed extraordinary, at the time, and quite new but which now seems to me, to be that of nature itself. He drew

a pledget of linnen quite through the wound, the ends of which, hung down on each side of the arm. He was taken prisoner, but general Carleton discharged him immediately with strong tokens of commiseration. This is the first instance in the course of our revolutionary war, of the employment of Indians in actual warfare against our enemies. To be sure it was the act of a junior commander, unwarranted, so far as has come to my knowledge, by the orders of his superiors; yet it seemed to authorize, in a small degree, upon the part of our opponents, that horrible system of aggression, which in a short time ensued, and astonished and disgusted the civilized world.

Nov. 5th. Hunger, which neither knows governance or restraint, being now gratified, we turned our attention towards our friends, who were still in the wilderness. Smith and Simpson, (for recollection does not serve to say how my friends Hendricks and Nichols were employed, but it was certainly in doing good,) always active, procured two young Indians, nephews of Natanis, "Sweet fellows," (as Simpson called them,) to proceed on the following morning to the great fall, for the person of the invaluable M'Cleland. Before we started, it gave me pleasure to see these youths, excited by the reward obtained, pushing their birch-bark canoe against the strict current of the river. It seemed like an egg-shell to bound over the surface of the waves of every opposing ripple. To end at once this dolorous part of our story; the young men, in despite of every impediment from the waters, and the solicitations of the starved wanderers in the rear, for food, hurried on to the fall, and on the evening of the third day, brought our dying friend to the "first house." The following day he died, and his corpse received a due respect from the inhabitants of the vicinage. We were informed of this a month after. This real catholicism towards the remains of one we loved, made a deep and wide breach upon my early prejudices, which since that period has caused no regret; but has induced a more extended and paternal view of mankind, unbounded by sect or opinion.

The morning of the 6th Nov. we marched in straggling parties, through a flat and rich country, sprinkled, it might be said, decorated, by many low houses, all white washed, which appeared to be the warm abodes of a contented people. Every now and then, a chapel came in sight; but more frequently the rude, but pious imitations of the sufferings of our Saviour, and the image of the virgin. These things created surprize, at least, in my mind, for where I thought there could be little other than barbarity, we found civilized men, in a com-

fortable state, enjoying all the benefits arising from the institutions of civil society. The river, along which the road ran, in this day's march, became in the most part our guide. It now flowed in a deep and almost sightless current · where my opportunities gave me a view. Our abstemiousness was still adhered to. About noon of the next day, we arrived at the quarters of Arnold, a station he had taken for the purpose of halting and embodying the whole of our emaciated and straggling troops. We were now perhaps thirty miles from point Levi; which is on the St. Lawrence, and nearly opposite to Quebec. Now our mess had "friends at court." Arnold, since we left the "twelve-mile-carrying place," the last time, had, deservedly, taken Steele as a guide, into his mess; and he had become a kind of aid-de-camp—he was, to say no more, a confidential man. John M. Taylor, keen and bold as an Irish grey-hound, was of our company, being a ready penman and excellent accountant: He was at once exalted, by the shrewd and discerning eye of Arnold, to the offices of purveyor and commissary. We had no distinctions of office, scarcely any of rank, in those days. Our squad, in consequence, came boldly up to headquarters, though we came not now into their presence. Steele, who was in waiting, pointed to the slaughter-house, a hundred yards distant. Thither we went, determined to indulge. Here we found our friend Taylor, worried almost to death, in dealing out the sustenance of life to others. Without hyperbole or circumlocution, he gave us as many pounds of beef-stakes as we chose to carry. Proceeding to the next house, a mile below some one of the party became cook. Good bread and potatoes, with the accompanyment of beef-stake, produced a savory meal. Believing myself out of danger from any extraordinary indulgence of appetite, the due quantity was exceeded, and yet, believe me, it was not more than an anchorite might religiously take. We soon became sensible of this act of imprudence. The march of the afternoon was a dull and heavy one. A fever attacked me. I became, according to my feelings, the most miserable of human beings. Determined not to lag behind, my eyes, at times, could scarcely discern the way, nor my legs do their office. We did not march far this afternoon. In this high latitude, a winter's day is very short and fleeting. The evening brought me no comfort, though we slept warmly in a farm house.

November 7th.—The army now formed into more regular and compact order, in the morning pretty early, we proceeded. About noon my disorder had increased so intolerably, that I could not put a foot forward. Seating myself upon a log at the way-side, the troops passed on. In the rear came Arnold

on horseback. He knew my name and character, and, good naturedly, inquired after my health. Being informed, he dismounted, ran down to the river side, and hailed the owner of the house, which stood opposite across the water. The good Canadian, in his canoe, quickly arrived. Depositing my gun and accoutrements in the hands of one of our men, who attended upon me, and had been disarmed by losing his rifle in some one of the wreckings above, and Arnold putting two silver dollars into my hands, the Frenchman carried me to his house. Going to bed with a high fever upon me, I lay all this and the following day without tasting food. *That had been the cause* of the disease, *its absence* became the *cure.*

The morning of the third day, (10th Nov.) brought me health. The mistress of the house, who had been very attentive and kind, asked me to breakfast. This humble, but generous meal, consisted of a bowl of milk, for the guest, with excellent bread. The fare of the family was this same bread, garlic, and salt—I had observed, that this was the usual morning's diet, for I lay in the stove-room, where the family ate and slept. This worthy family was composed of seven persons; the parents in the prime of life, and five charming ruddy children, all neatly and warmly clothed in woolen, apparently of their own manufactory. You might suppose, from the manner of their living, that these persons were poor. No such thing. They were in good circumstances. Their house, barn, stabling, &c. were warm and comfortable, and their diet such as is universal among the French peasantry of Canada. Proffering my two dollars to this honest man, he rejected them with something like disdain in his countenance, intimating to me that he had merely obeyed the dictates of religion and humanity. Tears filled my eyes when I took my leave of these amiable people. But they had not even yet done enough for me. The father insisted on attending me to the ferry some miles off, where the river takes a turn almost due north, to meet the St. Lawrence. Here my worthy host procured me a passage *scott free*, observing to me my money might be required before the army could be overtaken. Landing on the north bank of the river, the way could not be mistaken, the track of the army had strongly marked the route. To me it was a most gloomy and solitary march. Not a soul was to be seen in the course of ten miles. Being without arms, and in an unknown country, my inconsequence, and futileness lay heavy on my spirits. Here and there was a farm-house, but the inhabitants were either closely housed or absent from their homes. Afternoon, arriving at the quarters of our company, my gun and accoutrements were reclaimed with ardour, and a solemn resolution

never to part with them again, unless it happened by the compulsion of the foe. The house, which the company possessed, lay some hundreds of paces from head quarters, but within view. Morgan's quarters were nearer. Where Hendricks made his lodgment is not now recollected, but it was at no great distance.

On the following day, (Nov. 11th,) our guns in order, a scene opened, which then and now seems to me to have exhibited us in a disreputable point of view: it evinced, at least, the necessity of a staid and sober conduct of the officer, as well as a strict subordination and obedience of the private. A hurried and boisterous report, came from head-quarters, that the British were landing to our left at a mill, about a mile off. Each one grasped his arms. Morgan and the Indians, who lay nearest to the commander's quarters, were foremost. The running was severe. The lagging Indians, and a variety of the three companies, were intermingled. Coming to the brow of the precipice, but still unseen, we perceived a boat landing, which came from a frigate laying in the stream, a mile below. The boat came ashore. A youth sprung from it: The tide ebbing, the boatswain thought it better to obtain a deeper landing-place, nearer the mill, and drew off. Morgan, apprehensive of a discovery of our presence, fired at the boat's crew. A volley ensued without harm, probably because of the great space between us. They pulled off shore, until beyond the range of our guns, leaving the midshipman to our mercy. The hapless youth, confounded, unknowing what to do, plunged into the river, hoping to regain his boat. His friends flying from him,—he waded, he swam, yet could not reach the boat. At the distance, perhaps, of one hundred and fifty yards, nothing but his head above water, a shooting-match took place, and believe me, the balls of Morgan, Simpson, Humphreys, and others, played around, and within a few inches of his head. Even after a lapse of thirty years, it gives me pain to recollect, that my gun was discharged at him. Such, however, was the savage ferocity engendered, in those ungracious times, by a devolution of the ministry of the mother-country, from the true line of conduct towards her colonies.

M'Kensie, (the name of the young man,) seeing that his boat's crew had deserted him, showed a desire to surrender, by approaching the shore. The firing ceased. But a still more disgusting occurrence than the preceding, followed. The *lad*, coming towards the shore, evidently intending to submit, Sabatis, the Indian, the brother of Natanis, sprung forward, scalping knife in hand, seemingly intending to end the strife at a single blow. The humanity of Morgan and Humphreys,

towards a succumbent foe, was excited. One or the other of them, it is not now recollected which, in particular, by his agility and amazing powers of body, was enabled to precede the Indian by several yards. This contest of athleticism was observed from the shore, where we were, with great interest. Morgan brought the boy (for he was really such,) to land, and afterwards esteemed him, for he merited the good will of a hero: Wet and hungry, we returned to quarters. Running along the shore with our prey, the Hunter sloop of war having warped up for the purpose, pelted us all the way with ball and grape shot. It was no easy matter to ascend the bank, which was steep and craggy. Our prisoner was prudently loquacious, and very genteel. He had left the sloop, of which he was a midshipman, upon command, to procure spars and oars, which lay in the mill. He had ordered off the boat to procure a better landing, when our imprudent fire drove his people from him. He was the brother of captain M'Kensie of the Pearl frigate. In 1777, the young M'Kensie was again taken. I saw him at Lancaster, (Pennsylvania,) active, lively, and facetious as ever. During our stay at point Levi, Colonel Arnold was busily engaged. Being now discovered, it became us to pass the St. Lawrence as soon as possible. The main difficulty consisted in the procurement of boats or canoes. Those kinds of craft on this part of the river, had previously to our arrival, been secured by the vigilance of government, which it is likely had some intimation of an inroad in the direction we came. Twenty-five canoes, chiefly of birch bark, were with difficulty procured. The command of these was conferred upon lieutenant Steele, who selected the steersmen, of whom it came to me to be one. The passage, if practicable, must be made in the night, and that in the most silent manner, at a time the tide served.

Between the hours of 10 and 11 o'clock, on the night of the 13th of November the troops paraded on the beach, near the mill before mentioned, without noise or bustle. One cargo was despatched—then a second: upon making the traverse a third time, an accident happened to my friend Steele, which you can scarcely credit. Being at a considerable distance behind with his canoe, I could not, at its occurring, observe the transaction, nor share in the danger, though my life would have been willingly risked for his, and yet the relation of this fact, is most unquestionably true. These frequent asseverations, may appear somewhat awkward, and to blur the detail of our story; but our sufferings were so extraordinary in their kinds, and so aggravated by the nature of the severe services we underwent, that now-a-days it will require a faith almost

approaching to credulity, to convince the mind of their truth. Steele steered a birch-bark canoe, the weight, and it is likely the awkwardness of the men, when about the middle of the river, (which at this place is fully two miles wide,) burst the canoe. The men who were in it, swam to, or were taken up, by the canoes nearest to them. It was otherwise with Steele. He was the last to get to a canoe under the management of the worthy Wheeler: but it was full of men. There could be no admittance. The steersman advised, and Steele was compelled from necessity, to throw his arms over the stern—Wheeler, seating himself upon them, so as to hold him securely, for it was a bleak and numbing night. Thus, in this manner was this worthy and adventurous officer, floated to the shore at Wolf's cove. Here there was an uninhabited house. A fire had been lighted in it, by some of our people, who first landed. It became a pole-star to us in the rear, we steered for it. Landing about half an hour after Steele, we found him at the fire, seemingly chilled to the heart; but he was a man not to be dispirited by slight matters. Friction soon restored him to his usual animation. The moon, now about three o'clock, shone brightly, and the tide run out rapidly, so that the passing of the rest of the troops, about one hundred and fifty in number, this night, was given up. This circumstance, of the absence, of so large a part of our force, was known but to few. They joined us on the following night. It had been the intention of our chief, to storm the town this night; but the deficiency of our scaling ladders, many of which were left beyond the river, now repressed that design.

November 14th. The troops easily ascended the hill, by a good road cut in it slantingly. This was not the case in 1759, when the immortal Wolf mounted here, it was then a steep declivity, enfiladed by a host of savages, but was surmounted by the eager and gallant spirit of our nation.

November 15th. Arriving on the brow of the precipice, we found ourselves on the plains of Abraham, so deservedly famous in story. The morning was cold, and we were thinly clad. While an adventurous party despatched by Arnold, under the command of one of Morgan's lieutenants, were examining the walls of the city, we were pacing the Plains to and fro, in silence, to keep ourselves warm. The winter had set in—a cold northwester blew, with uncommon keenness. By the time the reconoitring party returned, daylight was not very distant. The party found every thing towards the city, in a state of perfect quietness. This report *was delivered, in my presence, to Morgan*, however, the country may have have been represented since. Not even the cry of "All's well," was uttered was a part

of their report, yet we heard that cry from the walls, even where we were; but this in a direct line, was nearer to us than the voices opposite to the party. This was the happy moment, but with our small and disjointed force, what could be done? There was scarcely more than three hundred and fifty men, willing and determined to be sure, but too few to assail a fortress such as Quebec is. If *that* had been known this night, which was evidenced in a few days by the fugitives from the city, Arnold would most assuredly have hazarded an attack. St. John's gate, which opens on Abraham's plains, and is a most important station, was unbarred, nay, unclosed: nothing but a single cannon under the care of a drowsy watch, was there as a defence; we were not a mile distant, and might have entered unknown, and even unseen. These are uncertain opinions, resting on the vague reports of the moment, which might have been true, or untrue. My memory is, however, fresh in the recollection of the heart-burnings this failure caused among us. Providence, for wise purposes, would have it otherwise. Near daylight, requiring rest and refreshment, the troops moved a mile, to a farm-house of Lieutenant Governor Caldwell's. This was a great pile of wooden buildings, with numerous outhouses, which testified the agricultural spirit and taste of the owner. He, good soul, was then snug in Quebec. Those who came first, fared well, and as luck would have it, we were of the number: all within and without the house, became a prey. Adversity had destroyed in our minds, every decorous or delicate sensation. Guards were stationed next the city. Wrapped in my blanket fearless of events, casting my person on the floor of an elegant parlour, I slept sweetly and soundly till two in the afternoon, and then was roused solely by a cry, that the enemy was advancing. We flew to arms, and rather in a hurried manner, run towards the city, which was nearly two miles from us. We saw no enemy. It turned out that a Mr. Ogden, a cadet from Jersey, a large and handsome young man, in favor with Arnold, had been authorized to place the sentinels that day. He did place them most stupidly. George Merchant, of Morgan's, a man who would at any time, give him fairplay, have sold his life dearly, he stationed in a thicket, within view of the enemy; at the time of placing him, when at his post, he was out of sight of the garrison; but the mischief was (though *he* could not be seen,) *he* could see no one approach; he was taken absolutely unaware of danger. A sergeant of the "seventh," who, from the manner of the thing, must have been clever, accompanied by a few privates, slily creeping through the streets of the suburbs of St. John, and then under the cover of the bushes, sprung upon the devoted

Merchant, even before he had time to cock his rifle. Merchant was a tall and handsome Virginian. In a few days, he, hunting-shirt and all, were sent to England, probably as a finished specimen of the *riflemen* of the colonies. The government there very liberally, sent him home in the following year.

The capture of Merchant grieved us, and brought us within a few hundred yards of the city. Arnold had the boldness, you might say the audacity, or still more correctly, the folly, to draw us up in a line, in front and opposite to the wall of the city. The parapet was lined by hundreds of gaping citizens and soldiers, whom our guns could not harm, because of the distance. They gave us a huzza! We returned it, and remained a considerable time huzzaing, and spending our powder against the walls, for we harmed no one. Some of our men to the right, under the cover of something like ancient ditches and hillocks, crept forward within two hundred yards of the works, but their firing was disregarded by the enemy as farcical. Febiger, who was a real and well instructed soldier, and engineer, did advance singly within a hundred paces, and pored with the eye of an adept. During all this, as my station in the line happened to be on a mound, a few feet higher than the common level of the plain, it was perceptible through the embrasures that there was a vast bustle within. In some minutes a thirty-six pounder was let loose upon us; but so ill was the gun pointed, that the ball fell short, or passed high over our heads. Another, and another succeeded—to these salutes, we gave them all we could, another and another huzza. It must be confessed, that this ridiculous affair, gave me a contemptible opinion of Arnold. This notion was by no means singular. Morgan, Febiger and other officers, who had seen service, did not hesitate to speak of it in that point of view. However, Arnold had a vain desire to gratify, of which we were then ignorant. He was well known at Quebec. Formerly, he had traded from this port to the West Indies, most particularly in the article of horses. Hence, he was despised by the principal people. The epithet "Horsejockey" was freely and universally bestowed upon him, by the British. Having now obtained power, he became anxious to display it in the faces of those, who had formerly despised and contemned him. The venerable Carleton, an Irishman of a most amiable and mild character, Colonel Maclean, a Scotchman, old in warfare, would not, in any shape, communicate with him. If Montgomery had originally been our commander, matters might have been more civilly conducted. This particularity in relating a most trivial and disgusting occurrence, arises from a desire, to set before you, a cautionary rule, which it will be prudent for you

to observe in your historical reading. "Do not believe an "author, unless the story he relates be probable, accompanied "by such circumstances as might reasonably attend the trans- "action, unless he is corroborated by others, who speak on that "subject." Many of our wisest men, within the colonies, wrote and spoke of this bravading as a matter of moment, and with much applause. Even some of our historians, (Gordon) have given it celebrity. But a more silly and boastful British historian, (Amwell) says there was a dreadful cannonade, by which many of the rebels were destroyed. The truth is, that this day not a drop of blood was shed, but that of Governor Caldwell's horned cattle, hogs and poultry, which run plentifully. After this victory in huzzaing, which was boys' play, and suited me to a hair, we returned to quarters to partake of the good things of this world.

The next day, (Nov. 15th,) a scene of a different kind opened, which let us into the true character of Arnold In the wilderness, the men had been stinted to a pint of flour by the day. This scanty allowance of flour had been continued since we had come into this plentiful country. Morgan, Hendricks and Smith, waited upon the commander in chief, to represent the grievance and obtain redress. Altercation and warm language took place. Smith, with his usual loquacity, told us, that Morgan seemed, at one time, upon the point of striking Arnold. We fared the better for this interview.

On the following day, (Nov. 16th,) the rifle-companies removed further from the city. About half a mile from Caldwell's house, our company obtained excellent quarters, in the house of a French gentleman, who seemed wealthy. He was pleasing in his manners, but the rudeness our ungovernable men exhibited, created in him an apparent disgust towards us. Here we remained near a week. During that time, we had constant and severe duty to perform. There was a large building on the low grounds, near the river St. Charles, which was occupied by a most respectable society of ladies as a nunnery. In front of this house, at the distance of fifty yards, there was a spacious log building, which seemed to be a school house, occupied by the priesthood attendant on the nunnery. This house we took possession of, as a guard-house, under an idea, as it stood directly between the town and the nunnery, which contained some precious deposits, that they had not had time to remove, that the enemy would not fire in this direction. The conjecture was just.

Nov. 16th.—In the afternoon a distressing occurrence took place here, notwithstanding our vicinity to this holy place. Towards the evening the guard was relieved. Lieut. Simpson

commanded it. This guard was composed of two-and-twenty fine fellows, of our company. When the relief-guard came, a Frenchman, of a most villainous appearance, both as to person and visage, came to our lieutenant, with a written order from colonel Arnold, commanding him to accompany the bearer, who would be our guide across the river St. Charles, to obtain some cattle feeding beyond it, on the account of government. The order, in the first instance, because of its preposterousness, was doubted, but, upon a little reflection, obeyed. Knowing the danger, our worthy lieutenant also knew, the best and only means of executing the enterprize. The call "come on lads," was uttered. We ran with speed from the guard-house some hundreds of yards, over the plain to the mouth of the St Charles, where the ferry is. Near the ferry there was a large wind-mill, and near it stood a small house resembling a Cooper's shop. Two carts of a large size, were passing the ferry heavily laden with the household-stuff, and women and children of the townsmen flying from the suburbs of St. Roque, contiguous to palace-gate, to avoid the terrible and fatal effects of war. The carts were already in a large scow, or flat-bottomed boat, and the ferrymen, seeing us coming, were tugging hard at the ferry-rope, to get off the boat, which was aground, before we should arrive. It was no small matter, in exertion, to outdo people of our agility. Simpson, with his usual good humour, urged the race, from a hope that the garrison would not fire upon us, when in the boat with their flying townsmen. The weight of our bodies and arms put the boat aground in good earnest Simpson vociferously urging the men to free the boat, directing them to place their guns in my arms, standing on the bow. He ordered me to watch the flashes of the cannon* of the city near palace gate. Jumping into the water mid-deep, all but sergeant Dixon and myself, they were pushing, pulling, and with handspikes attempting to float the scow. One of the carts stood between Dixon and myself—he was tugging at the ferry rope. Presently "a shot," was called, it went wide of the boat, its mark. The exertions of the party were redoubled. Keeping an eye upon the town, the sun about setting, in a clear sky, the view was beautiful indeed, but somewhat terrific. Battlements like these had been unknown to me. Our boat lay like a rock in the water, and was a target at point blank shot, about three-fourths of a mile from palace gate, which issues into St. Roque.

*This was a ridiculous practice, universally adopted in the camp near Boston, and was now pursued at this place. It is merely designative of the raw soldier. Such indications of fear should now-a-days be severely reprimanded.

I would have adored all the saints in the Kalendar, if honor and their worships would have permitted the transportation of my person a few perches from the spot where it then stood, by the austere command of duty. It was plainly observable that many persons were engaged in preparing the guns for another discharge. Our brave men were straining every nerve to obtain success. "A shot," was all that could be said, when a thirty-six pound ball, touching the lower edge of the nob of the cart-wheel, descending a little, took the leg of my patriotic friend below the knee, and carried away the bones of that part entirely. "Oh! Simpson," he cried, "I am gone." Simpson, whose heart was tender and kind, leaped into the boat: calling to the men, the person of Dixon was borne to the windmill. Now a roar of triumph was heard from the city, accompanied by some tolerably well directed shots. The unfortunate was borne at a slow and solemn pace, to the guard-house, the enemy, every now and then, sending us his majesty's compliments, in the shape of a 24 or 36 pound ball. When the procession came into a line with the town, the guard-house and nunnery, the firing ceased. At the time we were most busily engaged with Dixon, at the windmill, the vile Frenchman, aghast and horror stricken, fled from us to the city. If his desertion had been noticed in time, his fate had been sealed, but the rascal was unobserved till he had run several hundred yards along the beach of the bay of St. Charles. He turned out to be a spy, purposely sent by government to decoy and entrap us, and he succeeded but too easily with the vigilant Arnold. Dixon was now carried on a litter to the house of an English gentlemen, about a mile off. An amputation took place—a tetanus followed, which about 9 o'clock of the ensuing day, ended in the dissolution of this honorable citizen and soldier. There are many reasons for detailing this affair so minutely to you. Among these are, to impress upon your minds an idea of the manners and spirit of those times: our means and rude methods of warfare: but more particularly for the purpose of introducing to your observation an anecdote of Dixon, which is characteristic of the ideas and feelings then entertained by the generality of his countrymen. Before we left our native homes, tea had, as it were, became an abomination even to the ladies. The taxation of it by the parliament of England, with design to draw from us a trifling revenue, was made the pretence with the great body of the people, for our opposition to government. The true ground, however, with the politically wise, was, that that law annihilated our rights as Englishmen. It is an axiom of the common law of our glorious ancestors, that taxation and representation must go hand in hand. This rule

was now violated. Hence it was, that no one male or female, knowing their rights, if possessed of the least spark of patriotism, would deign to taste of that delightful beverage. The lady of the house, though not one who approved of our principles of action, was very attentive to our wounded companion: she presented him a bowl of tea; "No madam," said he, "it is the ruin of my country."

Uttering this noble sentiment, (Nov. 17th) this invaluable citizen died, sincerely lamented by every one who had the opportunity of knowing his virtues. Dixon was a gentleman of good property and education, though no more than the first sergeant of our company. His estate lay in W. Hanover township, in the county of Lancaster, (now in Dauphin.) He was an agriculturalist, which, in the vagueness and uncertainty of our language, is called "a farmer." In fact he was a freeholder, the possessor of an excellent tract of land, accompanied by all those agreeables which render the cultivator of the earth, in Pennsylvania, the most independent, and, with prudent economy, the most happy of human beings. The following morning, Simpson was the first to give me an account of Dixon's death, which affected us much, his corpse received the usual military honors. Duty compelled my absence elsewhere. The blood of Dixon was the first oblation made upon the altar of Liberty at Quebec, and Merchant was the first prisoner. The latter was a brave and determined soldier, fitted for subordinate station; the former was intuitively a captain. The city and vicinity occupied the attention of the commander nearly a week.

Nov. 18th.—Not being fully in the secret, it does not become me to recount the causes of our retreat, to Point Aux Tremble. We did however make this retrograde movement, rather in a slovenly style, accompanied, probably, by the maledictions of the clergy and nobility, but attended by the regrets of a host of well-wishers among the peasantry. Point Aux Tremble is at the distance of twenty, or more miles from Quebec. The route thither, though in a severe winter, was interesting. The woods were leafless, except as to those trees of the fir-kind; but numerous neat and handsomely situated farm-houses, and many beautiful landscapes were presented, and enlivened our march along this majestic stream. At Detroit, which is supposed to be little short of nine hundred miles from Quebec:—even there, it is no contemptible river, but here the immense volume of its waters, strikes the mind of the stranger with astonishment and rapture. Our Susquehanna, which, from its grandeur, attracts the European eye, stands in a low grade when compared with the St. Lawrence. Ascending the river

at a distance of ten or fifteen miles, we observed the rapid passage, down stream, of a boat, and soon afterwards of a ship, one or other of which contained the person of Sir Guy Carleton. That it was the governor of the province, flying from Montgomery, who had by this time captured Montreal, we were informed by a special kind of messenger, which was no other than the report of the cannon, by way of feu-de-joye, upon his arrival at the capital. Water, in regard to the communication of sound, is nearly as good a conductor as metals are, for the transmission of the electric fluid. Though near to the place of our destination, we could mark with precision the report of every gun. Point Aux Tremble, at this time, had assumed the appearance of a straggling village. There was a spacious chapel, where the ceremonies of the Roman-Catholic religion were performed, with a pomp not seen in our churches, but by a fervency and zeal apparently very pious, which became a severe and additional stroke at early prejudices. Quarters were obtained in the village and farm houses, dispersed over a space of some miles, up and down the river. We enjoyed as much comfort as tight houses, warm fires, and our scantiness of clothing would admit. Provisions were in plenty, and particularly beef, which, though small in bulk, was of an excellent flavour. Being in a few days, as it were, domesticated in a respectable farmer's house, we now had leisure to observe the economy of the family. Every crevice through which cold air could penetrate, was carefully pasted with strips of paper of every colour. To permit the cold air to intrude is not the only evil which results; but the smallest interstice with the air, also admits an almost impalpable snow which is very inconvenient, particularly at night, when the winds blow most sharply. A stove of iron stood a small space from the wall of the kitchen chimney, but in such a way that it might be encompassed by the family or the guests. This stove was kept continually hot, both by day and by night. Over the stove their is a rack so constructed as to serve for the drying of wet clothes, mockasins, &c. &c. When these people slaughter their beasts for winter use, they cut up the meat into small pieces, such as a half pound, two pounds &c. according to the number of the family. In the evening before bedtime, the females of the house, prepare the dinner of the following day. It may be particularly described, as it was done in our view for a number of days together, and during the time was never varied. This was the manner: A piece of pork or beef, or a portion of each kind, together with a sufficiency of cabbage, potatoes and turnips, seasoned with salt, and an adequate quantity of water, were put into a neat tin kettle with a

close lid. The kettle, thus replenished, was placed on the stove in the room where we all slept, and there it simmered till the time of rising, when it was taken to a small fire in the kitchen, where a stewing continued till near noon, when they dined. The contents were teemed into a large bason. Each person had a plate—no knife was used, except one to cut the bread, but a five or six pronged fork answered the purposes of a spoon. The meat required no cutting, as it was reduced to a musilage, or at least to shreds. This, you may say, is trifling information, and unworthy of your notice; according to my mind, it is important to all of us, to know the habits, manners, and means of existence of that class of society, which, in all nations, composes the bulk and strength of the body politic. Our dinner followed in a few hours. The manner of our cookery excited astonishment in our host. As much beef was consumed at a single meal, as would have served this family for a week. Remember, however, that the mess consisted of persons who were entitled to double and treble rations. Two rosy-cheeked daughters of the house, soon contrived the means and obtained the surplus. This circumstance, most probably, made us agreeable to the family, for we had nothing else to bestow. The snow had now fallen in abundance, and enlivened the country. Sleighs and sleds were passing in every direction. The farmers began to supply themselves with a full stock of winter's fuel from the forest. No fowls were visible about the house- a few were kept alive for breeding in the ensuing summer, in a close and warm coop in the upper-story of the barn. The rest of the fowls, intended for the market or winter's use, had been slaughtered, early in autumn, at setting in of the frost, and were hung up in the feathers in the garret. Thence they were taken as wanted. Towards March they become unsavoury, but in no way tainted. We became acquainted with this kind of economy, but upon a much larger scale afterwards, when in a state of affliction and sorrow. The roads in this part of Canada are kept in excellent order. The corvee of European France is maintained by the government in full effect, as to its principles, but far less rigid in its practice. The roads in low grounds, were ditched on the sides and curved towards the centre. Every forty or fifty yards on each side of the road, throughout the extent of it young pines were stuck in the ground, to mark the central and safest passage. It is a law, that the landholder, whenever a snow falls, whether by day or night, when it ceases, shall with his horses and cariole, retrace the road, formed on the preceding snow, throughout the extent of his grounds. This is a laborious duty, but it was discernible, that it was performed with punctuality, if not pleas-

ure. In December, January and February, when the snow lays from three to five feet deep over the surface, there is no travelling in this country, but by ways thus formed, or upon snow shoes.

On the first of December, general Montgomery, who was anxiously expected, arrived. Arnold's corps, was paraded in the front of the chapel. It was lowering and cold, but the appearance of the general here, gave us warmth and animation. He was well limbed, tall and handsome, though his face was much pock-marked. His air and manner designated the real soldier. He made us a short, but energetic and elegant speech, the burthen of which, was an applause of our spirit in passing the wilderness; a hope, our perseverance in that spirit would continue; and a promise of warm clothing; the latter was a most comfortable assurance. A few huzzas from our freezing bodies, were returned to this address of the gallant hero. Now new life was infused into the whole of the corps.

The next day (December 2d) we retraced the route from Quebec. A snow had fallen during the night, and continued falling. To march on this snow, was a most fatiguing business. By this time, we had generally furnished ourselves with seal-skin mockasins, which are large, and according to the usage of the country, stuffed with hay or leaves, to keep the feet dry and warm. Every step taken in the dry snow, the mockasin having no raised heel to support the position of the foot, it slipped back, and thus produced great weariness. On this march the use of the snow-shoe was very obvious, but we were destitute of that article. The evening brought up the riflemen at an extensive house, in the parish of St. Foix, about three miles from Quebec. It was inhabited by tenants. We took possession of a front parlour on the left, Morgan one upon the right, Hendricks, a back apartment, and the soldiery in the upper parts of the house, and some warm outbuildings.

The next day (December 3d) Morgan not finding himself comfortable, moved a short space nearer to the city. Here, in low and pretty country houses, he and his men, were neatly accommodated. It seemed to me, that the Canadians, in the vicinage of Quebec, lived as comfortably, in general, as the generality of the Pennsylvanians did, at that time, in the county of Lancaster. It may readily occur to you, that some restriction ought to cramp this latitude of expression; take it, however, as a description of our sensations, entertained in our minds by the conveniences we now enjoyed, in opposition to our late privations. We had just arrived from a dreary and inhospitable wild, half-starved and thinly clothed, in a land of plenty, where we had full rations and warm quarters, conse-

quently, our present feelings contrasted with former sufferings, might have appreciated in too high a degree, the happiness of the Canadian. What is now said, ought not to be taken in anywise, as an allusion to the political rights, but be confined solely to the apparent prosperity and economy of families.

December 12th. We remained about ten days at these quarters. The tours of duty, to Arnold's party, were peculiarly severe. The officers and men, still wore nothing else, than the remains of the summer clothing, which being on their back, had escaped destruction in the disasters of the wilderness. The snow lay three feet deep over the face of the whole country, and there was an addition to it almost daily. Many impediments occurred, to delay the transportation of the clothing, which general Montgomery had procured for us at Montreal. Our miserable state, contrary to our principles, excited an illicit desire, to be apparrelled more comfortably. This desire would probably have lain dormant, but for a scoundrel Canadian, who in all likelihood, was an enemy of Lieutenant Governor Cromie's. One morning having returned from a cold night's duty, near palace-gate, the fellow addressed Simpson, who was the only officer in quarters, and communicated the information: "That about two miles up the St. Lawrence, lay a country seat of Governor Cromie's, stocked with many things "we wanted, and he would be our guide." Cariole's were immediately procured. The house, a neat box, was romantically situated on the steep bank of the river, not very distant from a chapel. Though in the midst of winter, the spot displayed the elegant taste and abundant wealth of the owner. It must be a most delightful summer residence, in the months of July and August, when the heat of this northern climate, seems greater to sensation, than that of our country, in the same season. The house was closed; knocking, the hall-door was opened to us by an Irish woman, who, of the fair sex, was the largest and most brawny, that ever came under my notice. She was the stewardess of the house. Our questions were answered with an apparent affability and frankness. She introduced us into the kitchen, a large apartment, well filled with those articles, which good-livers think necessary, to the happy enjoyment of life. Here we observed, five or six Canadian servants, huddled into a corner of the kitchen, trembling with fear. Our prying eyes, soon discovered a trap-door leading into the cellar. In the country houses of Canada, because of the frigidity of the climate, the cellars are usually under a warm room, and are principally intended, for the preservation of vegetables. The cavity in this instance, abounded with a great variety of eatables, of which, we were not in the imme-

diate want. The men entered it—Firkin, after firkin of butter; lard, tallow, beef, pork, fresh and salt—all became a prey. While the men were rummaging below, the lieutenant descended to cause more despatch. My duty was to remain at the end of the trap-door, with my back to the wall, and rifle cocked as a sentry, keeping a strict eye on the servants. My good Irishwoman frequently beckoned to me to descend: her drift was to catch us all in the trap. Luckily she was comprehended. The cellar and kitchen being thoroughly gutted, and the spoil borne to the carriages, the party dispersed into the other apartments. Here was elegancy. The walls and partitions, were beautifully papered and decorated, with large engravings, maps, &c. &c. of the most celebrated artists. A noble view of the city of Philadelphia, upon a large scale, taken from the neighbourhood of Cooper's ferry, drew my attention, and raised some compunctive ideas; but war and the sciences always stand at arms length in the contests of mankind. The latter must succumb in the tumult. Our attention was much more attracted by the costly feather beds, counterpanes, and charming rose-blankets, which the house afforded. Of these there was good store, and we left not a jot behind us. The nooks and crevices in the cairoles, were filled with smaller articles; several dozens of admirably finished case-knives and forks—even a sett of desert knives obtained the notice of our cupidity. Articles of lesser moment, not a thousandth part so useful, did not escape the all-grasping hands of the soldiery. In a back apartment, there stood a mahogany couch, or settee in a highly finished style. The woodwork of the couch was raised on all sides by cushioning, and lastly, covered by a rich figured silk. This to us, was lumber, besides our carioles were full. However, we grabbed the mattress and pallets, all equally elegant as the couch: Having, as we thought, divested his Excellency of all the articles of prime necessity, we departed, ostensibly and even audibly accompanied by the pious blessings of the stewardess for our moderation. No doubt she had her mental reservations; on such business as this, we regarded neither. Near the chapel, we met a party of Morgan's men coming to do that, which we had already done. The officer appeared chagrined when he saw the extent of our plunder. He went on, and finally ransacked the house, and yet a little more, the stables. The joy of our men, among whom, the plunder was distributed in nearly equal portions, was extravagant. Now an operation of the human mind, which often takes place in society, and is every day discernible by persons of observation, became clearly obvious. "Let a man once with im-"punity, desert the strict rule of right, all subsequent aggres-

"sion, is not only increased in atrocity, but is done without "qualm of conscience." Though our company was composed principally of freeholders, or the sons of such, bred at home under the strictures of religion and morality, yet when the reins of decorum were loosed, and the honorable feeling weakened, it became impossible to administer restraint. The person of a tory, or his property, became fair game, and this at the denunciation of some base domestic villain.

On the morning following, (Dec. 13th,) the same audacious, scoundrel again returned. By leading to the first affair, and his intercourses with the privates, he had so wormed himself into their good graces, that nothing would do but a system of marauding upon our supposed enemies, the tories. In this new expedition, which was further than the former, the officers thought it prudent to accompany the men, in truth, to keep order and repress their ardency. We arrived at a farm said to belong to Gov. Cromie or, some other inhabitant of Quebec. The farm-house, though low, being but one story, was capacious, and tolerably neat. The barn built of logs, with a threshing-floor in the centre, was from seventy to eighty feet in length. The tenant, his wife, and children, shuddered upon our approach. Assurances that they should be unharmed, relieved their fears. The tenant pointed out to us the horned-cattle, pigs, and poultry of his landlord. These we shot down without mercy, or drove before us to our quarters. Thus we obtained a tolerable load for our caravan, which consisted of five or six carioles.

With this disreputable exploit, marauding ceased. A returning sense of decency and order, emanating from ourselves, produced a species of contrition. It is a solemn truth, that we plundered none, but those who were notoriously tories, and then within the walls of Quebec. The clergy, the nobles, and the peasantry, were respected and protected, especially the latter, with whom, to use a trite expression, we fraternized. The minuteness of this description of occurrences, of a trivial, yet disgraceful nature, is made the more strongly to impress your minds, with the horrors attendant on civil wars. This species of war, more than any other, not only affects the great and the wealthy, but it intrudes itself into, and devastates the cottage. This the American people know, from the many melancholy scenes, which succeeded the period spoken of.

Gracious and Almighty God! the shield and protector of the good, as well as thou art the scourge of the base and wicked nation, avert from my country, this the most terrible of thy modes of temporal vengeance.

December 15th. In a short time, the rifle companies moved

and occupied good quarters on the low grounds, near St. Charles' river, and about two miles from Quebec. Our clothing was still of the flimsy kind, before noted, but our hearts were light, even to merriment. Individually, from our own funds, we supplied ourselves with arm-gloves, and renewed our mockasins. This was about the middle of December. During all this time, our daily duty was laborious in various ways, and every other night, we mounted guard at St. Roque. A guard-house, ere this had been established at this place, in a very large stone-house, which, though strong, being exposed to the enemy's fire, was soon battered about our ears, the distance scarcely more than three hundred yards. That position was changed for one more secure. A house, which had been a tavern, was adopted in its stead. This house was pecularly situated. It was comparatively small with the former in its dimensions, but the walls were strong, and the ceilings bomb-proof. It stood under the hill, so as to be out of the range of the shot, from the ramparts contiguous to Palace gate, which were elevated far above us. Simpson would say, Jack, let us have a shot at those fellows. Even at noon-day, we would creep along close to the houses, which ranged under the hill, but close in with it, till we came within forty yards of Palace-gate. Here was a smith-shop, formed of logs, through the crevices, of which, we would fire, at an angle of 70, at the sentries above us. Many of them were killed, and it was said, several officers. This was dishonorable war, though authorized by the practices of those times. The distance from this guard-house to Palace-gate, may be three hundred and fifty yards. The hill, at the back of the house, seemed to make an angle of 60 or 70 degrees. This activity continued from the walls of the city, and around it by the Lower town, (where it is greatest,) for many miles up the St. Lawrence and St. Charles, and forms the basis of Abraham's Plains. It was about that time the York artillerists, under captain Lamb, had constructed a battery on the Plains, at the distance of 600 or 700 yards from the fortress. The earth was too difficult for the intrenching tools to pierce, the only method left, was to raise a battery composed of ice and snow. The snow was made into ice by the addition of water. The work was done in the night time. Five or six nine-pounders, and a howitzer were placed in it; it was scarcely completed, and our guns had opened on the city, before it was pierced through and through, by the weightier metal of the enemy. Several lives were lost on the first and second day. Yet the experiment was persisted in, till a single ball, piercing the battery, killed and wounded three persons. In the quarters last mentioned, we enjoyed some pleasant days. The winter in Canada, as with us, is the season of good humour and joy.

December 18th, 19th. Upon a secession from the out-post, or other military employments, we were agreeably received in the farm houses around. Our engagements near Palace-gate, still continued to be of the arduous kind: Our numbers being few, every second watch was performed by the same persons, who had made the guard the last but one. Between the guard-house, and the extreme end of the suburbs of St. Roque, which may be half a mile from the ramparts, there was a rising ground in the main street fairly in view of the enemy, and whilst we relieved in daylight, was raked, even by grape shot. Some good men were lost here. This circumstance, changed the time of relief, to nine o'clock in the evening. The riflemen were principally employed as guards, at this dangerous station. It is but fair and honest, to relate to you, an anecdote concerning myself, which will convey to your minds, some notion of that affection, of the head or heart, which the military call a panic-terror Being one of the guard and having been relieved as a sentry, about twelve or one o'clock at night, upon returning to the guard-house, in a dozing state; I cast myself on a bench, next the back wall—young, my sleeps were deep and heavy; my youth obtained this grace from Simpson, the officer who commanded; about three o'clock, I was roused by a horrible noise. The enemy, in casting their shells, usually began in the evening, and threw but a few, towards morning, they became more alert. Our station being out of sight, it was managed, as to throw the shells on the side of the hill, directly back of us, so as they would trundle down against the wall of the guard-house. This had frequently occurred before, but was not minded. A thirteen-inch shell, thus thrown, came immediately opposite the place, where my head lay; to be sure, the three feet wall was between us. The bursting report was tremendous, but it was heard in a profound sleep. Starting instantly, though unconscious of the cause, and running probably fifty yards, through untrod snow, three feet deep, to a coal house, a place quite unknown to me before: It was ten or fifteen minutes before the extreme cold, restored that kind of sensibility, which enabled me to know my real situation. Knowing nothing of the cause, the probable effect nor anything of the consequences, which might follow from this involuntary exertion, it seemed to me to be a species of the panic, which has been known to affect whole armies. The circumstance here related, caused a laugh against me; but it was soon discovered, that those of the soldiery, though wide awake, were as much panic stricken as myself. The laugh rebounded upon them. During this period, we had many bitter nights. To

give you some idea of a Canada winter, allow me to relate an occurrence, which is literally genuine.

December 24th. One night, at the time of relief, a confidential person came from Colonel Arnold, accompanied by an Irish gentleman, named Craig, directing the relieved guard to escort him to his own house, which stood between twenty and thirty paces from Palace-gate. Craig was a merchant of considerable wealth, and what was more, an excellent whig. He was expelled from his habitation because of his whigism, and took refuge in Arnold's quarters. Montgomery, by this time, had furnished us with personal clothing suitable to the climate, but there were a thousand other things wanting for comfortable accommodation. Many of these Mr. Craig possessed, and Arnold's luxurious cupidity desired. Craig's house was an extensive building, three stories high, with back buildings of an equal height, running far in the rear along the foot of the hill. This last building consisted of stores, which, as well as the house, was of brick work. We came to the back part of the house silently, and with the utmost caution. Mr. Craig, by a slight knock brought a trusty old negro to the door, who was the sole guardian of the house. The objects of Mr. Craig were frying-pans, skillets, and a great variety of other articles of ironmongery, together with cloths, flannels, linnens, &c. &c. The party with Craig entered the house. As a man of confidence, and as a sentry, it became my business to watch the Palace-gate. There was a clear moonlight, but it was exceedingly bleak. My place of observation was under a brick arch, over which were stores of Mr. Craig, perhaps less than eighty feet from Palace-gate. My gloves were good and well lined with fur, and my mockasins of the best kind, well stuffed. Unseen—continually pacing the width of the arch: My companions seemed to employ too much time. Some Frenchmen, of Colonel Livingston's regiment, without our knowledge, had been below Palace-gate marauding. Repassing the house we were at, like so many hell-hounds, they set up a yelling and horrid din, which not only scared our party, but alarmed the garrison itself. My companions in the house (apprehensive of a sally from Palace-gate,) fled, carrying all they could. Though I heard the noise, the flight of my friends was unseen, as they emerged from the cellars. The noise and bustle created by the Canadians attracted the attention of the enemy. Large and small shells were thrown in every direction, wherever a noise was heard in St. Roque. Having on a fine white blanket coat, and turning my cap or "bonnet rouge," inside out, the inside being white, made me, as it were, invisible in the snow. Under the arch the conversation of the sentries, as it were,

almost over my head, was very distinguishable. In this cold region, many reasons operate to induce the placing two sentries at the same post—they enliven each other by conversing, and it prevents the fatal effects which follow from standing still in one position. Fifteen minutes, at this time, was the term of the sentries, standing. The time of my standing under the arch seemed to be several hours, yet honor and duty required perseverance. At length, being wearied out—going to the back door of the house and knocking—no whisper could be heard within—the old negro was soundly asleep in his bomb-proof shell. At this moment those Canadians ran past the gateway again, with their usual noisy jabber; to me, in my deserted state, it seemed a sally of the enemy. There was no outlet but by the way we came, which seemed hazardous. Running gun in hand into a large enclosure, which was a garden of Mr. Craig's: here was a new dilemma. There was no escape but by returning to the house or climbing a palisade twenty feet high. The latter was prefered; but my rifle was left within the enclosure, as no means could be fallen upon to get it over the stockade. The guard-house was soon reached. One of the sergeants kindly returned with me to assist in bringing over my gun. It was grasped in extacy: Alas! the determination never to part with it again, but with life, was futile. While in the enclosure, going from and returning to it, we were assailed with grape-shot and shells, not by any means aimed at us, for the enemy knew not that we were there, but was intended to disperse those vociferous and vile Canadians, and it had the effect. They were as cowardly as noisy. The cohorn shells were handsomely managed. They usually burst at fifteen or twenty feet from the earth, so as to scatter their destructive effects more widely. Again coming to the guard-house, my immediate friends all gone, I ran thence to our quarters about two miles, with great speed. This was about three o'clock in the morning. Coming to quarters, my feet and hands were numbed, without ever having, during those many dreary hours, been sensible of the cold. It was soon discovered that they were frozen. Pulling off my leggins, &c. and immerging my feet and legs knee deep in the snow at the door, rubbing with my hands a few minutes, soon caused a recirculation of the blood; the hands were restored by the *act*. For fifteen, and even twenty years afterwards, the intolerable effects of that night's frost were most sensibly felt. The soles of my feet, particularly, the prominencies, were severely frostbitten and much inflamed: so it was as to my hands. But it was very remarkable that these subsequent annual painings, uniformly

attacked me in the same month of the year in which the cause occurred.

On the night of the 20th, or 21st of December, a snow-storm, driving fiercely from the north-east, induced the noble Montgomery, to order an attack on the fortress. Our force altogether, did not amount to more than eleven hundred men, and many of these, by contrivances of their own, were in the hospital, which, by this time, was transferred to the nunnery. The storm abated—the moon shone, and we retired to repose, truly unwillingly. We had caught our commander's spirit, who was anxious, after the capture of Chamblee, St. Johns, and Montreal, to add Quebec, as a prime trophy to the laurels already won. Captian Smith, the head of our mess, as captain, had been invited to general Montgomery's council of officers, (none under that grade being called,) like most of uninstructed men, he was talkative, and what is much worse in military affairs, very communicative. I believe blushing followed the intelligence he gave me: the idea of impropriety of conduct in him, deeply impressed my mind. The whole plan of the attack on the two following days, was known to the meanest man in the army. How it was disclosed, is uncertain, unless by the fatuity of the captains. One Singleton, a sergeant in the troops which accompanied Montgomery, deserted from the guard at the suburbs of St. John's, and disclosed to our foes the purport of our schemes; his desertion caused much anxiety. The general prudently gave out that it was by command, he would return soon with intelligence. This was believed generally. The latter information came to my knowledge some months afterwards, when a prisoner. The relation of Smith to me, is perfect on my memory. Youths seldom forget their juvenile impressions. It was this: "That we, of "Arnold's corps, accompanied by captain Lang's York artillerists should assail the lower town, on the side of St. Roque: general Montgomery was to attack the lower town by the way "of cape Diamond, which is on the margin of the St. Lawrence. "A false attack was to be made eastwardly of St. John's gate. "When Montgomery and Arnold conjoined in the lower town, "then the priests, the women and the children, were to be "gathered and intermingled with the troops, and an assault be "made on the upper town." Visionary as this mode of attack was, from what ensued, it is sincerely my belief that Smith was correct in his information, as to the plan suggested by the general. In those turbulent times, men of gallantry, such as Montgomery, were imperiously necessitated, to keep up their own fame and the spirits of the people, to propose and to hazard measures, even to the confines of imprudence. There was

another circumstance which induced our brave and worthy general, to adopt active and dangerous means of conquest. Many of the New-England troops had been engaged on very short enlistments, some of which were to expire on the first of January, 1776. The patriotism of the summer of seventy-five, seemed almost extinguished in the winter of seventy-six. The patriotic officers made every exertion to induce enlistments, but to no purpose. We, of the "rifle corps," readily assented to remain with the general, though he should be deserted by the eastern men, yet this example had no manner of influence on the generality. The majority were either farmers or sailors, and some had wives and children at home. These, and other reasons, perhaps, the austerity of the winter, and the harshness of the service, caused an obstinacy of mind, which would not submit to patriotic representation. Besides the smallpox,* which had been introduced into our cantonments by the indecorous, yet facinating arts of the enemy, had already begun its ravages. This temper of the men was well known to the general.

It was not until the night of the thirty-first of December, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, that such kind of weather ensued as was considered favorable for the assault. The forepart of the night was admirably enlightened by a luminous moon. Many of us, officers as well as privates, had dispersed in various directions among the farm and tippling houses of the vicinity. We well knew the signal for rallying. This was no other than a "snow-storm." About 12 o'clock P. M. the heaven was overcast. We repaired to quarters. By 2 o'clock we were accoutred and began our march. The storm was outrageous, and the cold wind extremely biting. In this northern country the snow is blown horizontally into the faces of travellers on most occasions—this was our case.

January 1st. When we came to Craig's house, near Palace-gate, a horrible roar of cannon took place, and a ringing of all

* In relation to the small-pox, the circumstance about to be related is most assuredly true, as it is known to me of my own particular knowledge. A number of women loaded with the infection of the small-pox, came into our cantonments.

In the spring of the year 1776, our army was reduced by decease of men, or debilitation of body, so that they could not act effectively, and in the eyes of the world, a disreputable retreat took place, which it was not then quite prudent to explain. Now it may be safely asserted, that great numbers of the soldiers inoculated themselves for the small-pox, by laceration under the finger nails, by means of pins or needles, either to obtain an avoidance of duty, or to get over that horrible disorder in an easy and speedy way.

the bells of the city, which are very numerous, and of all sizes. Arnold, heading the forlorn hope, advanced, perhaps, one hundred yards, before the main body. After these, followed Lamb's artillerists. Morgan's company, led in the secondary part of the column of infantry. Smith's followed, headed by Steele, the captain, from particular causes, being absent. Hendrick's company succeeded, and the eastern men, so far as known to me, followed in due order. The snow was deeper than in the fields, because of the nature of the ground. The path made by Arnold, Lamb, and Morgan, was almost imperceptible, because of the falling snow: covering the locks of our guns, with the lappets of our coats, holding down our heads, (for it was impossible to bear up our faces, against the imperious storm of wind and snow,) we ran along the foot of the hill in single file. Along the first of our run, from Palace-gate, for several hundred paces, there stood a range of insulated buildings, which seemed to be store-houses, we passed these quickly in single file, pretty wide apart. The interstices were from thirty to fifty yards. In these intervals, we received a tremendous fire of musketry from the ramparts above us. Here we lost some brave men, when powerless to return the salutes we received, as the enemy was covered by his impregnable defences. They were even sightless to us, we could see nothing but the blaze from the muzzles of their muskets.

A number of vessels of various sizes, lay along the beach, moored by their hawsers or cables to the houses. Pacing after my leader, lieutenant Steele, at a great rate, one of those ropes took me under the chin, and cast me head-long down, a declivity of at least fifteen feet. The place appeared to be either a drydock, or a sawpit. My descent was terrible; gun and all was involved in a great depth of snow. Most unluckily, however, one of my knees received a violent contusion on a piece of scraggy ice, which was covered by the snow. On like occasions, we can scarce expect in the hurry of attack, that our intimates should attend to any other, than their own concerns. Mine went from me, regardless of my fate. Scrabbling out of the cavity, without assistance, divesting my person and gun of the snow, and limping into the line, it was attempted to assume a station, and preserve it. These were none of my friends—they knew me not. We had not gone twenty yards, in my hobbling gait, before I was thrown out, and compelled to await the arrival, of a chasm in the line, where a new place might be obtained. Men in affairs such as this, seem in the main, to lose the compassionate feeling, and are averse from being dislodged from their original stations. We proceeded rapidly, exposed to a long line of fire from the garrison, for

now we were unprotected by any buildings. The fire had slackened in a small degree. The enemy had been partly called off to resist the general, and strengthen the party opposed to Arnold in our front. Now we saw colonel Arnold returning, wounded in the leg, and supported by two gentlemen, a parson Spring was one, and in my belief, a Mr. Ogden, the other. Arnold called to the troops, in a cheering voice, as we passed, urging us forward, yet it was observable among the soldiery, with whom it was my misfortune to be now placed, that the colonel's retiring damped their spirits. A cant term "We are sold," was repeatedly heard in many parts throughout the line. Thus proceeding enfiladed by an animated but lessened fire, we came to the first barrier, where Arnold had been wounded in the onset. This contest had lasted, but a few minutes, and was somewhat severe, but the energy of our men prevailed. The embrasures were entered when the enemy were discharging their guns. The guard, consisting of thirty persons, were either taken or fled, leaving their arms behind them. At this time, it was discovered that our guns were useless, because of the dampness. The snow, which lodged in our fleecy coats, was melted, by the warmth of our bodies. Thence came that disaster. Many of the party, knowing the circumstance, threw aside their own, and seized the British arms. These were not only elegant, but were such, as befitted the hand of a real soldier. It was said, that ten thousand stand of such arms, had been received from England, in the previous summer for arming the Canadian militia. Those people were loath to bear them in opposition to our rights. From the first barrier to the second, there was a circular course along the sides of houses, and partly through a street, probably of three hundreds yards, or more. This second barrier, was erected across, and near the mouth of a narrow street, adjacent to the foot of the hill, which opened into a larger, leading soon into the main body of the lower town. Here it was, that the most serious contention took place: this became the bone of strife. The admirable Montgomery, by this time, (though it was unknown to us,) was no more; yet, we expected momentarily, to join him. The firing on that side of the fortress ceased, his division fell under the command of a colonel Campbell, of the New-York line, a worthless chief, who retreated, without making an effort, in pursuance of the general's original plans. The inevitable consequence, was, that the whole of the forces on that side of the city, and those, who were opposed to the dastardly persons employed to make the false attacks, embodied and came down to oppose our division. Here was sharp-shooting. We were on the disadvantageous side of the barrier, for

such a purpose. Confined in a narrow street, hardly more than twenty feet wide, and on the lower ground, scarcely a ball, well aimed or otherwise, but must take effect upon us. Morgan, Hendricks, Steele, Humphreys, and a crowd of every class of the army, had gathered into the narrow pass, attempting to surmount the barrier, which was about twelve or more feet high, and so strongly constructed, that nothing but artillery, could effectuate its destruction. There was a construction, fifteen or twenty yards, within the barrier, upon a rising ground, the cannon of which, much overtopped the height of the barrier, hence, we were assailed, by grape shot in abundance—This erection we called the platform. Again, within the barrier, and close in to it, were two ranges of musketeers, armed with muskets and bayonet, ready to receive those, who might venture the dangerous leap. Add to all this, that the enemy occupied the upper chambers of the houses, in the interior of the barrier, on both sides of the street, from the windows of which, we became fair marks. The enemy, having the advantage of the ground in front, a vast superiority of numbers, dry and better arms, gave them an irresistible power, in so narrow a space. Humphrey's upon a mound, which was speedily erected, attended by many brave men, attempted to scale the barrier, but was compelled to retreat, by the formidable phalanx of bayonets within, and the weight of fire, from the platform and the buildings. Morgan, brave to temerity, stormed and raged, Hendricks, Steele, Nichols, Humphreys, equally brave, were sedate, though under a tremendous fire. The platform, which was within our view, was evacuated by the accuracy of our fire, and few persons, dared venture there again. Now it was, that the necessity of the occupancy of the houses, on our side of the barrier, became apparent. Orders were given by Morgan, to that effect—We entered—this was near daylight. The houses were a shelter, from which, we could fire with much accuracy. Yet, even here, some valuable lives were lost. Hendricks, when aiming his rifle at some prominent person, died by a straggling ball, through his heart. He staggered a few feet backwards, and fell upon a bed, where he instantly expired. He was an ornament of our little society. The amiable Humphreys died by a like kind of wound, but it was in the street, before we entered the buildings. Many other brave men fell at this place, among these were lieutenant Cooper, of Connecticut, and perhaps fifty or sixty noncommissioned officers, and privates. The wounded, were numerous and many of them dangerously so. Captain Lamb, of the York artillerists, had nearly one half of his face carried away, by a grape or canister shot. My friend Steele, lost three of

his fingers, as he was presenting his gun to fire; captain Hubbard and lieutenant Fisdle, were also among the wounded. When we reflect upon the whole of the dangers at this barricade and the formidable force, that came to "annoy us, it is a mat-"ter of surprise, that so many should escape death and wounding, as did."* All hope of success, having vanished, a retreat was contemplated, but hesitation, uncertainty, and a lassitude of mind, which generally takes place, in the affairs of men, when we fail in a project, upon which, we have attached much expectation, now followed. That moment was foolishly lost, when such a movement might have been made with tolerable success. Captain Laws, at the head of two hundred men, issuing from Palace-gate, most fairly and handsomely cooped us up. Many of the men, aware of the consequences, and all our Indians and Canadians, (except Natanis and another,) escaped across the ice, which covered the bay of St. Charles, before the arrival of captain Laws. This was a dangerous and desperate adventure, but worth while the undertaking, in avoidance of our subsequent sufferings. Its desperateness, consisted in running two miles across shoal ice, thrown up by the high tides of this latitude—and its danger, in the meeting with air holes, deceptively covered by the bed of snow.

Speaking circumspectly, yet it must be admitted conjecturally, it seems to me, that in the whole of the attack, of commissioned officers, we had six killed, five wounded, and of non-commissioned and privates, at least one hundred and fifty killed, and fifty or sixty wounded. Of the enemy, many were killed and many more wounded, comparatively, than on our side, taking into view the disadvantages we laboured under; and that but two occasions happened when we could return their fire, that is, at the first and second barriers. Neither the American account of this affair, as published by congress, nor that of sir Guy Carleton, admit the loss of either side to be so great as it really was, in my estimation. It seems to be an universal practice among belligerants of all nations, to lessen the number of the slain of the side of the party which reports the event, and to increase it on the part of the enemy. Having had pretty good opportunities of forming a just opinion on the subject, it is hoped that gentlemen who have thought or written differently, will not disdain to listen to my argument. As to the British; on the platform they were fair objects to us. They were soon driven thence by the acuteness of or shooting, which in our apprehension must have destroyed many. Perhaps there never was a body of men associated,

* See general Nichol's letter.

who better understood the use and manner of employing a rifle, than our corps: which by this time of the attack, had their guns in good order. When we took possession of the houses, we had a greater range. Our opportunities to kill, were enlarged. Within one hundred yards, every man must die. The British, however, were at home—they could easily drag their dead out of sight, and bear their wounded to the hospital. It was the reverse with us. Captain Prentiss, who commanded the provost guards, would tell me of seven or eight killed, and fifteen or twenty wounded. Opposed to this, the sentries, (who were generally Irishmen, that guarded us with much simplicity, if not honesty,) frequently admitted of forty or fifty killed, and many more wounded. The latter assertions accorded with my opinion. The reasons for this belief are these: When the dead, on the following days, were transported on the carioles, passed our habitation for deposition in the "dead house," we observed many bodies, of which none of us had any knowledge: and again, when our wounded were returned to us from the hospital, they uniformly spoke of being surrounded there, in its many chambers, by many of the wounded of the enemy. To the great honor of general Carleton, they were all, whether friends or enemies, treated with like attention and humanity. The reason why the wounded of our side bore so small a proportion to the dead, seems to be this: In the long course we ran from Palace-gate to the first barrier, we lost many men who were killed outright, but many more died, who were merely wounded, yet in such a manner, as in a milder region, to make the case a curable one. A blow from a ball so large as that of a musket, staggers a man, whether the wound be in the arm, leg or, elsewhere; if in staggering, he falls, he comes down into a deep bed of snow, from which a hale man finds it very difficult to extricate himself. Five or ten minutes struggling in such a bed, benumbs the strongest man, as frequent experience has taught me; if the party be wounded, though but slightly, twenty or thirty minutes will kill him, not because of the severity of the wound, but by the intensity of the frost. These are my opinions; grounded on a tolerably distinct and accurate knowledge of particular cases, which occurred in the first part of the attack, and a variety of information obtained afterwards from individual sufferers, who were persons of credibility, rescued from death by the humane activity of governor Carleton. About 9 o'clock, A M. it was apparent to all of us, that we must surrender. It was done. On this occasion, my friend general F. Nichols, by his own native spirit, perseverance and determined bravery, obtained an honorable distinction, and acknowledg-

ment from a brave and distinguished enemy. It enhances his merit, and the boon, (when we reflect that that enemy was no other than general Carleton,) an ornament, such as would grace any nation, whether in the worst or best of times. Some privates came to lieutenant Nichols, and demanded his sword; the requisition was peremptorily denied, though there was great risk in the refusal. He retained his sword, till meeting with captain Endesly of the enemy, to whom it was surrendered; but with the exaction of a promise that it should be returned when he, the captive, should be released. In the August following, before our embarkation for New-York, captain Endesly waited on lieutenant Nichols, and in the presence of all the American officers, re-delivered the sword, under the assurance, that it was by the permission and command of general Carleton. This trait in the character of Carleton, adds to the celebrity of his derivation, and manner of thinking, and casts, into a dark ground, the characters of most of the principal British officers, particularly the Scotch, who had much influence in those days, and bore towards us an intemperate hatred.

The commissioned officers, and some of the cadets, were conducted to the seminary, a respectable building. It became my lot, in one way or other, to be lost in the crowd, and to be associated with the non-commissioned officers, in the company of some of whom, ardent and perilous duties had been undergone. These men are by no means to be lessened in character, by contrasting them with the levies made in Europe, or those made since that time in our own country. Many of our sergeants, and even of our privates, were, with good educations, substantial freeholders, in our own country. Upon a former occasion, you were told the story of the respectable Dixon. He possessed, (if sordid wealth makes the man,) twofold the riches of his captain; and if it be permitted me to decide upon the characters of men, five-fold his understanding, activity and spirit. Amiable Dixon! Many of these men, in the progress of the bloody scenes which ensued, became props of our glorious cause, in defence of our sacred liberties. All could be named. Let a few suffice. Thomas Boyd, so often spoken of in the wilderness for his good humor, his activity and the intensity of his sufferings; struggled gloriously for his life as a captain, and died a dreadful death by the hands of the savages in 1779, in the expedition conducted by general Sullivan against the Six-nation indians.* Charles Porterfield,

* The death of my friend Boyd, was to me as a thunderbolt; painful in an excessive degree; many a tear has since been shed to his manes. In the autumn of 1779, he commanded a company of rifle-men, of the

who lost his life in the battle of Camden, when in the station of a colonel. Joseph Aston, of Lamb's, who served his country throughout the war, and was promoted to a majority. Doctor Thomas Gibson, of Hendricks' who died in the performance of his duty, at the Valley Forge, in the winter of 1778. Robert Cunningham, a wealthy freeholder of Smith's, who here im-

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first Pennsylvania regiment. When Sullivan had penetrated into the Seneca country, in the neighborhood of the Genessee river. Boyd, as my information is from various gentlemen, was ordered with a band of twenty choice men, before daylight to make an excursion towards an Indian village, on the river Genessee, (which flows north into lake Ontario,) at a distance of eight miles, for the purpose of making discoveries. In his return, arriving at a rising ground, a knoll, he heard a rustling of the leaves in his front: an enemy was suspected; he gathered his men around him, each taking his tree. The enemy was sightless to Boyd and his party, yet the approach around him was sensible to every one. Boyd not knowing the number of his asssailants, it is said, considered them as a small body of observation. This party of Indians, probably one thousand, encompassed Boyd and his men, gradually: a defence worthy of the character of Boyd took place. Every man he had was killed, except three, who broke through the Indians, and brought the doleful tidings to our camp. Boyd was taken, and carried alive, to the Indian-town, where he was tortured after their savage custom, and his body mangled in the most horrid manner. General Simpson, who was then with the army, assures me, that on the following day, when the troops arrived at the town, in the wigwams, they found a number of fresh scalps stretched in the usual manner on small hoops, and painted. The head of Boyd lay in one of the cabins, newly dissevered. His scalp was still moist and hooped and painted. Simpson knew it by its long brown and silky hair: it is now preserved as a relic of our friend. An officer, (captain A. Henderson,) lately, in describing this unequal, but arduous fight, upon the part of Boyd, told me, "that the hands of the dead men, in many instances, were fast closed upon the hair of Indians."

To give you a more perfect idea of the brutality of savage tortue, and of heart-rending sensations. I can do no better than to lay before you, the letter of the honorable Thomas Campbell, of the senate, who himself has been a martyr in our cause. He saw the corpse of the unfortunate Boyd on the following day, and interred it. Since the death of colonel Crawford we know nothing like the present martyrdom, in the cause of liberty; and it is to be hoped, from the prudence and strength of the federal government, nothing of the kind will again occur in our future wars with the aborigines of our country.

"SENATE CHAMBER, LANCASTER
January 30th, 1809.

"SIR,

"Captain lieutenant Thomas Boyd, belonging to the riflemen of "the state of Pennsylvania, was most inhumanly murdered by the

bibed the seeds of that disorder, which, at too early an age, hurried him to the grave. He was a younger brother of that excellent citizen, and frequent representative of the people of the county of Lancaster, James Cunningham. In short, many others might be mentioned in the general, as worthy and well informed as their superiors, without, in anywise, imputing to the latter, in so saying, the slightest degree of disparagement. This will always be the case, when the great body of a nation rises in its strength to defend its rights. Those who understand the

"Indians. His death occurred on the 13th day of September, 1779, at "the Genessee Castle, on general Sullivan's expedition to the north-"west-ward, against the Six-nation Indians.

"He was sent on the night of the 12th of September, from the camp, "near a lake called "Conesus," with a party of men, consisting of twenty "soldiers, five volunteers and an Indian chief, named Han-Jost, be-"longing to the Oneida nation: in all twenty-seven in number. "They were sent by general Sullivan, to reconnoitre an Indian-town "supposed to be about six miles distant from the camp. On the "morning of the 12th of September, the army took up the line of "march before sunrise, but marching a short distance, was obliged to "halt, till the pioneers made a bridge over a morass, otherwise the "cannon could not have been brought up. The town that captain "Boyd was taken to, was evacuated by all except two Indians, one "was on horseback, the other was leading a cow. James Elliot and "Timothy Murphy were sent to stop them, they both discharged their "guns at the same time, the one that led the cow was killed, the other "though severely wounded escaped. Boyd returning slowly, ex-"pecting to meet the army saw an Indian start up and run off. It was "with great difficulty, that Boyd stopt the men from pursuit, at the "request of Han-Jost, who said the Indian was only "*a runner*," sent "to draw them into an ambuscade. Eighteen of the soldiers were "killed, and Han-Jost the Oneida chief; was made a greater sacrifice, "than any of the white men, who fell or were taken at that place.

"Captain Boyd and Michael Parker were made prisoners, and taken "to the Genessee Castle, and there most inhumanly murdered. "Boyd's head was taken off and totally skinned, his right eye "was taken out, as also his tongue. His right foot, from the ball "of the heel to the toes, was laid open as if with a knife. He "was cut open across the bottom of his belly, and his bowels were "taken out, and a very long knife, was sticking in between his shoul-"ders, descending to the vital parts. This seems to have been the "coup de grace.

"General Simpson and myself, were sent to see the corpse of Boyd "interred. I spread a blanket on the ground beside him, we then "turned the corpse over on it. I took the head of the deceased, and "put it as near the neck as possible. I procured a needle and thread "from one of the taylors, and sewed the corpse up as well as I could. "As to the head of Michael Parker, it could not be found. All the

point in question, in a national dispute, and are most strongly impressed with its importance, will be the first to arm. This has been, and ever will be, the dispositions of men in all ages past or to come, whenever their privileges are invaded. Offices of prime importance, cannot be obtained by all. Men of talents, of genius and courage must step into subordinate stations. Socrates, Alcibiades and Demosthenes, fought in the ranks.

God in his great goodness grant, in the future vicissitudes of the world, that our countrymen, whenever their essential rights shall be attacked, will divest themselves of all party prejudice, and devote their lives and properties in defence of the sacred liberties of their country, without any view to emolument, but that which springs from glorious and honorable actions. Pardon me for frequent digression, upon this subject particularly, as my whole soul was bound up in our cause, you *must* forgive me. The real apology is, we were, all of us, enthusiastic whigs.

When under guard, in the morning of the first of January, colonel M'Dougal, a Scotch gentleman, near noon, came to review us: his person was known to me at Detroit, as an intimate of an uncle, three years before this time. The colonel was naturally polite and kind-hearted. When it came to my turn

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"flesh was cut out, from his shoulders downward, and otherwise his "body was most inhumanly mangled.

"We interred the corpses of both, near the Genessee Castle, in sepa- "rate graves, on the 14th day of September, 1779.

"I am Sir,

"Your humble servant

"THOMAS GAMPBELL.

"*Late a captain of the fourth*

"*Pennsylva. regiment,*

"To the Hon. John Jos. Henry."

Though we have no account from an eye witness, of the barbarous manner in which captain Boyd was tortured yet we may conceive from the appearance of his body, that the most malignant and hellish pains, were exercised upon it. The being embowelled, conveys an idea of a known mode of Indian torment: the fixing an end of the entrails to the stake, and compelling the prisoner by fire and blows, to run till the conglomerated mass is expanded. Upon the subject of these tortures, look at Doctor Colden's History of the Mohawks, and Judge Smith's History of New-York.

Colonel Cambell is of opinion, that the wound along the sole of captain Boyd's foot, was made before the savages brought him to their (Castle) or village. His reason is, that the wound was filled with bits of rotten branches of wood, and small pieces of leaves. The conjecture may be true, as Indian punishment, at its acme, is to give the greatest degree of pain.

to be examined, as to name, place of birth, &c. besides making the proper answers to his inquiries, I was emboldened to declare, that he was known to me. He seemed surprised, but not displeased: a request was immediately added, "that he would "order me to be transferred to the quarters of the officers." "No, my dear boy," said he," you had better remain where you "are; the officers, as you are in rebellion, may be sent to Eng- "land, and there be tried for treason." The advice of this venerable veteran, made an impression on my mind, which was then agitated by a thousand vagrant thoughts, and involved in doubt and uncertainty as to our destination. We then well knew of the voyage of colonel Ethan Allen to England, and the manner of it;* and that of George Merchant, our fellow

*Of the treatment of Ethan Allen, at the time spoken of, we knew nothing but from report, which we then thought well grounded, and the truth of which, at this day, there is no reason to doubt. He was a man of much peculiarity of character. Large, powerful of body, a most ferocious temper, (fearing neither God nor man,) of a most daring courage, and a pertinacity of disposition, which was unconquerable, and very astonishing in all his undertakings: withal he had the art of making himself beloved, and revered by all his followers. When he was taken in the Isle of Montreal, in 1775, the government found it necessary to confine him in a cage, as one would a wild beast, and thus aboard ship, he was transported to Quebec. What his treatment was during this voyage to England is unknown to me.

This however, is known, that for many years, he was a prisoner in England, returning from his captivity to America, he brought with him a manuscript, which he afterwards entitled "The Oracle of Reason." My beloved children, it is the furthest from my thought, to confine your knowledge to narrow bounds; when you dip into scriptural history, dip deep, do not skim the surface of the subject, as many fools have done of late days. Upon a thorough inquiry, your hearts will be animated by a conviction, that there came a Saviour to redeem you from eternal perdition, and to provide for you, an eternal salvation and state of happiness.

That book was most certainly the composition of Ethan Allen. He was very illiterate; he did not know the orthography of our language. The extent of his learning, probably bounded by some historic chronicles, and a few other books of little account, did not go beyond the scriptures. The gentleman, who gave me the above information, was an elegant scholar, bred at Harvard college. Going to New-York, in the summer of 1786, a friend from mere curiosity, requested me to purchase the book for him. Being detained at New-York six weeks by business, I frequently looked into the detestable volume. The argument, if so diabolic a work, can be said to contain argument, was in general arrange, and conducted in the same manner as the "Age of Reason," but in a coarser, and yet a more energetic language, than that of the latter work. On my return to Philadelphia, in a conversation

soldier, but the consequences were unknown. It became my determination to take the fatherly advice of colonel M'Dougal, for it was really delivered in the parental style, and to adhere to it. He brought one of his sons, whom I had formerly known, to see me on the following day. About mid-day we were es-

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with the Vermontese gentleman, who was still there, "Ethan Allen's bible," became a topic of discourse. He gave me this curious anecdote, which he averred upon his honor to be true. A young gentleman, either a scholar of Harvard or Yale college had come into Vermont, and there taught a school. Allen labored under the want of an amanuensis and transcriber, of knowledge and learning. The scholar to increase his emoluments, became such. Allen attended him daily, standing staff in hand, at the back of the young man's chair. "Sir," he would say to Allen "this word is mispelled," "Amend it;" Again "this word is misplaced, the sense is incorrect, &c. Allen, who was most profane, would swear (sometimes raising his staff) "By G * * sir, you shall insert it; you shall not alter it." Thus the "Oracle of Reason," came into the world; which, of all books, is the most bluntly vicious, as regards the well-being of society; the salvation of souls; and the happiness of those, who have faith in the redemption, by the blood of our Saviour. But that which is very remarkable, is, that long after the publication of Allen's book, which had fallen into oblivion, even with its readers, that vile reprobate, Thomas Paine, loaded with every crime, which stains and dishonors the christian and the gentlemen, (in addition to his shameful practices in life, Paine, as an author, superadded plagiarism,) filched from Ethan Allen, the great body of his deistical and atheistical opinions, which from the time of Celsus, down to the age of Chubb, Tindal and others, have been so often refuted by men, of the utmost respectability of character and fame. When we reflect upon the vicissitudes of this world, its immense revolutions in temporal affairs, the awful persecutions, which occured in early times, the collisions of opinion and party rage, in the article of religious belief; and the vast body of martyrs, who devoted their lives in support of their faith, *we must* believe, that there is something more than ordinary; something really Divine in the system of our religion, springing from God himself. In the last ages, we know of many of both sexes, of the soundest and best instructed minds, whom it is almost needless to name, unless it be merely for the purpose of opposing their virtues and characters, to persons of a different mode of thinking. All of them possessed a firm and solid credence, in the celestial origin of our holy-faith, and some of them sealed their creed with their blood. When such men suffer because of principle, some reliance should be placed on their good sense and knowledge. The terms enthusiasm and madness, have been too often coupled, as conveying the same idea: George Fox, captain Meade, and William Penn, have been called enthusiastic madmen, but we now know, that they acted through the course of the religious parts of their lives, from a conviction of the principles of the gospel, being genuine and abso-

corted to a ruineus monastery of the order of St. Francis, called the *Reguliers*. It was an immense quadrangular building, containing, within its interior bounds, half an acre or more, of an area, which seemed to be like a garden or shrubbery. The monks, priests or what not, who inhabited the house, must

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lutely true. However, on this subject, but a few names need be repeated to convey to your minds its importance and solemnity. Many of the greatest men, as it concerns worldly things, were christians. John Huss, Jerome of Prague, Martin Luther, John Calvin, Cranmer, Hooker, Tillotson, of the clergy; of the laity, Sir Thomas Moore, Sir Matthew Hale, Spangenberg, Mosheim, Joseph Addison, Richard Steele, Lord Henry Littleton, Soame Jenyns, and thousand of others, all men of profound learning, have testified by their lives and writings, a reliance on the merits of the redemption by the blood of Christ Jesus. But when we find those men, supported and re-inforced, by two of the strongest minded men, that ever lived; Sir Isaac Newton and John Locke, who can doubt? When we contrast their opinions, with those of Hobbs, Chubb, Henry St. John, Voltaire, J. J. Rousseau, Beringer, the great Frederick of Prussia, or Mr. Gibbon, how deeply do the last not sink, by the weight of reason and argument? Allen and Paine, are paltry wretches, mere scribblers, if classed with the men last named. Those were beautiful writers, whose language fascinates, but corrupts the youthful mind, these are dull plodders, who know not the principles of their mother tongue; but it is perhaps from the circumstance of illiterateness, that Allen and Paine, have attacked christianity in so gross and indecorous a manner. The maniac Paine, when confined in the prison, Conciergerie, at Paris, seems to boast "that he kept no Bible." This may be true. But the expression shows, that his proper place instead of a common jail, should have been a mad-house.

It shews however, a vanity of mind beyond the bearing of men of understanding. Indeed he was inflated by a supercilious pride, and an imaginary importance, which made his society undesirable. He was one of that class of men, who with a small spice of learning, in company, domineered as if he had been a Johnson. He was almost unbearable to many men, who patronized him, because of the good effect of his works during the revolution. To give you a few instances: the late David Rittenhouse, Esq., one of the most amiable, most ingenious and best of men, treasurer of the state, George Bryan, Esq., the vice-president of the council, a man of great reading and much good sense, Jonathan Sergeant, the attorney general of Pennsylvania, whose oratorical powers, could scarcely be surpassed, and your grand-father, and many other gentlemen of character, during the course of the years '77, '78 and '79, were in habits of intimacy with him, but his dogmatic disposition and obstinacy of mind, frequently caused great disgust. Again, colonel Samuel John Attlee, an excellent patriot, and a man of note among us, both in the military and civil capacities of a citizen, gave this anecdote to me, a few months

have been few in number, as for my part, not more than half a dozen of distinct faces, came into my view while we staid here. We entered by the ground floor, (that is by the cellar,) the building on that side being built on the declination of the hill, which in this part of the city is very uneven. The apartments on our

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after the occurrence happened. Though all the gentlemen present, approved of the writings of Paine, as they concerned our political state, for they were all of them to a man, good whigs, yet they abhorred him, because of his personal aberrations from virtue, and the decencies of social life. A Mr. Meese of Philadelphia, who was clothier-general, had invited a number of gentlemen of the army, then in the city, to dine with him. Among whom were colonel Attlee, colonel Francis Johnson, general Nichols, and many members of the legislature of whom there was Matthias Slough of Lancaster You may readily suppose, that the excellent wine of Mr. Meese, exhilerated the company. When returning to their lodgings, colonel Attlee observed Paine coming towards them down Market-street. There comes "Common Sense," says Attlee to the company. "Damn him, says Slough, I shall common sense him." As he approached the party, they took the wall. Mr. Slough tripped him, and threw him on his back into a gutter, which at that time, was very offensive and filthy.

This is told, to communicate a trait to you, in the character of Thomas Paine, who did some good, but a vast deal of harm to mankind, "that the very people who were most benefitted by his literary labours, hated him." The company I have spoken of, were all men of eminence in the state; men who staked their *all*, on the issue of the revolution. The writings of Paine as concerns *us*, are many of them handsomely worded, have pith and much strength of argument, and are in general correct, yet his domestic life and manners, were so very incorrect, that a disgust, which was perhaps right, destroyed every favorable personal feeling towards him. His indelicacy was intolerable. His numbers of Common Sense, the Crisis, and some other of his fugitive pieces, every American who recollects those "trying times," must acknowledge to have been extremely beneficial to our cause. This has often been admitted by our generals Washington, Gates, Greene, &c. but he was compensated, and had the secretaryship for foreign affairs. Like all men of bad principles, he betrayed his trust, and a virtuous Congress displaced him, yet the different states more than remunerated him for all his writings.

So it is, that that man, who was without virtue, a disturber of society, an ill husband, an unworthy citizen, cloaked by every vice, would now by his "Age of Reason," which he stole from the ignorant Ethan Allen, who was as iniquitous as himself, destroy the peace of mind and all the the hope of happiness in futurity, of those who rely on the redemption of their souls, by the blood of Christ; and that, without substituting or even suggesting, any other manner of faith, tending to quiet the minds of sinners. I knew Paine well, and that personally, for he

right, as we entered, seemed to be filled with governmental stores, and of provisions of all kinds. They made us ascend a large staircase into an upper story, where we were complimented with two sides, or rather a part of each of the sides of the quadrangle. The whole building would have accommo-

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lodged in the house of my father, during the time that general Howe and Clinton, were in Philadelphia. His host often regretted the entertainment he gave him. His manners were in opposition and hostile to the observances of the proprieties and due ordinances of social life. Many who approved of his political writings, abominated his detestable mode of living and acting.

[I am justified in using these expressions, by an occurrence in 1794, with my own mother. She was a woman of strong understanding, and of unfeigned and rigid belief in the truths of Gospel-history, yet a dispassionate placid and mild religionist. Her heart was so free from thinking ill of any one, that of a truth, of her it might be said, "she knew no guile." One day going to a bookseller's in Lancaster, I met with an extract in the shape of a pamphlet of Doctor Joseph Priestley's "History of the Corruptions of Christianity." Never having seen any of that gentleman's polemic works, it was purchased. My mother as usual, came in, in the evening, to sit and converse with my family. I was reading the pamphlet. "What have you got?" "A work of Doctor Priestley's on religion." I was then at the chapter of the "Doctrine of the Atonement of Christ," for the sins of the world. The title of the chapter excited the attention of my mother. Before she came in, the passage had been partly perused, and she eagerly asked me "to read the whole of it to her?" I began, but had scarcely proceeded through two or three pages, when she rapped the book from my hands, and threw it into the fire, where it was most deservedly burned. Smilingly, I said mother, why do you destroy my book? The reply was with an observable degree of anger, "because your book would destroy my happiness, in this and the world to come! I know that I have a Saviour, who redeemed me, whose blood was shed upon the cross for me: of this, I am convinced. Your book goes to make me doubt of the merits, of the sufferings, of that Saviour. The book would deprive me of the only staff, upon which my hope of salvation rests, and gives me none other, upon which I can lean." These notions of my beloved mother, which accorded fully with my own, on that topic, were submitted to with a juvenile frankness, which pleased her, and of all the world, I knew none, whom I so much wished to oblige, as that dear, amiable and instructive mother. My father had been a mechanic of much respectability, and great skill. During the war, usually called "Bradock's war," and afterwards in Forbes' campaign, (in 1758,) he was at the head of the armoury, which in those days, was no mean station, and required talents of a superior grade. Afterwards, having made a tolerable fortune, he entered into trade, but his inclinations led him into chymical experi-

dated four thousand men. Monkish spirit must have been in high vogue, when so great a pile could be erected, merely from the alms of the people, and that too, for so egregiously absurd a purpose. The ranges of the rooms, though extensive in the length of the galleries, were small in their size, be-

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ments. His evenings and mornings, were devoted to the laboratory. This gave rise to my mother's acquaintance with Mr. Priestly, as an experimental philosopher. For the instruction of his children, my father would discourse upon the subjects of science and particularly of chymistry, which was his favorite theme, and in which the names of Franklin and Priestley, were sure to stand foremost. My beloved parent's manner, showed me that she was stung to the quick. My apology to her, had the desired effect, as her curiosity and mine, sprung from similar motives "a desire to know the religious opinions of a man, of whom we had had superlative ideas," because of his acquirements in many other branches of knowledge.

The position wished to be proved to you, by this relation; which is true, is "that for the sake of public and private comfort and genial "happiness, it is better not to disturb the devout mind by fanciful and "newfangled schemes of belief, and that those should be open only "to the eyes of the learned!" My mother was a person of extensive reading; her religious tenets and faith, were solely grounded on the scriptures, of the Old and New Testaments, as these in her mind, were considered as clearly correct, but nevertheless, she was fearful of a disturbance of her mind by the quirks and quibbles of deistical scribblers. Therefore to interfere with her devotional principles, in so rude and heterodox a manner, tended to derange her charming mind, and devastate those elegant maxims of Christian belief, which the excellency of her maternal education had infused into her heart; in short, to destroy that firmness, with which she relied on the merits and sufferings of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Such men as Hobbs, Chubb, &c. seem not to have reflected on the dreadful ills and calamities, their writings would create, if their books came into general circulation. If they did reflect, posterity ought to consider them to have been the tygers and hyenas of human society, opposed to the well-being of the human race. Voltaire and John James Rousseau, in my humble opinion, intended well to the people of France, but when speaking of those gentlemen, we should recollect, that they, as well as the virtuous and celebrated Montesquieu, were the subjects of a prince, who might if he pleased, be despotic: but that which was still worse, was, that the people were abandoned to the control of a theological aristocracy—bigoted, wealthy, imperious and scandalously subjected to vices, in many instances, greater than those of laymen, insomuch, that in the reign of Louis XIV. because of the infamous lives, and the oppressions of all classes of the nation by the clergy, there was scarcely a gentleman in the kingdom, who was not deistically inclined. For when the ministers of a religion of so high sanctity, as that of our Holy Faith, demean

ing scarcely more than ten by twelve or fourteen feet. The galleries were about twelve feet wide; many rooms were comfortable, others were dilapidated. Ten or a dozen of our poor fellows, were compressed into one of these small rooms. So much the better, as it served to keep them the warmer. Boyd,

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themselves in a manner, which evinces to laymen, their want of confidence in the religion, (which they had been consecrated to propagate and enforce,) by an unholy life and conduct, particularly in their cruel exactions, from devotees; in the latter instance, of enormous fees, and various demands of tithes of a most exorbitant nature, which from time to time, they wickedly usurped. Hence, it arose that Montesqueiu, Voltaire, Diderot, Rosseau, and hundreds of others, of the learned men of France, (considering the state of that government,) formed a phalanx of historic knowledge, genuine reasoning, true wit, and an inexhaustable fund of humour which slurred their opponents to such a degree, as in the minds of the generality of Europe gave them a deserved victory even over the government, which supported the theocracy, with its vast power. It also most probably, came from thence, that those men under the clerical persecutions raised against them, (for many were confined in the dungeons,) in the heat of controversy, emitted opinions and ideas, inconsistent with our pure simple and holy religion, according to the Augsburg creed, which we know, has been adopted, either in the whole or in part, by all the reformed churches. In polemic disputes, and perhaps more particularly, in those which happen in monarchies, there is an acrimony and irascibility of temper, inflaming the minds of men generally, greater than in the case in democracies. The cause seems to be, that in monarchies, the priesthood becomes a machine of government, in democracies, it is the vehicle, by which the people simply adore God.

Those controversies, between the so styled philosophers of France and the clergy, were conducted with such hatred, and obloquy towards each other, that they elicited sparks, which enkindled that nation, in a dreadful flame of internal destruction; and the brand has not only communicated itself to all Europe, but in general to the world at large. Since the time of Julius Cæsar, nothing has occurred equal in barbarity, irruption, bloodshed, murder, by public or domestic treason, as that which has happened in Europe, since the year 1789. Gracious and omnipotent God, restore the peace of the world!!!]

Such is the man, who upon his slight intercourse with the American people, pluming himself, with the well-earned celebrity of his political pieces, that now presumes to become a reformer of our morals, our religious opinions and thinkings on Divine subjects: He himself a reprobate, cloaked by every vice, would dictate to a great and independent christian people, their formulary of belief. Such insolence and presumption, was never before witnessed unless it was in the instance of Mahomet, or in those of the impostures, (such as Sabbati Sevi,) who frequently as Messias, appeared to deceive the remnant of the Jewish people. Paine with all his other vices had a foible inju-

Cunningham, and a few of our intimates, took possession of a room near a large stove. The first week, we slept most uncomfortably. Gracious God! what did we not suffer.

It was now that we fully learnt the destinies of our dear and revered general, and his companions in death. But allow me be-

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rious to our country. To keep up the spirits of the people it was requisite, that there should be a series of patriotic publications. Paine was the most indolent of men; if he was inspired by a muse, the goddess most certainly, made him but few visits. The office of "secretary of foreign affairs," was conferred upon him, because of the merit of his "Common Sense," or what are called the "Crisis," under the signature of "Common Sense." It was to him personally a sinecure. He never went to York (Penn.) where Congress then sat, but occasionally, and staid but a day or two. His true employment, was that of a political writer. In the summer and winter of 1777, and 1778, he was an inmate of my father's house, as were the late David Rittenhouse, the state-treasurer, and John Hart, a member of the then "executive-council."

Paine would walk of a morning until 12 o'clock; come in and make an inordinate dinner. The rising from table was between two and three o'clock. He would then retire to his bed-chamber, wrap a blanket around him, and in a large arm chair, take a nap, of two or three hours—rise and walk. These walks and his indolence, surprised my parents; they knew him as the author of "Common Sense," who had written patriotically, and in those writings, promulgated some moral and religious ideas, which induced them to believe he was an orthodox christian. Indeed Paine, during the revolution, was careful to emit no irreligious dogmas, or any of his late diabolic ideas; if he had, the good sense of the American people, their virtue and unfeigned worship of the Deity, would have, in those days, banished him from their country. Your grandfather's feelings a few months before his death, (which occurred on the 15th of December, 1786,) when speaking of the unbeliever (Paine,) were truly poignant; for now the wretch's true character had began to open on the world. He lamented with tears, that he had ever admitted him into his house, or had a personal acquaintance and intercourse with him. He was from conviction, a sincere christian, converted by the scriptures; of a strong mind, and of a most tender conscience.

Do not permit any thing now said, to induce you to undervalue the sagacity of my father, for he was wise: but of so benevolent a mind, that in the common affairs of life, he held a principle in morality as true, which is by no mean generally received; to wit, "That we should consider every one as possessing probity, until we discover him to be otherwise." Other gentlemen think differently. However, it may well be maintained that the side my father took on this topic, which I have often heard argued, accords with the true spirit of the gospel, the other side is stoicism. From these last observations, you will readily perceive how easy it was to impose on my father. This

fore the detail of that sad story, to give you an anecdote: The merchants of Quebec, like those of England and our country, are a spirited and generous sect in society: they applied to governor Carleton, and obtained leave, to make us a "new-year's gift." This turned out to be no other than a large butt of porter, attended by a proportionate quantity of bread and cheese. It was a present which exhilerated our hearts, and drew from us much thankfulness. We shared more than a pint per man.

General Montgomery had marched at the precise time stipulated, and had arrived at his destined place of attack, nearly

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is the reason for his entertaining Paine. I have said that Paine was indolent. Take this as an instance: The Crisis, No. V, is but a short political essay, to be sure of great skill in the composition, of much eloquent invective, strong reasoning, some historic anecdote, and a fund of redicule which fitted the passions of the times. But recollect that this piece, to Paine, was a labour of three months in the enditing. It was written in my father's house. Mr. D. Rittenhouse inhabited the front room, in the upper story, where was the library. There he kept the office of the treasury of Pennsylvania. The room of Mr. Hart and Paine, was to the left hand as you come to the stair-head entering the library.

When my wound in 1778, was so far mended, that hobbling on crutches, or by creeping up stairs, (as you may have seen me of late years do,) my greatest recreation in my distressed state of mind, was to get into the chamber of Mr. Rittenhouse where the books were. There, his conversation, (for he was most affable,) enlivened my mind, and the books would so amuse it, that it became calm, and some desperate resolutions were dissolved. While that excellent man was employing his hours in the duties of his office, for the benefit of the people, Paine would be a snoring away his precious time in his easy chair, regardless of those injunctions imposed upon him by congress, in relation to his political compositions. His remissness, indolence or vacuity of thought, caused great heart-burning among many primary characters, in those days. I have heard the late George Bryan, Esq. then vice-president of the council, speak of his gross neglects with remarkable harshness. I would sometimes go into Paine's room, and sit with him. His Crisis, No. V, lay on his table, dusted: to-day three or four lines would be added, in the course of a week, a dozen more, and so on. No. V. is dated 21st March, 1778, but it was not published until some months after that date, and it was generally thought by good whigs, that it had been too long delayed. For my own part, I was so passionately engaged at heart, in the principles of our cause, that Paine's manner of living and acting, gave me a high disgust towards him. No idea could enter my mind, that any one in that noble struggle could be idle or disengaged. As to myself, my sensations were such, that the example of a Decius might have been renewed.

about the time we attacked the first barrier. He was not one that would loiter. Colonel Campbell,* of the New-York troops, a large, good-looking man, who was second in command of that party, and was deemed a veteran, accompanied the army to the assault; his station was rearward, general Montgomery, with his aids, were at the point of the column.

It is impossible to give you a fair and complete idea, of the nature and situation, of the place solely with the pen—the pencil is required. As by the special permission of government, obtained by the good offices of captain Prentis, in the summer following; Boyd, a few others and myself, reviewed the causes of our disaster; it is therefore in my power, so far as my abilities will permit, to give you, a tolerable notion of the spot. Cape Diamond, nearly resembles the great jutting rock, which is in the narrows at Hunter's falls, on the Susquehanna. The rock, at the latter place, shoots out as steeply as that at Quebec, but by no mean forms so great an angle, on the margin of the river; but is more craggy. There is a stronger and more obvious difference in the comparison. When you surmount the hill at St. Charles, or the St. Lawrence side, which, to the eye are equally high and steep, you find on Abraham's Plains, and upon an extensive champaign country. They birds-eye view around Quebec, bears a striking conformity to the scites of Northumberland and Pittsburg, in Pennsylvania; but the former is on a more gigantic scale, and each of the latter want the steepness and craggyness of the back ground, and a depth of rivers. This detail, is to instruct you in the goegraphical situation of Quebec, and for the sole purpose of explaining the manner of general Montgomery's death, and the reasons of our failure. From Wolf's cove, there is a good beach, down to, and around "Cape Diamond." The bulwarks of the city, came to the edge of the hill, above that place. Thence down the side of the precipice, slantingly to the brink of the river, there was a stockade of strong posts, fifteen or twenty feet high, knit together by a stout railing, at bottom and top with pins. This was no mean defence, and was at the distance of one hundred yards, from the point of the rock. Within this palisade, and at a few yards from the very point itself, there was a like palisade, though it did not run so high up the hill. Again, within Cape Diamond, and probably at a distance of fifty yards, there stood a block-house, which seemed to take up the space, between the foot of the hill, and the precipitous bank of the river, leaving a cart-way, or pas-

*This was not my friend Col. Thomas Campbell of York, (Penn.) He was fighting the battles of our country at Boston.

sage on each side of it. When heights and distances are spoken of, you must recollect, that the description of Cape Diamond and its vicinity, is merely that of the eye, made as it were running, under the inspection of an officer. The review of the ground, our army had acted upon, was accorded us, as a particular favor. Even to have stepped the spaces in a formal manner, would have been dishonorable, if not a species of treason. A block-house, if well contructed, is an admirable method of defence, which in the process of the war, to our cost, was fully experienced. In the instance now before us, (though the house was not built upon the most approved principles,) yet it was a formidable object. It was a square of perhaps forty or fifty feet. The large logs neatly squared, were tightly bound together, by dove-tail work. If not much mistaken, the lower story contained loop-holes for musketry, so narrow, that those within, could not be harmed from without. The upper story, had four or more port holes, for cannon of a large calibre. These guns were charged with grape or cannister shot, and were pointed with exactness towards the avenue, at Cape Diamond. The hero Montgomery came. The drowsy or drunken guard, did not hear the sawing of the posts of the first palisades. Here, if not every erroneous, four posts were sawed and thrown aside, so as to admit four men abreast The column entered with a manly fortitude. Montgomery, accompanied by his aids, M'Pherson and Cheeseman, advanced in front. Arriving at the second palisade, the general, with *his own hands*, sawed down two of the pickets, in such a manner, as to admit two men abreast. These sawed pickets, were close under the hill, and but a few yards from the very point of the rock, out of the view and fire of the enemy, from the block-house. Until our troops advanced to the point, no harm could ensue, but by stones thrown from above. Even now, there had been but an imperfect discovery of the advancing of an enemy, and that only by the intoxicated guard. The guard fled, the general advanced a few paces. A drunken sailor returned to his gun, swearing he would not forsake it while undischarged. This fact is related from the testimony of the guard on the morning of our capture, some of those sailors being our guard. Applying the match, this single discharge, deprived us of our excellent commander.*

Examining the spot, the officer who escorted us, professing to be one of those, who first come to the place, after the

*I have related this as I received it—from my own knowledge, I can say nothing—I leave to the world to determine the credibility the story is entitled to.

death of the general, showed the position in which the general's body was found. It lay two paces from the brink of the river, on the back, the arms extended—Cheeseman lay on the left, and M'Pherson on the right, in a triangular position. Two other brave men lay near them. The ground above described, was visited by an inquisitive eye, so that you may rely with some implicitness, on the truth of the picture. As all danger from without had vanished, the government had not only permitted the mutilated palisades to remain, without renewing the enclosure, but the very sticks, sawed by the hand of our commander, still lay, strewed about the spot.

Colonel Campbell, appalled by the death of the general, retreated a little way from Cape-Diamond, out of the reach of the cannon of the block-house, and pretendedly called a council of officers, who, it was said, justified his receding from the attack. If rushing on, as military duty required, and a brave man would have done, the block-house might have been occupied by a small number, and was unassailable from without, but by cannon. From the block-house to the centre of the lower town, where we were, there was no obstacle to impede a force so powerful, as that under colonel Campbell.

Cowardice, or a want of good will towards our cause, left us to our miserable fate. A junction, though we might not conquer the fortress, would enable us to make an honorable retreat, though with the loss of many valuable lives. Campbell, who was ever after considered as a poltroon in grain, retreated, leaving the bodies of the general, M'Pherson and Cheeseman, to be devoured by the dogs. The disgust caused among us, as to Campbell, was so great as to create the unchristian wish, that he might be hanged. In that desultory period, though he was tried, he was acquitted; that was also the case of colonel Enos, who deserted us on the Kennebec. There never were two men more worthy of punishment of the most exemplary kind.

On the third or fourth of January, being as it were domesticated in the sergeant's mess, in the *reguliers*, a file of men headed by an officer, called to conduct me to the seminary. Adhering to the advice of colonel M'Dougal, the invitation was declined, though the hero Morgan, had solicited this grace from governor Carleton, and had sent me a kind and pressing message. My reasons, which were explained to Moragn, in addition to the one already given, operated forcibly on my mind. Having lost all my clothes in the wilderness, except those on my back: and those acquired by the provident and gratuitous spirit of general Montgomery, having remained at our quarters, and become a prey to the women and invalids of

the army: nothing remained fitting me to appear in company anywhere. Additionally, it had become a resolution, when leaving Lancaster, as my absence would go near to break the hearts of my parents, never to break upon my worthy father's purse. Dire necessity compelled me to rescind this resolution in part, in the wilderness, but that circumstance, made me the more determined to adhere to the resolve afterwards. Again, my intimate friends were not in the seminary. Steel was in the hospital, and Simpson, by previous command on the charming Isle of Orleans, which, from its fruitfulness had became, as it were, our store-house.* Add to all these reasons; it could

*In former times, as now, lying was in vogue, but methinks within the last thirty years, there have been vast improvements in the art. Receive information of two instances, which were somewhat remarkable in those days. Simpson, one of the most spirited and active of officers—always alert—always on duty, was traduced and vilified for a want of courage, because he was *not* taken a prisoner at Quebec. This small canton, (Paxton,) was bursting with the falsehoods propagated on this subject. On the other hand, captain M. Smith, our commander, was applauded for his immense bravery shewn in the attack of that place, when in fact, he was on the isle of Orleans, many miles distant from the city. Simpson had been commanded to that place by a regular order from colonel Arnold. Captain Smith skulked thither illicitly. Here is a fac-simile, as to orthography of Arnold's order to Lieut. Simpson, which I took from the original now in his possession. On my part, it seems to be a duty to make it known to you in justification of an excellent patriot, one of my friends from early youth.

"LIEUT. SIMPSON,

"SIR—You are to proceed to Orleans, and take charge of the men "there, and keep all provisions from going to town: you will be as- "sidious in gaining the esteem of the inhabitants, who are now com- "plaining that they have been treated in a rigorous manner: for pro- "visions or assistance, you receive from them, you will pay them the "value, or give orders on me for the *for the* same. I make no doubt "but you will endeavour to cultivate the friendship of the people "as far as is consist*a*nt with your duty. You will be careful to keep "your men under strict discipline, and not suffer them to have too "much liquor. I am told there has been open house kept there. "You will use as much œconomy as is consist*a*nt with our c*u*rcum- "stances."

"I am,

"Sir,

"Your humble servant,

"B. ARNOLD, Col."

"December 29, 1775."

[This rigor was administered by a William Cross, our third lieuten-

not be said of the gentlemen in the seminary 'they are my intimates," except as to captain Morgan, and lieutenant F. Nichols of Hendrick's. Besides my leather small-clothes, all in fritters, had been cast away, and a savage covering adopted, until more auspicious times came. But even now, an idea of escape and vengeance inflamed the breasts of many, and we were here in a much superior situation for such a purpose, than that of the seminary. More of this hereafter. All these facts and circumstances, induced an evasion of the friendly solicitation of the kind-hearted Morgan.

On the third day of our capture, the generous Carleton despatched a flag to Arnold, to obtain what trifling baggage we had left at our quarters; mine was either forgotten, or miserable as it was, had been plundered; but as good luck would have it, the knapsack of one Alexander Nelson of our company, who was killed when running to the first barrier, was disclaimed by all of our men. Your father in consequence, laid violent hands upon the spoil. It furnished Boyd and myself, with a large, but coarse blue blanket, called a "stroud," and a drummer's regimental coat. The blanket became a real comfort, the coat an article of barter. It was on this day, that my heart was ready to burst with grief, at viewing the funeral of our beloved general. Carleton had, in our former wars with the French, been the friend and fellow-soldier of Montgomery. Though political opinion, perhaps ambition or interest, had thrown these worthies, on different sides of the great question,

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ant, with as free a hand as he was lax in his principles of morality. Cross was a handsome little Irishmen, always neatly dressed, and commanded a detachment of about twenty men. The Canadian gentlemen, who came as agents from the islanders on this occasion, stated that Cross had extorted from them their wines and other liquors, and all kinds of provisions, which he lavished on worthless people; making no compensation for his exactions. This was rigor indeed! for the people of the isle were our friends. In short, this unworthy officer kept "open house;" and had a short, but a luxurious and merry reign over that charming spot. He was not with us at the attack of the city, but gaily danced his way to quarters.]

Smith wrote but Simpson acted. A letter from Smith to a worthy and patriotic clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Elder, of Paxton, which was filled with bombast and trash, and stuffed with the most flagrant untruths; that he was in the "midst of the battle—covered by smoke; bullets of all sizes playing around him, &c. &c." every word of which was fabulous. This person was among the last of those savage men, who murdered the innocent and unoffending Indians in the jail of the town we now live in. They have all died miserably; but a few remaining to relate the anecdote of the occurrence of that horrible massacre.

yet the former, could not but honor the remains of his quondam friend. About noon, the procession passed our quarters. It was most solemn. The coffin covered with a pall, surmounted by transverse swords—was borne by men. The regular troops, particularly that fine body of men, the seventh regiment, with reversed arms, and scarfs on the left elbow, accompanied the corpse to the grave. The funerals of the other officers, both friends and enemies, were performed this day. From many of us, it drew tears of affection for the defunct, and speaking for myself, tears of greeting and thankfulness, towards general Carleton. The soldiery and inhabitants, appeared affected by the loss of this invaluable man, though he was their enemy. If such men as Washington, Carleton and Montgomery, had had the entire direction of the adverse war, the contention, in the event, might have happily terminated to the advantage of both sections of the nation. M'Pherson, Cheeseman, Hendricks, Humphreys, were all dignified by the manner of burial.

On the same, or the following day, we were compelled, (if we would look,) to a more disgusting and torturing sight. Many carioles, repeatedly one after the other, passed our dwelling loaded with the dead, whether of the assailants or of the garrison, to a place, emphatically, called the "dead-house." Here the bodies were heaped in monstrous piles. The horror of the sight, to us southern men, principally consisted in seeing our companions borne to interment, uncoffined, and in the very clothes they had worn in battle; their limbs distorted in various directions, such as would ensue in the moment of death. Many of our friends and acquaintances were apparent. Poor Nelson lay on the top of half a dozen other bodies—his arms extended beyond his head, as if in the act of prayer, and one knee crooked, and raised seemingly, when he last gasped in the agonies of death. Curse on these civil wars which extinguish the sociabilities of mankind, and annihilate the strength of nations. A flood of tears was consequent. Though Montgomery was beloved, because of his manliness of soul, heroic bravery and suavity of manners; Hendricks and Humphreys, for the same admirable qualities, and especially for the endurances we underwent in conjunction, which enforced many a tear: still my unhappy and lost brethren, though in humble station, with whom that dreadful wild was penetrated, and from whom came many attentions towards me, forced melancholy sensations. From what is said relative to the "Dead-house," you might conclude that general Carleton was inhumane or hard-hearted. No such thing. In this northern latitude, at this season of the year, according to my feelings, (we had no

thermometer,) the weather was so cold, as usually to be many degrees below 0. A wound, if mortal, or even otherwise, casts the party wounded into the snow; if death should follow, it throws the sufferer into various attitudes, which are assumed in the extreme pain accompanying death. The moment death takes place, the frost fixes the limbs in whatever situation they may then happen to be, and which cannot be reduced to decent order, until they are thawed. In this state, the bodies of the slain are deposited in the "dead-house," hard as ice. At this season of the year, the earth is frozen from two to five feet deep, impenetrable to the best pick-axe, in the hands of the stoutest man. Hence you may perceive a justification of the "dead-house." It is no new observation, "that climates form the manners and habitudes of the people."

On the next day, (January 4th,) we were visited by colonel Maclean, an old man, attended by other officers, for a peculiar purpose, that is, to ascertain who among us were born in Europe. We had many Irishmen, and some Englishmen. The question was put to each; those who admitted a British birth, were told they must serve his majesty in colonel Maclean's regiment, a new corps, called the "emigrants." Our poor fellows, under the fearful penalty of being carried to Britain, there to be tried for treason, were compelled by necessity, and many of them did enlist. Two of them, very brave men, Edward Cavenaugh and Timothy Conner, deserve to be named, because of a particular occurrence which happened shortly afterwards: These two men, among others, called upon me for my advice how to act. Being, at that time, neither lawyer nor a casuist, they had my opinion according to the dictates of nature, and some slight reading. That is, that they should enlist, for a constrained oath, as theirs would be, could not be binding on the conscience: and by all means to join our army as soon as practicable. They enlisted under the notion, that the oath was non-obligatory, and a hope of a speedy return to their sweet-hearts and wives. Allow me here to recount, by anticipation, the residue of the adventures of "honest Ned." It is due to him, for he saved my life, and that of Simpson, on the "Dead river." Towards the end of January Cavenaugh and Conner, happened to compose a part of the same guard at Palace-gate, where the walls are from thirty to forty feet high, independently of the declivity of the hill. Cavenaugh was stationed as a sentry in conjunction with one of the British party. Connor had procured a bottle of rum; coming to the station, he drank himself, and presented the bottle to the British sentry. While the latter was in the act of drinking, Cavenaugh gave him a push with the butt of his

musket, which stunned and brought him to the earth. Taking his arms, they sprung over the wall into a bed of snow, perhaps twenty-five feet deep. This averment concerning the depth of the snow, may appear problematical, as we know nothing like it in our climate. Form no definitive opinion until you have heard the reasons why it does happen. As you may recollect several instances in this memoir, where the asperity of a Quebec winter is intimated, and a description of its effects attempted—such as frequent snow-storms and fierce winds. In the month of January, particularly, when the snow has increased to a depth of seven feet over the face of the country, notwithstanding the shining of the sun, the cold is so great, that those winds drive the snow daily, against the high ramparts of the city, where it forms a compact mass—the last stratum being light and dry, as the finest sand, which may be whirled by the wind. Cavenaugh and Conner leaped middeep into such a soft bed. Their disadvantage consisted in sinking too deep; the height of the leap, plunging them deeper than ordinary walking would do, made it difficult for them to extricate themselves. The relief-guard came in time to give them a volley, as they were scampering away. Thanks to God, my worthy Irishmen escaped unharmed, though as they passed through St. Roque, they were complimented by several discharges of cannister and grape shot. This was the first notice we had of the escape of our daring friends. We heard next morning, all the minutiæ from those who guarded us. Cavenaugh is still alive—is laborious, and has a large family of children, who are respectable in their way. You cannot conceive the joyousness of my heart, when hearing of him, in my peregrinations a few years since, in the mountainous parts of York county. The pittance then spared him, it is hoped will make you never the poorer. The assembly of Pennsylvania have granted him a pension, for which that honorable body have my most fervent blessings. Old age and decrepitude, by the extremity of our sufferings, is brought upon us, long before the ordinary allotments of nature. We served our country faithfully, and at this late day, it is really pleasant to observe the spirit of the public, inclined to compensate the veterans of 1775 and 1776. So much for my preserver "Honest Ned," which epithet he still bears among his neighors, by whom, bating a venial vice, he is esteemed. Timothy Conner, on the contrary, possessing the art of acquiring wealth, married, had a competency, but lost it subsequently by his vices, which bore a strong affinity to gross criminality.

By the middle of January, we were settled down into a state something like household order: those who could economise,

fared tolerably well, though they could have used more. Our daily provision consisted of a biscuit made of a coarse meal, from something like our chopped rye; very often chaff or straw, half an inch in length, was found in this species of bread. A biscuit of the size of a cake of gingerbread, now sold with us for a cent, was the daily allowance of this article · half a pound of pork, or three quarters of a pound of beef, though these were much salted, even so as to be uncomfortable—they were of Irish preparation, perhaps for the sea-service: a competent allowance of butter, originally fine, yet now rancid; candles, molasses, and even vinegar:—this last article, so long as it could be afforded us, was a preservative from the disorders which unwittingly we were imbibing daily. Knowing the difficulties under which the garrison lay—foes at the gates, and an uncertainty of succour; the governor was thought of by me, with similar allowances, that ought to be made to our own generals, in circumstances of such pinching necessity. From all information attainable on our part, we were as well treated as those of the garrison, who lived on the same kinds of food, except as to liquor, which deprivation was more beneficial than injurious to our men. It is grateful to my heart, now to remember and repeat, the benevolent sensations this mildness and humanity created in my mind, towards the virtuous, the amiable and venerable Carleton. He was a genuine representative of the gentility of the Irish nation, which is so deservedly famous for the production of real heroes, patriotic statesmen, and a generosity and suavity of manners. He was of great candour, uprightness and honor, and full of the spirit of philanthropy, which marks the real gentleman. He made us several visits, in all of which he seemed, merely to have a solicitude for our welfare, without any sinister view, such as a seduction from our principles, &c. That he granted us every accommodation, his trying situation authorized, there can be no doubt. Shortly after the time now spoken of, we were conducted to the Dauphin jail. Before we quit the reguliers, admit me to state to you something more, relating to our manner of living there. My youthful appetite required and demanded a greater quantity of food than we then enjoyed. We wanted spoons, not only in our own mess, but throughout the whole corps. There was no money among us to purchase such an implement, and if there had been, and opportunity had offered it is likely the jealously of government, would have deprived us of them, if formed of metal of any kind.

One day being at the unloading a cord of wood, a birch stick, the only piece of hard wood in the load, was eagerly laid hold of, and borne to the messroom; from this, a wooden

spoon was soon formed for my own use. Lobscouse made a part of our diurnal food. This term, though vulgar, conveys to one, who, when hungry, has tasted the dish, some agreeable ideas. Among soldiers and sailors it is esteemed equal to the "olla podrida" of the Spaniards, and nearly so to the "speck and oyer" of the Germans; it is certainly more nourishing than what the latter call "water soup," and even "meal soup." We put our vile biscuit into a tin vessel, with a sufficient quantity of water, and permited it to stew on the stove, until there was a perfect mucilage, some thin slices of bacon fat (the reserve of the last meal,) were then added; or some of the skimmings of the boilers, but most usually, the rancid butter, (which was thus made palatable:) when these substances were well incorporated with the biscuit; a few spoon-fulls of molasses finished the dish. This was the ordinary breakfast, and a good one, when we could spoon it into our mouths. My spoon therefore, was an article in great demand, and of prime necessity. The production of one spoon, created a desire for more; they were manufactured in abundance, by the means of two knives—a great and a small, but always disposed of for biscuit. Spoons were made as large as small ladles, some with a deer at full stretch, a hound pursuing—an Indian sitting—a beaver—and twenty other devices were invented, and tolerably well carved. Some came to five biscuits, some to ten, and one in particular at twenty, which my friends, thought worthy of the acceptance of the governor, but care was taken not to present it. Boyd and Cunningham carefully furnished the wood. Thus we could exist pretty well on our slender diet. But we had other resources, which were by no means neglected. Henry Crone, a well bred young man, descended from a worthy and respectable family of York county, Pennsylvania, much my senior, but who was known to me during his apprenticeship at Lancaster, had dissipated a good fortune at the gaming tables; he was a sergeant of Hendricks'. Miserable as was our predicament, the demon of play had intruded itself among us, though there was neither money nor clothing, but that upon our backs, and our daily provisions to sport with. The play was for biscuit, and most usually at a game called "all-fours," in which Crone was a real adept. He was a droll dog, and much inclined to play with and beat the Yankees, as he termed them. Many mornings, being compelled by the inclemency of the season, to leave our uncomfortable bed, pacing the avenues in front of our cells for exercise and warmth, drawing aside the curtain of the gambling room door, which was no other than a thread-bare blanket, Crone was seen and heard, with bleared eyes and a vociferous voice, after a night's sitt-

ing, contending for a biscuit, with as much spirit and heat, as most probably he had done in former times for fifty or a hundred dollars. The passion of gaming, is almost an inexplicable trait in the human character, the poor, the rich, the savage and the civilized, are equally its devotees. The greatest and the least are alike subject to its fascinations. Crone poor dog, was one of the devoted.

Montgomery, in his care for Arnold's party, besides an excellent blanket coat, had assigned to each man a new red regimental coat of the seventh, or some other regiment, stationed in the upper country. This clothing had been seized at Montreal. Crone, in the division, had fared well. He had obtained a large superfine broad-cloth coat, such as is worn by the sergeant-major of the British army, which "fitted him like a shirt." He was so totally devoid of care, that he never once applied to the taylors of the army, who were employed by the public, to fit the coat to his back, and to sew it regularly. What was still more laughable, he had no pockets to this coat, unless you may call the flannel such, which interiorly lined the lappets, and bore the appearance of large bags dangling about his heels. Crone was facetious and clever; he had an affection for me. Often about daylight he would come to my blanket and waken me, and shake the lappets of his coat. He would say "Damme Jack, here's some thing for you," and would force upon me, ten, fifteen, and several times, even thirty biscuits. With all his vices he bore a great share of my esteem, for the goodness of his heart. When ill-luck occurred there was a refunding on my part, but it seldom happened. Our other resource was William M'Coy, a sergeant of Hendricks' an excellent clerk, who came into favor of the Governor, by giving to major Murray of the garrison, a genuine copy of his journal of the route, through the wilderness into Canada. He was a sedate and sensible man. He was installed 'clerk of the kitchen," and put me much in mind of Gil Blas' clerk. The cook, whom M'Coy patronized, was a very Boniface in accomplishments and a Sancho Panza in rotundity. He was of Thayer's or Dearborne's company. Believe me, that these two men, were courted by our hungry wights among the soldiery, with as much eageress and solicitude, and often sycophancy, as would have been the case had they been the ministers of a great state. What could you suppose to be the object of such servility? To explain.—The boiling utensils, were two very large coppers. A boiling of pork, produced a great quantity of liquid fat, which the men called *slush*. The skimmings constituted the importance of the cook, who made a profit from it, by selling it to certain tradesmen of the city. A half pint

of this slush, was a good succedaneum for better food, to a mess of six stout men. It, with the molasses, formed an excellent lobscouse. Oleaginous matter, next to bread, is however, the great support of the animal functions, and even superior to bread, to sustain life, and gratify the palate. Here you see the real ground of the causes of distinctions in society. The cook possessing this perquisite, commanded his applicants for additional food, with an unwarrantable austerity. As to our mess, it was strong in habits of intimacy with M'Coy, *who* was one of *us*. The cook was far below our notice. Friend M'Coy, gave us every advantage, our melancholy situation afforded him. This minute information is given to you, to inspire you with a disgust, towards war of any kind. As to my sons, if the liberties of our country ever be invaded, it is humbly hoped, under the protecting hand of Providence, that they will always be ready and active, to rally round the standard of Freedom, the principles of which, we derived from our forefathers, whose blood freely flowed in its defence.

Coming to the Dauphin jail, escorted by the military, we found it well accommodated for our lodgment. There were four rooms below, and as many above stairs, all capacious and well supplied with births or bulks, in the common method of barracks. Our company taking the right, our precedency in the procession gave us, assumed the possession of a room, in the third story, which was in truth the very best. Morgan's, took a room immediately below us; Hendrick's one adjoining: but remember, that at this time, we were reduced most lamentably by killed, wounded and missing. Many were in the hospital. Out of sixty-five, who came on Abraham's Plains, in November, we had scarcely more than thirty, left with us in prison. The fire of the enemy and disease had so thinned us. Morgan's gallant men fared worse. Like eastern people before, and at that period, they detested the introduction of the small-pox into their country, by inoculation. Now they were its victims. Less than twenty-five of the privates of that company, regained their native homes. They were originally, as elegant a body of men, as ever came within my view.* To use

*In relation to the small-pox, the circumstance about to be related, is most assuredly true, as it is known to me of my own particular knowledge. A number of women loaded with the infection of the small-pox, came into our cantonments.

In the spring of the year 1776, our army was reduced by decease of men, or debilitation of body, so that they could not act effectively, and in the eyes of the world, a disreputable retreat took place, which it was not then quite prudent to explain. Now it may be safely asserted, that

the style of my friend Simpson, "they were beautiful boys, who knew how to handle, and aim the rifle." Indeed many of them, adroit young men, courageous and thorough going, became the subjects of death, by that virulent disease, both without and within the city. We, of Pennsylvania, had no fears from that source. This disease had visited us in youth, either naturally or by inoculation. This observation, which is a serious one, should convey to your minds, the immensity of the discovery of the inoculation of the kine-pock, by doctor Jenner. The discovery of the causes of lightning, its dreadful effects, the means of avoiding its power, by the celebrated Franklin, our countryman, is, (as it concerns the happiness of man, speaking diffidently,) perhaps inferior in importance to that of Jenner. The Jennerian discovery, tends to save the lives of millions, the Franklinian of hundreds. But all lovers of natural philosophy, are compellable to acknowledge, that the identity of the electric fluid, obtained artificially, with that of the clouds, has given a wider scope to human thought, than the recency of the Jennerian discovery has as yet afforded. There can be little doubt that in a succession of years some gigantic geniuses of the medical profession will improve and extend the benefits of the happy disclosure.

At the Dauphin jail our notions of escape were strengthened. The prison may be 300 yards from St. John's gate the interval at that time was free from buildings. From without the building appeared formidable. The court-yard was very contracted for so large a house and was encompassed by a strong stone wall at least twenty feet high. The windows and doors were seemingly by their bars impenetrable. But what cannot men of true spirit effect when made the subjects of oppression. Opposite to the jail across the street leading to St. John's gate at a distance of forty yards there stood a house which became the station of the guard, who superintended us. In the first of our imprisonment, we were attended by the regular troops, or sailors, who were embodied by government as soldiers, but now, the guard (as our force without had made a firm stand,) was replaced by the militia, who were the most inert and despicable of military men The sentries were stationed on the outside of the jail,—we had no witnesses of our conduct within, except the captain of the provost, who did not pry with a suspicious eye. He was a generous and open-hearted enemy—had no guile himself, nor imputed it to others. The principal defence

great numbers of the soldiers inoculated themselves for the small-pox, by laceration under the finger nails, by means of pins or needles, either to obtain an avoidance of duty, or to get over that horrible disorder in an easy and speedy way.

on this side of the city, as it regarded our attempt at evasion, lay at and near St. John's gate. The guard here was most usually composed of thirty men, of the regular troops or sailors. They would have given us a hustle, but of a certainty, we should have overpowered them, by the force of numbers, as stout and as able bodied men as themselves, whose courage was not to be questioned, though there was a great difference in the nature of our respective arms. Having examined the jail carefully, its imbecility to restrain us, was apparent. It was an old French building in the Bastile style. The walls, of stone, and more than three feet thick; were impenetrable by any of our means. Upon examining the bars of the windows, which were originally ill-constructed, many were found so much corroded, as to move up and down in the sockets. These could be taken out. The mildness of Governor Carleton's reign, seemed not to require a strict inspection into places of this kind. About this time, a selected council was called, of which your father had the honor to be one, and was chiefly composed of the sergeants. The present major Joseph Aston, of Lamb's artillerists, then a sergeant-major, had the presidency. Our discoveries were disclosed—the means of escape considered, and a consultation of the men recommended. This was done, and there was not a dissentient voice. At the stair head, there was a small room, lighted by a small window; the door was locked.—Peeping through the keyhole, large iron hoops were discovered: the spring of the lock, kindly gave way to our efforts, the room was ransacked; and as neatly closed. The room furnished us with a large number of strong iron-hoops, two and three inches broad, and a considerable quantity of other iron, of different shapes and sizes, deposited there as lumber. From the first of these articles, we formed a rough, but weighty species of sword, with a wooden handle, a blow from which, in the hands of one of our stout men, would have brought down one of the stoutest of the enemy. The residue of the iron, was applied to the formation of spear-heads. These were affixed to splits of fir-plank, about ten feet in length, which had formed in part, the bottoms of the lower births. These weapons, it is true, were of the coarsest make, yet in the hands of men, determined to sacrifice their lives for freedom, they would have had a considerable sway. Our long knives, which many of us secreted when captured, also became spear-points. These weapons were concealed under the lower range of births, which were raised a foot from the floor. The planks were neatly raised, the nails were extracted, and the nail-head, with a part of its shank, placed in its former position. Over these lay our blankets, and bundles. It was a standing rule,

to have two sentries, constantly on the watch, one at each end of the interior of the jail. Their duty consisted in giving a signal of the approach of the officers of the garrison, who were in the habit of visiting us daily, as there were shoe-makers and taylors among us, who worked cheaper than those of the city, merely for the purpose of bettering their condition. There was policy in this watchfulness. When the signal was given, the inner doors were thrown open, those appointed for the purpose, laid upon the birth which hid our arms, as if in a drowsy state. The officers were accosted with assumed confidence, and much complaisance. The council met daily, sometimes in small squads, and when any thing of much consequence was to be considered, in larger; but at all times secretly, or at least not obviously as a council, from a fear of traitors, or some indiscretion of the young men. Our arrangements, so far as my judgment could discern, were judicious. Aston was to act as general, M'Coy and some others became colonels. Boyd and others of the most spirit, became majors, captains, lieutenants, &c. That which cheered me much, was that the council assigned me, a first lieutenancy under my friend Boyd, whose vigor and courage were unquestionable.

The plan of the escape was thus: Aston who was an excellent engineer, was to have the particular superintendency of Lamb's company, which to a man was well informed in their duty, active and spirited. These were to be increased to a band of one hundred and fifty men, whose duty it was to attack the guard at St. John's gate. The attack of the guard opposite the jail, was assigned to the discretion of Boyd, Cunningham and myself; the council generously, giving us the authority of a first selection of twenty two persons, from the whole body of our men. The residue of our force, was so disposed of, as to act as a body of reserve to Aston, under the command of M'Coy, and another smaller body was reserved to support Boyd, particularly by way of setting fire to the jail, the guard-house, and the buildings in its neighborhood, to amuse or employ the enemy, while we were running to St. John's gate. It was expected we could arrive there, by the time Aston and his party would be victorious. Our particular duty was of the desperate kind, something of the nature of the "forlorn-hope." Nothing but the virtue and bravery of our comrades, could ensure the safety of our lives; for if they should arrive at St. John's gate, and discomfit the guard; and if then seeking safety by flight, they would leave us to the mercy of an enraged enemy, who would sacrifice us to their fury. But there has been too much precipitation in the relation. Previously to the last observations, besides being told

of our force, our weapons, and our military plans, you should have been informed also, of the real site of the jail—of its internal structure, from which the sally was to be made. The Dauphin jail is built on a plain, pretty much declined towards the street. It follows, that the front of the lower story, that is the cellars, was on a level with the street. The back-ground was ten or twelve feet higher. In the cellar, near the foot of the stairway, there was a plenteous fountain of water, which supplied the house. The conduits leading from the spring, by the severity of the weather, were impeded by ice, so that the water, in great quantity remained in the cellar, which, with the additional carelessness of our people, who cast the rinsing of their buckets, on the floor of the apartment, formed a bed of ice a foot thick, and very firm and solid. This cellar had a door newly made, of strong pine plank, five feet in width, which opened inwards—the sill was level with the street. The door was hung upon H. hinges of a large size, fixed on the inside, exposed to our view and operations. But what was still more absurd, the door was hasped within, and secured by a large pad-lock. Close inspection, and thoughtfulness, had made the members of the council, by the means they enjoyed, perfect masters of those hinges and the lock; they would not have stood a second of time. The principal obstacle was the ice, which was raised fully a foot against the door. Even this would have given way to our ingenuity. The whole of our plan was well laid, and thoroughly digested. That door was to be our sally-port. Boyd preceding with our division—Aston and M'Coy following, they turning rapidly to the left for St. John's gate. The dislocation of the iron bars of the windows, was to ensue: all those which could be removed, being known, were to become issues for our bravest men. Every man knew his station. It is an old and a trite observation, that it is a difficult thing to describe a battle, so as to give a clear idea of all the causes and effects of each movement, without overloading and confusing the picture. The same may be said of a conspiracy such as ours. Going through the entry from the front door into the jail-yard, near the back door, but still within the prison, there are two cavities opposite to each other, strongly walled and arched. We called them the black holes. On the outside of the building, in the yard, those cavities assumed the forms of banks, ten or eleven feet high, and as wide; and well sodded. With some address and agility, a sprightly man could surpass either of them. The wall above those banks was, probably ten feet higher. In the daytime we often climbed up the wall; by means of its interstices, from which the mortar had fallen in the course of time,

to take a peep at the city, merely putting our eyes above the level of the top of it.

A Mr. Martin, a hardy, daring and active young man, of Lamb's company, I think a sergeant, proposed to bear intelligence of our projects, to the American commander, without the walls. His plan was approved. A time for irruption was named, though the day was not particularised. The signals to invite the advance of our army to St. John's gate, were the burning of the houses, and the firing of the guns of the ramparts towards the city. As yet, we were unprepared to move. This expedition of Martin's was profoundly a secret among those of the council, from a fear that some bungler might attempt the same path, fail, and by his being taken, unveil our plots. Permit me a short episode on the escape of Martin. It was singularly adventurous, and the neatness of its execution, renders it worthy of remark. I had the pleasure of hearing it recounted, in more happy times, at New-York. Martin was dressed in warm clothing, with good gloves; a white cap, shirt and overalls were prepared for him. He appeared in the jail yard among the prisoners, in his daily dress. The time of locking up, and calling the roll, generally happened about sundown. It was the business of the captain of the provost, who was accompanied by a file of men. The prisoners, instigated by those in the secret, employed themselves out of doors, until late in the evening, in play, as if to keep their bodies warm. It was a blowing and dreary evening, which was purposely chosen. At locking up, those in the secret lagged behind, tardily, pushing the uninformed before, yet so slowly, as effectually to crowd the gangway; Martin remained in the rear. The operation took place at the clanging of the lock of the great front door. This measure was imagined and effected on purpose to procure to Martin, a sufficiency of leisure to get to his hiding place, which was no other than a nook, formed by the projection of the door-way, and on the top of one of the banks before spoken of. Here he had time to put on his cap, shirt, &c. The officer who examined the yard, could not perceive him, unless he went out of the door, several paces to the left, and most probably, not even then, for Martin would be covered in the snow, and imperceptible. Happily the officer went no further than the threshold, and made but a slight survey of the yard. This account, so far, is derived from my own knowledge; what follows, is from Martin himself. "Martin tarried there until seven or eight o'clock. The dilemma he was in, could only be surpassed in imminence of danger, by his extreme activity, skill and courage. There were four sentries stationed around the jail—two at each corner in front,

and the like number at the corners of the yard in the rear. Those sentries, though relieved every quarter of an hour, were soon driven into the sentry-boxes, by the cold and keenness of the whistling winds. If they had paced the spaces allotted them by duty, the escape of Martin must have been impossible. Watching the true time, he slipped down the wall into the deep snow underneath unobserved. Hence he made a sudden excursion to the left of St. John's gate, at a part of the wall, where he well knew no sentry was placed. Leaping the wall, into the snow, he received the fire of a distant sentry. Martin was unharmed. The soldier fired, as it were, at a phantom, for when Martin's body came into contact with the snow, it was undiscernible—the desired information was given;" but of this, we could merely make surmises until the May following. That which is very remarkable is, that the absence of Martin was unknown to government, until the explosion of our plot.

Our next solicitude was the acquisition of powder. This article could be obtained but by sheer address and shrewd management. But we had to do with men who were not of the military cast. We began first to enter into familiarity with the sentries, joking with them and pretending to learn French from them. The guard, usually of Canadians, consisted of many old men, and young boys, who were very "*coming.*" A few small gun-carriages were constructed, not more than six inches in length, and mounted with cannon, or howitzers, which were made of many folds of paper, and were bound tightly around with thread. These were shewn to the sentries from time to time, and a little powder was requested, with which to charge them. Our births formed an angle of the room. The upper births, as well as the lower, had a ledge of several inches in heighth, in which, embrasures were formed with the knife. Two parties were raised in opposition to each other, each of which took possession of one side of the angle. The blaze and report, which was nearly as great and as loud as that of small pistols, created much laughter and merriment. This sport, the child of a seeming folly, served us as a pretence and justification for soliciting powder. The apparent joy prevailing among us, pleased the Canadians, both old and young, and did not alarm the government. We obtained many cartridges in the course of a few weeks, two-thirds of which came to the hands of Aston and his corps, for the purpose of manufacturing matches, &c. &c. Fire arms of any kind, could not by any finesse be procured. The commerce of cartridges, accompanied by a suavity and deference of manners, towards our young friends, procured us many quarters

of pounds of powder, which they bought secretly out of funds, some of which were procured in a ludicrous way. We had many sick in the hospital, for when any one appeared to be disordered in the least degree, he was hurried to the infirmary, when cured, he was returned to us. Some of the men, went so far as to feign sickness, to get to that place, where they lived in a more sumptuous style than that of the jail. The frequent removals caused the propagation of a report that the prison was unhealthy. Many pious matrons, came to see us, and never empty handed. Some elderly nuns, of respectable families, were of the number, and generally brought money, truly not great in quantity, but not the less acceptable to the sick and convalescent, as these alms procured them some slight comforts, such as tea, &c. These were the religious and humane collections of the sisterhood, and mostly consisted of the smallest change. There was a beautiful countenanced youth, Thomas Gibson, first sergeant of Hendricks, who had studied physic at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, allied to me by affinity, who had, probably from a knowledge he had of his profession, sustained his health hitherto; his cheeks were blooming as roses. He was one of the council. As young men, we cared little about the means, so that we obtained the end, which was powder. We lived above stairs, and never shared in the gratuities of the ladies, which were rapaciously awaited at the entrance of the prison. Gibson and myself, were standing at a window near the great door, and opposite to M'Coy's room, a neat little box, which had been knocked up for his purposes. Looking into the street, a lady with a thick veil, was observed to take the path through the snow to our habitation. "Zounds Gibson, there's anun," was scarcely expressed, before he was hurried into M'Coy's apartment and put to bed, though dressed. Several of us waited respectfully at the door, till the officer of the guard unlocked it. The nun entered—she seemed, from her manners, to be genteel and respectable. We were most sedulous in our attentions to the lady, and so prevailed, as to induce her to come into M'Coy's room. Here lay Gibson, covered to the chin with the bed-clothes, nothing exposed but his beautiful hair and red cheeks, the latter indicating a high fever. It was well the lady was no physician. The nun crossing herself, and whispering a pater-noster, poured the contents of her little purse into the hand of the patient, which he held gently, without the blanketing, and left us. What should the donation be, but twenty-four coppers, equal at that time to two shillings of our money. The latter circumstance added much to the humor, and extreme merriment of the transaction. This money was solely appropriated for

powder. Thus, careless of every thing but the means of escaping, we enjoyed many merry, and even happy hours. Aston, who was provident of time, by the middle of March, (I have no note of the precise period,) had all his matters of arrangement in good order.

The council assigned a day for the irruption. As we dared not touch the door in the cellar, from a fear of discovery by inspection, (and it was examined almost daily,) it was determined to postpone the unloosing the hinges and lock, which were under our command, until the moment of escape. It became a main question, how to remove the ice at the foot of the door. Here lay the great difficulty, as it was universally agreed that the door must be dragged down suddenly, so that we might march over it. Remember also, that a sentry was posted not more than, from fifteen to twenty feet from the outside of the door. Many propositions were made in council, how to effect the removal of the body of ice without exposure to detection. One was lightly to pick it away with hatchets, a few of which, had been secretly retained, by the prisoners, and brought into the jail. To this, there were several insuperable objections: the softest stroke of the lightest tomahawk, upon the ice, would be heard by a sentry so near; or an unlucky stroke might touch the door, which would resound and inevitably cause a discovery. Others proposed to wear away the ice by boiling water; two most obvious objections lay here: the steam would search for a vent through the crevices of the door, and window, and develop our measures; besides the extreme cold would have congealed the hot water, the moment it fell, so as to add to our difficulties. Another idea was suggested, *that* was "with knives to cut the door across on the surface of the ice," to this plan there was a fatal exception, the ice had risen on the lower cross-piece of the door, nearly an inch, so that we must cut through the cross-piece lengthwise, and through the thick plank cross-wise. Though this labour might have been accomplished by industry and perseverance, yet the time it would necessarily take, would cause a discovery by the searchers. The last and only method to avoid discovery, was adopted. This was to embody sixteen or eighteen of the most prudent men, who knew the value of silence, who should, two and two, relieve each other, and with our long knives gently pare away the ice, next the sill of the door, so as to make a groove of four or six inches wide, parallel with, and deep as the sill. The persons were named and appointed to this service. Now the capability of the execution of our plot, infused comfort and joy into all hearts. It was intended immediately after locking-up, on the night of the ir-

ruption, that those prudent men, should descend into the vault by pairs, and by incessant labour, have the work finished by three o'clock in the morning, when the sally should be made. We had carefully noticed from the walls of the jail, and the ridge of the house, where there is a trap-door, the placing of the guards, the numbers and stationing of the sentries. We were safe, therefore, in the measures we had taken, for the attack of the guard of St. John's gate. Our own guard was perfectly scrutinized. The opportunities, were of the most commodious kind. The guard-house, was directly in our front, where we could see and be seen. Their windows had no shutters. They had lights all the night through: we, the better to observe them, kept none. This latter circumstance, enabled us distinctly to see, that the arms with fixed bayonets, were placed in the right hand corner of the room, as we would enter from the stair-head, and that the guard towards morning, to a man, were lying asleep on the floor The sentries, as they were relieved, did the like. This guard, as was before said, in ordinary, consisted of thirty persons. Boyd's party from a perfect knowledge of their method of conducting, esteemed it no great hardiness, to undertake the overwhelming them. Subsequently our danger must appear. The nights were piercingly cold—the sentries soon housed themselves in their boxes. As the sally, to succeed, must be most silent and quick, it was hoped to quiet all of them, before any alarm could spread. Besides, Boyd's division (the first rank of which, were to despatch the nearest sentry by the spear,) others of the succeeding corps, were assigned to assail the rest of the sentries, immediately around the prison. The getting up the stairs of *our* guard-house, so quickly as to create no alarm, was not only feasible, but in my mind, (with the force delegated to us,) of absolute certainty of success. The front door was always open by night and by day, we knew the precise number of steps, the stairs contained. An agile man, would mount at three strides. A light was continually in the passage. Entering the room, and turning to the right, the arms in the corner were ours. The bayonet, from necessity, would become the lot of the guard. In this part of the enterprise, profound silence was all important; the section was to rely on the spear and tomahawk. Aston on the other hand, being victorious at St. John's gate, was instantly to turn the cannon upon the city: his fuses, portfire, &c. were prepared and ready as substitutes for those of the enemy, if *they* were extinguished or taken from the guns. It was known to us, that all the cannon of the ramparts were charged and primed, and boxes of ammunition and piles of

balls in the vicinity of each gun, it was calculated, that the execution of the business of our section, might be effected in at least fifteen minutes, together with the firing of the houses. Then running to support Aston, and if he was victorious, to maintain our position on the walls, under a hope of the arrival of the American army from without. In that event, St. John's gate, as a first measure, was to be opened. But if Aston should unfortunately be beaten, (which was most improbable,)then we were to fly in all directions, and make the adventurous leap. It was supposed that in the latter case, the hurry and bustle created by so sudden, unforeseen and daring an attack, would throw the garrison into consternation and disorder, to so great a degree, as to admit the escape of many. Sluggards might expect to be massacred.

The particularity of the foregoing details, are purposely made to impress on your minds, a single truth: "That the "best imagined schemes and thoroughly digested designs, "whether in military or civil life, may be defeated by a "thoughtless boy, the interference of an idiot or a treacher-"ous knave." Two lads from Connecticut or Massachusetts, whose names are now lost to my memory, prisoners with us, but who had no manner of connection or intercourse with the chiefs, nor knew the minute, yet essential parts of the measures of the council: but probably having overheard a whisper of the time and manner of the evasion: Those young men without consultation, without authority from their superiors, in the thoughtless ardor of their minds, on the eve of the sally, descended into the cellar, and with hatchets, picked at the ice at the door-sill. The operation was heard. The sentry threatened to fire. The guard was instantly alarmed and immediately doubled, and all our long-laboured schemes and well digested plans, annihilated in a moment. You cannot form an adequate idea of the pangs we endured. My heart was nearly broken by the excess of surprize and burning anger, to be thus fatuitously deprived of the gladdening hope of a speedy return to our friends and country. It became us, however, to put the best face upon it. It was suddenly resolved by the chiefs, to kill the person who should disclose the general plot, and to wait upon the officers on the ensuing morning, with our usual attentions. When morning came, it found us afoot. About sunrise, the formidable inquisition took place. Major Murray, captain Prentis, the officer of the guard, and a dozen musketeers came,—we awaited their approach undismayed. They accosted us very cooly. The cellar was visited, and the work of those fools was apparent. Reascending, we could assure the gentlemen, that this effort to

escape, was without the knowledge of any of us. This to be sure, was said in the jesuitical style, but those who made the assertion, did not then know either the persons or the names of the silly adventurers. The officers and the guard were departing, fully persuaded that it was no more than the attempt of one or two persons to escape. Major Murray was the last to recede. An Englishman of whom we knew not that he was a deserter from our enemies at Boston, had posted himself close to the right jamb of the door, which was more than half opened for the passage of the major. Those of us, who were determined to execute our last night's resolution, armed with our long knives, had formed a half-circle around the door, without observing the intrusion and presence of the deserter. Major Murray was standing on the threshold, speaking in a kindly manner to us, when the villain sprung past the major, even jostling him. The spring he made, was so sudden and so entirely unsuspected, that he screened himself from our just vengeance. Touching maj. Murray's shoulder, "Sir," says he "I have something to disclose." The guards encompassed the traitor, and hurried him away to the Governor's palace. We instantaneously perceived the extent and consequences of this disaster. The prisoners immediately destroyed such of the arms, as were too bulky to hide, if destructible, and secreted the rest. In an hour or two, a file of men with an officer, demanded Boyd, Cunningham and others, represented by the vile informer, as lukewarm in the plot. They were escorted to the Governor's council. Here they found, that the wretch had evidenced all our proceedings minutely, naming every one who was prominent. Our worthy compatriots were examined on oath, and as men of honor could not conceal the truth. The questions of the council, (furnished by the informer,) did not admit of equivocation or evasion, if the examinants had been so inclined, and besides all tergiversation, when the outline was marked, was nugatory. They boldly admitted and justified the attempt. We did not fare the worse in our provisions nor in the estimation of our enemy. Returning to the jail, my dear Boyd shed the tears of excruciating anguish in my bosom, deploring our adverse fate. We had vowed to each other to be free or die, and to be thus foolishly baulked, caused the most heart rending grief. Towards two o'clock P. M. we seen several heavy cart-loads, consisting of long and weighty irons; such as bilboes, foot-hobbles and hand-cuffs, arrive. The prisoners were ordered to their rooms. The ironing began below stairs with Morgan's company. Here the bilboes were expended. If not much mistaken, ten or twelve persons were secured, each by a foot to a bar twelve feet long,

and two inches in diameter. The heavy bolts were exhausted in the story below us. When they came to our range of rooms, they turned to the left, instead of coming to the right where we were. By the time the officers came to us, even the handcuffs were nearly out. Each of us was obliged to take to his birth, which contained five men each. When they had shackled those of the lower births, they commenced at one the most distant from ours. Slipping in the rear of my companions, bent down in apparent trepidation, the black-smith ironed my mess-mates, and then called to me to descend and submit to his office. Coming—"Never mind that lad," said my friend captain Prentis. They had but three or four pair of handcuffs left, which were clapped on the elderly and robust. Besides M'Coy, our Boniface the cook, Doctor Gibson, two others and myself, who were unhampered, all the rest were, in appearance, tightly and firmly secured. Though M'Coy and Boniface, were adepts at insurrection, yet their services were of too much importance to government, to be dispensed with. The others of the unfettered, remained so from the exhaustion of the shackles. A new species of interesting occurrences, mingled with much fun and sportive humor now occurred, which was succeeded by a series of horrible anguish. The doors were scarcely closed, before we began to assay the unshackling. Those who had small hands, by compressing the palms, could easily divest the irons from their wrist. Of these there were many, who became the assistants of their friends, whose hands were larger. Here there was a necessity for ingenuity. Knives notched as saws, were the principal means. The head of the rivet, at the end of the bar, was sawed off, it was lengthened and a screw formed upon it, to cap which, a false head was made, either of iron or of lead, resembling as much as possible the true head. Again new rivets were formed, from the iron we had preserved in our secret hoards, from the vigilance of the searchers. These new rivets being made to bear a strong likeness to the old, were then cut into two parts—one part was driven into the bolt tightly, became stationary, the other part was moveable. It behoved the wearer of the manacle to look to it, that he did not lose the loose part, and when the searchers came to examine, that it should stand firm in the orifice. Some poor fellows, perhaps from a defect of ingenuity, the hardness of the iron, or the want of the requisite tools, could not discharge the bilboes. This was particularly the melancholy predicament of three of Morgan's men, whose heels were too long to slip through the iron, which encompassed the *small* of the leg. It was truely painful, to see three persons attached to a monstrous bar, the

weight of which was above their strength to carry. It added to the poignancy of their sufferings, in such frigid weather, that their colleagues at the bar, having shorter heels, could withdraw the foot and perambulate the jail: where their companions left them, *there* they must remain seated on the floor, unless some kind hands assisted them to remove.

There was a droll dog from the eastward, who was doubly unfortunate: in the attack of the city, he had received a spent ball in the pit of the stomach, which had nearly ended him: now it became his lot to have an immense foot-bolt fastened to his leg, without a companion to bear him company, and cheer his lonely hours. This victim of persecution and sorrow, would sometimes come among us in the yard, bearing up his bolt, slung by a cord hitched over his shoulder. Nothing could damp his spirits. He talked, laughed and sung incessantly. Some others, besides those, were similarly situated. Those, who were so lucky as to have light hand-cuffs, bore them about with them. The greatest danger of discovery, arose from those who could free themselves from the heavy irons. The usual visitations were increased from twice to thrice a day, in the first and last the smith searched the bolts of each person. But there were other intrusions, intermediately, by officers evidently despatched by the suspicions of government, for the purpose of discovery. To counteract these new measures of caution and jealousy, we were well prepared. Sentries, on our part, were regularly stationed at certain windows of the jail, to descry the approach of any one in the garb of an officer. The view from these windows, was pretty extensive, down two of the streets, particularly that leading to the palace. Notwithstanding every caution to avoid detection, yet the clang of the lock of the great door, was upon some occasions, the only warning given us of the impending danger. The scamperings at those times were truly diverting, and having always escaped discovery, gave us much amusement. The clanking of the fetters followed, and was terrible; such as the imagintion forms in childhood, of the condition of the souls in Tartarus; even this was sport. Happily our real situation was never known to any of the government officers; unless the good blacksmith, (a worthy Irishman, of a feeling heart,) might be called such, and he was silent.

Towards the middle of April, the scurvy, which we had been imbibing during the winter, now made its appearance in its most virulent and deadly forms, preceded and accompanied by a violent diarrhoea. Many of those who were first affected were taken to the hospital. But the disease soon became general among us. We were attended several times by

doctor Maybin, the physician-general, who, by his tender attentions, and amiable manners, won our affections: he recommended a cleansing of the stomach, by ipecacuannah and mild catharticks, such as rhubarb, together with due exercise. Those who were young, active, and sensible of the doctor's salutary advice, kept afoot, and practised every kind of athletic sport we could devise. On the contrary, those who were supinely indolent, and adhered to their blankets, became objects of real commiseration—their limbs contracted, as one of mine is now: large blue and even black blotches appeared on their bodies and limbs—the gums became black—the morbid flesh fell away—the teeth loosened, and in several instances fell out. Our minds were now really depressed. That hilarity and fun which supported our spirits in the greatest misfortunes, gave way to wailings, groanings and death. I know, from dire experience, that when the body suffers pain, the mind, for the time, is deprived of all its exhilirations—in short, almost of the power of thinking. The elbow joints, the hips, the knees and ancles were most severely pained. It was soon observed, (though the doctor's mate attended us almost daily, and very carefully,) there was little or no mitigation of our diseases, except that the diarrhoea, which was derived from another cause than that which produced the scurvy, was somewhat abated; and that our remedy lay elsewhere in the materia medica, which was beyond the grasp of the physician. The diarrhoea came from the nature of the water we used daily. In the month of April, the snows begin to melt, not by the heat of the sun, but most probably by the warmth of the earth beneath the snows. The ground, saturated with the snow-water, naturally increased the fountain-head in the cellar. Literally, we drank the melted snow. The scurvy had another origin. The diet—salt pork, infamous biscuit—damp, and close confinement, in a narrow space, together with the severity of the climate, were the true causes of the scury.

There was no doubt in any reflective mind among us, but that the virtuous and beneficent Carleton, taking into view his perilous predicament, did every thing for us, which an honest man and a good Christian could.

An observation may be made in this place with propriety, that is, that in the climates of all high southern or northern regions, the soil is very rich and prolific. This beneficial operation of nature, is, in all likelihood attributable to the nitrous qualities which the snow deposites. Of the fact, that nitre is the principal ingredient which causes fertility in the earth, no man of observation, can at this day, reasonably doubt. The earth is replete of it. Wherever earth and shade unite,

it is engendered and becomes appparent. This idea is proved by the circumstance, that nitre may be procured from caves, the earth of cellars, outhouses, and even from common earth, if kept under cover. During the late revolution, when powder was so necessary, we everywhere experienced the good effects of this minerological discovery; it gives me pleasure to say, that it is most fairly ascribable to our German ancestors. The snows which usually fall in Canada about the middle of November, and generally cover the ground until the end of April, in my opinion, fill the soil with those vegetative salts, which forward the growth of plants. This idea was evinced to me, by my vague and inconsiderate mind, from observations then made, and which were more firmly established by assurances from captain Prentis, that muck or manure, which we employ in southern climates, is *there* never used. In that country, the moment the ground is freed from snow, the grass and every species of plant, spring forward in the most luxuriant maner. Captain Prentis, beside the continuation of his care and friendship to Gibson and myself, did not restrain his generosity to individuals, but procured for us a permission from government, to send out an old Irishmen, of the New-York line, an excellent catholic, to collect for us vegetable food. The first specimen of this good old man's attention and industry, was the production of a large basket-full of the ordinary blue-grass of our country; this grass, by those who got at it, was devoured ravenously at the basket, if so happy as to be able to come near it. Scurvy grass, in many varieties, eschalots, small onions, onion tops and garlic, succeeded, and were welcomed by all of us for several months afterwards. This voracious appetite, for vegetables, seems to be an incident always concurring in that terrible disease, the scurvy: nature seems to instill into the patient, a desire of such food, and of acids, which are the only specific, with a due attention to cleanliness, hitherto discovered, that do eradicate the stamina of the disease. From my contracted knowledge, it is imperceptible that there is any material discrepancy, between the sea-scurvy and the land-scurvy of high southern and northern latitudes. The descriptions given by Robins, (or if you please, the Rev. Mr. Walter,) and other voyagers, of the causes, the symptoms and the effects of that disorder, seem to concur in every particular with our various experience at Quebec. Recollect it is not a physician who speaks.*

*The late captain Thomas Boyd, the strongest and largest man among us, when coming to the air, frequently fainted; one Rothrock, of Morgan's, had so foeted a breath, it was disgusting to enter the

About the time above spoken of, governor Carleton directed that we should be supplied with fresh beef. This was no other than that which had been brought into the city when we lay at Aux-Tremble, in the foregoing autumn, and in aid of the stores of the garrison. It had lain in a frozen state during the winter, without salting, but now as warm weather was approaching, it began to thaw and was liberally disposed of to the garrison and prisoners. The beef was sweet, though here and there a little blueish, like the mould of stale bread, very tender, but somewhat mawkish. It was palatable and nutritive to men afflicted as we were. This beef, connected with vegetables, soon animated us with an idea of returning health and vigor: yet, though it mitigated the pains we endured, it did not totally expel the scurvy.

The seventh of May arrived. Two ships came to the aid of the garrison, beating through a body of ice, which perhaps was impervious to any other than the intrepid sailor. This relief of men and stores, created great joy in the town. Our army began their disorderly retreat. My friend Simpson, with his party, were much misused, from a neglect of giving him information of the intended flight of our army. Some few of the men under his authority, straggled and were taken in the retreat. They came to inhabit our house. Now, for the first time, we heard an account of the occurrences during the winter's blockade, which to us, though of trivial import, were immensely interesting. The sally of this day, produced to the prisoners additional comfort. Though the troops took a severe revenge upon our friends without, by burning and destroying their properties. The next day, more ships and troops arrived: a pursuit took place, the effect of which was of no consequence, except so far as it tended to expel the colonial troops from Canada. To the prisoners, this retreat had pleasing consequences; fresh bread, beef newly slaughtered, and a superabundance of vegetables, was a salutary diet to our reduced and scorbutic bodies. Still freedom, that greatest of blessings, and exercise were required to bring back to us genuine health. About this time an incident occurred, which threw us into extacy, as it relieved our minds and faculties from a most torturing piece of preservative duty: this was no other than an authoritative divestment of the irons. One day, perhaps, the fifteenth or eighteenth of May, colonel Maclean, attended by major Carleton, a younger brother of the gen-

room he inhabited; one of Lamb's company, lost his gums and some of his teeth, all were loose, of which, I am certain as his mouth was examined by me.

eral's, major Maibaum,* a German officer, both of whom had just arrived from Europe, together with captain Prentis, and other officers, entered the jail about mid-day. The prisoners paraded in the jail-yard completely ironed. Captain Prentis, by the direction of colonel Maclean, pointed out to the other officers: "This is general such-a-one—that is colonel such-a-one," and in this manner proceeded to name all the leading characters. Happening to be very near the amiable, it might be said, admirable major Carleton, he was overheard to say, "colonel, ambition is laudable; cannot the irons of these men be struck off?" This the colonel ordered to be done immediately. Our kind-hearted blacksmith was not distant: he came, and the officers remained to see some of the largest bolts divested, and then left us. "Come, come, gentlemen," said the blacksmith, "you can put off your irons." In a minute, the vast pile lay before him. Being now at full bodily liberty, we completed a ball court, which had been origanilly formed, as it were, by stealth. Here a singular phenomenon which attends the scurvy, discovered itself. The venerable and respectable Maybin, had recommended to us exercise, not only as a mean of cure, but as a preventive of the scorbutic humours operating. Four of the most active would engage at a game of "fives." Having played some games in continuation, if a party incautiously sat down, he was seized by the most violent pains in the hips and knees, which incapacitated him from play for many hours, and from rising from the earth, where the patient had seated himself. These pains taught us to keep afoot all day, and even to eat our food in an erect posture. Going to bed in the evening, after a hard day's play, those sensations of pain upon laying down, immediately attacked us. The pain would continue half an hour, and often longer. My own experience will authorise me to say two

*This gentleman was 6 feet 4 or 5 inches high, and as well proportioned. His disposition, was a kindly one. He spoke his own language admirably, and French fluently, but no English. Knowing from his military dress and manners, that he was a German, I was induced to address him in that language. He appeared astonished, yet pleased at hearing his own tongue from an American lad—inquired concerning Pennsylvania, our way to Quebec, &c. but seemed apprehensive of the jealousy of the English officially, who did not understand us. The Baron Knyphausen wanted an interpreter. Captain Prentis, who was really my friend made me the proposition, as from the Baron, and used various arguments to induce a compliance, all of which were spurned. In 1778 or 1779, I had again the pleasure of seeing the major at Lancaster, in the company of my father, but he was then a prisoner.

hours. In the morning, we rose free from pain, and the routine of play and fatigue ensued, but always attended by the same effects, particularly to the stubborn and incautious, who would not adhere to the wholesome advice of doctor Maybin. Those who were inactive, retained those excruciating pains to the last, together with their distorted, bloated, and blackened limbs. Upon our return from Canada, in the autumn of 1776, I saw five or six of my crippled compatriots, hobbling through the streets of Lancaster on their way home. It cost a tear—all that could be given. By the month of August, the active were relieved from those pains.

Towards the end of May, governor Carleton ordered each of the prisoners a linnen shirt. This gift, to me, was most agreeable, as linnen next the skin, for some months past, was unfelt, and few persons who have not felt the extremity of such endurances as ours, can form a full conception of the gratification we enjoyed. Having had but one shirt on at the time of our capture, it was soon destroyed by the wearing, and the repeated washings it required. Delicacy forbids a dilation upon the cause and effects. You would laugh at the description of one of our washing parties. Rising early, the prime object was to make a strong ley of wood-ashes, of which we had plenty, into which the linnen was plunged, and concocted for an hour or more, under a hope of putting an end to certain vagrants, of a genera with which most of us are acquainted. During the boiling, the votaries of cleanliness, cloaked in a blanket, or blanket-coat, watched the bullitions of the kettle. The boiling done, the linnen was borne to the yard, where each one washed his own, and watched it during the drying, almost in a state of nature. Captain Prentis, pitying my sad condition, pressed upon me often to accept from him, money to purchase a suit of clothes, and he would trust to the honor and integrity of my father for payment, whose character he knew. Adhering to my first determination, this polite and generous proposal of my amiable and deserving friend, was as often, yet most thankfully declined, maugre the advice of my bosom friends Boyd and Cunningham to the contrary. He however forced upon me a half johannes. This small sum was applied to the solace of my heart. In the first place, to an article still more necessary than a shirt. The residue was expended upon matters which cheered the hearts of my messmates, whom I dearly loved; cheese, sugar, tea, coffee, &c. spirits was detested, as we knew it to be a poison to scorbutic persons. What pleased me much more, and gave me pure delight, was the following occurrence: Of my own accord, no one knowing of the intention, the good old Irishman was delegated to purchase three

or four pounds of tobacco. It was secretly brought, and as secretly borne to our room. A pound was produced and fairly parted among our tobacco-chewers. You cannot conceive their joy. When the first paroxism was over, the remainder was disposed of in the same way. The thankfulness of those brave, but destitute men, arose towards me, nearly to adoration. You will ask why? Hear the reason: From your small knowledge of mankind, you can have little conception of the force habit has on the human race. One who chews, smokes or snuffs tobacco, is as little able to abstain from that enjoyment, as you would be, if compelled, to refrain from your usual meals. This particular is spoken of, to persuade you by no mean to use tobacco in any shape. It is a poison, of the most inveterate kind, which like opium, arsenic, and several other medicaments, may be applied to healthful purposes, yet, if employed in an extreme degree, produces instantaneous death. These ideas are not visionary, but are supportable by the authority of some of the best physicians. You are at full liberty to put your own constructions upon these observations. But to return to my fellow-prisoners.

In the wilderness, where the army soon run out the article of tobacco, the men had many valuable succedaneums. The barks of the different kinds of firs, the cedar, the red willow,* and

* Red willow (*Salix purpurea.*) This shrub, which is a native of the United States, is spread throughout our climates. The outer bark, of a deep red color, peels in a very thin scale, the inner is scraped off with a knife, and is dried either in the sun or over the fire. The scent when burning, is delightful. To increase the flavor, the Indians pluck the current years branches of the upland sumach, and dry it in bunches over the smoke of a fire. A half part of Red-willow bark, added to as much of the dryed sumach forms the kille-kinic. Those ingredients added to a third part of leaf tobacco, and the mass rubbed finely together in the palm of the hand, makes that delicious fume, so fascinating to the red, and also to the white men. Care must be taken by the consumer, not to use the swamp sumach (*Rhus Vernix*) for the upland (*Rhus Glabrum*) as the former is most poisonous, and resembles the latter, in the bark and leaf so much, that an incurious eye, might be deceived. The difference to a stranger may be distinctively marked by observing, that the bunch of berries of the upland sumach is a cone closely attached to each other, and when ripe of a reddish color. The berries of the swamp sumach, hang loosely pendant, from a lengthy foot-stalk, and when ripe, are of a greenish-grey: at least I never saw the berry in any other state. The unhappy person, who would employ the swamp sumach in smoking, would forfeit his eyesight. This truth I had from Natanis in Canada, and it has since, many years ago, been confirmed to me by the celebrated Seneca "The

the leaves of many astringent or bitter plants supplied the place; but within the bare walls of our jail, there was no substitute for this dear and inebriating vegetable. Thus was all my money expended, and much to my satisfaction, and to the heart-felt pleasure of my brave and worthy companions, whose sufferings, in certain points, were greater than my own. The table of the virtuous and generous Prentis, had often furnished me liberally with wholesome viands. With convalescency though pennyless, we again became merry and light-hearted.

In the beginning of August, we were told by captain Prentis, that the Governor had concluded, to send us by sea to New-York upon parole, for the purpose of being exchanged; that the transports, which had brought the late reinforcements from Europe, were cleansing and preparing for the voyage. Now there was exultation. On the seventh of August, we subscribed our written paroles.* Captain Prentis procured me permission from government, with a few friends, to traverse the city. An officer of the garrison attended us. Our first desire was, to see the grave of our General, and those of his aides; as well as those of the beloved Hendricks and Humphreys. The graves were within a small place of interment, neatly walled with stone. The coffins of Montgomery, Cheeseman and M'Pherson, were well arranged, side by side. Those of Hendricks, Humphreys, Cooper, &c. were arranged on the south side of the inclosure, but as the burials of these heroes, took place in a dreary winter, and the earth impenetrable, there was but little soil on the coffins, the snow and ice, which had been the principal covering, being now dissolved. the foot of the General's coffin, was exposed to the air and

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Cornplanter." You know the experience of our own family, when clearing the swamp, as to the deleterious qualities of the wood as fuel: your mother suffered greatly from its poisonous vapors. The moose-deer prefer the red-willow as food; we most frequently observed them in its neighbourhood. The vanilla of South America, has been applied by the Spanish manufacturers of tobacco, in various ways; it is strange, that we have never assayed the Killekinic.

*It will perhaps be proper to give you an idea of the parole exacted at that time. "We whose names are hereunder written, do solemnly "promise and engage, to his excellency general Carleton, not to say "or do, any thing against his majesty's person or government; and to "repair whenever required so to do by his excellency, or any of his "majesty's commanders in chief in America, doth please to direct, in "testimony of which, we have hereunto set our hands this day at "Quebec. August 7th, 1776.

J. J. H. &c."

I received the original paper in 1778, in consequence of an exchange of the St. John's prisoners for us.

view. The coffin was well formed of fir-plank. Captain Prentis assured me, that the graves should be deepened, and the bodies duly deposited; for he also knew Montgomery as a fellow-soldier, and lamented his untimely fate. Thence we proceeded past the citadel, along the ramparts to Cape Diamond, descended the declivity slantingly, and examined the stockades and block-house. It is this little tour, which enabled me to describe to you, the site and defences of that formidable pass. Proceeding thence through a part of the Lower-town, we came to a narrow street, which led us to an immense stair-way, one of the ascents into the Upper-town. Ascending here, we came to the main passage, which curvatured down the hill into the Lower-town, and which was to lead us in our supposed attack upon the Upper-town; this we pursued, and came to the place of the second barrier, which had been lately demolished. The houses on both sides of the street, in which we had taken our stand, were now in ruins, having been burnt by the garrison, as were the suburbs of St. Roque and St. John's. This was done to render them unfit for the shelter of future assailants. Thus it is, that war destroys the wealth, and robs the individual of happiness. We had no time to make observations, but such as could be done in passing hastily. Returning to the Upper-town, by the principal and winding road, we were strongly impressed with the opinion, that if our whole force, as was intended, had formed a junction in the Lower-town, that it was utterly impracticable, either from our numbers or our means, to mount by a road such as this was. Suppose it not to have been barricaded and enfiladed by cannon, it must be assailed by the bayonet, of which weapon, we had very few, and the enemy was fully supplied. But when we reflect, that across the road, at the centre of the arc of each curve, there was a barricade, and cannon placed to rake the intervals between the different barricades, the difficulties of the ascent, which is very steep, would be increased even to insurmountability. The road is very narrow and lined, next the hill, by a stupendous precipice: on the other hand, there were some houses romantically perched on the side of the declivity, and some rocks. The declivity of itself was an excellent defence, if the besieged could maintain the position in front, for in a short time, in so confined a space, the assailants must either die, retreat, or be thrown down the hill from the road But suppose all these defences overcome, and we had arrived at the brow of the hill at the entrance of the Upper-town, here a still more formidable obstacle presented itself, than those which could be formed by art in the lower parts of the road. At this place there is a hollow-

way, which in the hurry we were in, and the slight view we dared take, appeared as if cut out of the solid rock, of a depth of thirty or forty feet. Athwart this way, there was a strong stockade of a height nearly equal with the perpendicular sides of the way or gulley. From the surface above, we might have been stoned to death, by the defenders of the fortress, without a probability of their receiving harm from us below, though ever so well armed. But the stockade itself, from its structure and abundant strength, would have resisted a force manifold our numbers, and much better supplied and accoutred. From these observations, (those of an uninstructed youth to be sure,) there was no hesitation in telling my intimate friends, then and since, that the scheme of the conquest of the Upper-town, was visionary and groundless; not the result of our dear general's reflections, but forced upon him by the nature and necessities of the times, and his disagreeable predicament. If a coalition of our forces in the Lower-town had taken effect, the general would then, most probably, have developed his latent and real plans. The reasons given in council, may have been promulgated, merely to induce a more spirited exertion upon the part of the officers and soldiery, who were not in the secret, to excite a factitious valor. Getting into serious action, and warmed by the opposition of the enemy, the troops might have been induced to persevere, in any apparently sudden design of the general. The cupidity of the soldiers had been played upon. This latter fact, is known to me of my own particular knowledge. Some weeks before the attack, the soldiers in their common conversations, spoke of the conquest of the city, as a certainty; and exultingly of the plunder, they should win by their bravery. It was not my business to contradict: but to urge them on. Perhaps the setting fire to the Lower-town, on the side of Cape Diamond; considering the prevailing wind, which was at south-east, but afterwards changed to north and north-west; such a design might have been effected. The shipping also ice-bound, numerous and valuable, moored around the point, would have been consumable: All this destruction would have been a victory of no mean kind; but adding eclat to the known gallantry and prowess of the general. The Almighty willed, that we should never know the pith or marrow of his projects; whatever they were, my mind is assured that they were considerately and well designed. He was not a man to act incautiously and without motive, and too honest and brave to adopt a sinister part. No doubt we could have escaped by the way of St. Roque, protected by the smoke of the conflagration, and the terror and bustle, which would consequently be created

in the town. Though this pass is too narrow for the operation of a large body of men, in an extended front, still we should have been too numerous, (under the circumstances supposed,) for the enemy to afford, a force issuing from Palace-gate, adequate to oppose us. In the next instance, if we should happen to be so very fortunate, in such a retreat, as to bat the foes, they *must retreat* into the city, by the way of Palace-gate, and we should have entered pell-mell, and should thus have achieved the possession of that important place, the Upper-town, which was the primary view, and last hope of the general and the army. These were the crude notions of a youth, formed upon the spot, but in a maturation of thirty years, are still retained.

The general did not want for information. Many persons, male and female, (unnecessary mouths,) were expelled the city, to wander for subsistence among their friends in the country. His own knowledge of Quebec, where he had served, would enable him by interrogation, to extort from those emigrants a full stock of information of all the new defences erected by Governor Carleton since. Consequently, knowing the practicability of Cape Diamond, (*Aunce de mere*, which must be provincial, and I do not understand,) as an entrance to the Lower-town, (but a most dangerous one,) and that of St. Roque, with which and its barriers, he was particularly acquainted, from his own, and the observations of others: if so, he would most assuredly be informed of the defensive obstructions on the slope of the hill, and the employment of the troops, which would in consequence attend: and he would also know that this place, to the garrison, would be a perfect Thermopylæ, impassable by ten times our numbers, if we had been veterans and were better furnished. From these reasons, there was an inducement for my mind, at all times since the attack, to conclude, that it was never general Montgomery's real design, to conquer the Upper-town, by an invasion from the Lower-town, but his hidden and true plan was, by a consolidation of our whole force, to burn the Lower-town, and the shipping, and to retreat by the way of Palace-gate and St. Roque. If a sally was made at Palace-gate, the event, as was observed before, might be fatal to the enemy. The comprehensive mind of Montgomery, would not only appreciate to the full extent, the peculiar advantages of the enemy, but estimate to its true value the means he possessed, and the merits of his own army. Presuming the colonists to be successful in the Lower-town, where there was much wealth, and the avaricious among us be in some degree gratified, it would have created a spirit of hope and enterprise in the men, tending to induce them to re-

main with us. Afterwards, combining our whole force, with the reinforcements we had a prospect of receiving, an attack upon the Upper-town might have succeeded. In a word the destruction of the Lower-town, in my apprehension, should be considered merely, as preparatory to a general assailment of the Upper-town, notwithstanding all that has been said in the memoirs of those days. A contrary opinion went abroad "that the general, if he had lived, by this assault would have conquered Quebec." No idea could be more falacious. It was politically right, to keep up that opinion, among the people in those trying times, but its accomplishment with our accompaniment of men and defective arms, was ideal. Our walk from the great gate and palisade, was considerable, ere we reached our detestable dwelling: as we had enjoyed a few hours of fleeting liberty, the "locking-up," became the more horrible to our feelings. The next day, however, we had the ineffable pleasure, of marching in a body to the water side, and embarked on board five transports. On the following day, a new joy was in store for me. General William Thompson, (of whom it might well be said, "*this is a man*,") who had commanded our regiment, at Prospect-hill, as its colonel: he had been taken prisoner at the Three rivers, with several other officers, in the preceding month of June. He was now aboard of our little fleet, destined to New-York. Thompson came to our ship, to visit the miserable remnant of a part of his gallant corps. The general had a special message to me, from my father, with whom he was intimate. Coming through Lancaster in his way, to his command in Canada, he was authorized by my father, if he saw me in that country, to furnish me with money. The good man proffered me four half-johannes', one only was accepted. What was nearer and dearer to my heart, was the information, that my parents, relatives and friends were well. That money was applied to the use of my messmates, in the way of sea-stores. Permission being obtained, Boyd and myself, went ashore: our purchases consisted of a very large Cheshire cheese, coffee, tea and sugar, together with a large roll of tobacco for the men. Again pennyless, jollity and mirth did not forsake us.

We sailed on the tenth of August, convoyed by the Pearl frigate, captain M'Kenzie. Passing the delightful island of Orleans, much in shore, we observed the farmers reaping their wheat, which, as we run along, we could observe the haum, in many instances, was green towards the foot of the stalk. From this circumstance, it was concluded, that frequently, particularly in cold or wet seasons, the grain must be kiln-dried, as is done in the north of England, and in Scotland, be-

fore it is housed and threshed. The wheat, though sown between the fifteenth and twentieth of May, and probably sometimes earlier or later, is weighty, and produces a very fine white flour. The voyage down the river, except a few boisterous days, was pleasant. We had some noble views, interspersed here and there with something like villages, chapels and farmhouses. Afterwards, we had in prospect a bleak and dreary coast and country, whose craggedness inspired disagreeable sensations. The greatest curiosities were the seals, whose history and manners were then known to me, but whose living form excited attention, as they were creeping up or basking on the rocks. The porpoises perfectly white, in vast droves, played before and around us, and drew my attention and surprise, as none but the black southern porpoise had before come under my view. To become a naturalist, it is necessary a man should travel; it was many years before books could persuade me of the existence of a green-haired monkey; but these were dimunitive objects indeed in nature's scale, of comparative imagery, when contrasted with the immense river Cadaracqua, or as it is now called St. Lawrence, second to no river in the world, unless it be the La Plata, of South America. Making this observation, you must understand me to include within it, the lake Superior, and the waters which feed that lake. Off Gaspy Point, where we soon arrived, in a due north line, across the island of Anticosta, the river is about ninety miles wide. Steering with favorable weather, the island of St. Johns came in view; passing it, and the Gut of Canceaux, experiencing some stormy weather upon the ocean, and a few difficulties, we happily arrived at New-York on the eleventh of September, 1776, and anchored three miles south of Governor's Island. Now it was, for the first time, that we heard of the dilemma in which our country stood.

The battle of Long Island, on the twenty seventh of August, had been unsuccessfully fought by our troops, many of whom were prisoners. In such hurrying times, intercourses between hostile armies in the way of negotiation upon any point, are effected with difficulty. We had waited patiently several weeks, to be disembarked on our own friendly shore; yet tantalized every day with reports, that to-morrow we should be put on shore; some, and in a little while all, began to fear it was the intention of General Howe, to detain us as prisoners in opposition to the good will of sir Guy Carleton. This notion had so strongly impressed the minds of my friend doctor Thomas Gibson, and a young man called John Blair, of Hendricks, that they determined to escape from the ship. They were, both of them, athletic and able bodied men, and most adroit.

Gibson planned the manner of escape; its ingeniousness, hazard, boldness of execution and eventual success, received the applause of all, but was disapproved, upon the principle that it trenched upon their honor, and would impede our release. The story is this: Gibson and Blair, in the evening, dressed in shirts and trowsers, were upon the main deck with their customary flapped hats, on their heads. Gibson gave me a squeeze of the hand in token of farewell; he was greeted kindly, for he was the brother of my soul. He and his companion went to the forecastle, where there were two large New-Foundland dogs, each of which had his party, or rather his partizans among the crew. These, the adventurers hissed at each other. The dogs being engaged with their usual fury, attracted the attention of the sailors and many of the prisoners: they took this opportunity of stripping and letting themselves down at the bow into the water. Leaning over the sides of the ship, in company of some friends, in the secret, and unregardful of the dogs, we awaited the management of the flight. The last lighted cloud appeared low in the west. Something extraordinary passed along the side, a foolish fellow asked, "what is that?" "a wave, you fool—a mere deception of sight," was answered. It was the head of Gibson, covered by his large black hat. Within a few yards of Gibson came Blair, but with a smaller hat, he was obvious; his white skin discovered him, but luckily the attention of the "ignoramus" was engaged another way. These daring men swam to the barge at the stern, entered it, and slipped the rope. They had rowed a thousand yards before the boat was missed. The other boats of our ship, and of those near us, were despatched after the runaways, it was too late, the fugitives had too much of a start to be easily overtaken. They landed, (having rowed about five miles,) naked, in our own country, somewhere in the vicinity of Bergen-neck, and bartered the boat for some ordinary clothing. They waited on general Washington, who disapproved of their demeanor.

A short time after the foregoing occurrence, a most beautiful and luminous, but baleful sight occurred to us, that is, the city of New-York on fire. One night, (Sept. 22,) the watch on deck gave a loud notice of this disaster. Running upon deck, we could perceive a light, which at the distance we were from it, (four miles,) was apparently of the size of the flame of a candle. This light to me, appeared to be the burning of an old and noted tavern, called the "Fighting Cocks," (where, ere this I had lodged,) to the east of the battery, and near the wharf. The wind was southwardly, and blew a fresh gale; the flames at this place, because of the wind, increased rapidly.

In a moment we saw another light at a great distance from the first, up the North river. The latter light seemed to be an original, distinct and new formed fire, near a celebrated tavern in the Broadway called "White Hall." Our anxiety for the fate of so fine a city, caused much solicitude, as we harboured suspicions that the enemy had fired it. The flames were fanned by the briskness of the breeze, and drove the destructive effects of the element on all sides. When the fire reached the spire of a large steeple, south of the tavern, which was attached to a large church, the effect upon the eye was astonishingly grand. If we could have divested ourselves of the knowledge, that it was the property of our fellow-citizens which was consuming, the view might have been esteemed sublime, if not pleasing. The deck of our ship, for many hours, was lighted as at noon day. In the commencement of the conflagration, we observed many boats putting off from the fleet, rowing speedily towards the city; our boat was of the number. This circumstance repelled the idea, that our enemies were the incendiaries, for indeed they professedly went in aid of the inhabitants. The boat returned about day light, and from the relation of the officer and the crew, we clearly discerned that the burning of New-York was the act of some mad-cap Americans. The sailors told us in their blunt manner, that they had seen one American hanging by the heels dead, having a bayonet wound through his breast. They named him by his Christian and sir name, which they saw imprinted on his arm; they averred he was caught in the fact of firing the houses. They told us also, that they had seen one person, who was taken in the fact, tossed into the fire and that severals who were stealing, and suspected as incendiaries, were bayonetted. Summary justice is at no time laudable, but in this instance it may have been correct. If the Greeks could have been resisted at Persepolis, every soul of them ought to have been massacred. The testimony we received from the sailors, my own view of the distinct beginnings of the fire, in various spots, remote from each other, and the manner of its spreading, impressed my mind with the belief, that the burning of the city was the doings of the most low and vile persons, for the purposes, not only of thieving, but of devastation. This seemed too, the general sense, not only of the British, but that of the prisoners then aboard the transports. Laying directly south of the city, and in a range with Broadway, we had a fair and full view of the whole process. The persons in the ships nearer to the town than we were, uniformly held the same opinion. It was not until some years afterwards, that a doubt was created; but for the honor of our country and its good name, an ascrip-

tion was made, of the firing of the city, to accidental circumstances. It may be well, that a nation, in the heat and turbulence of war, should endeavor to promote its interests, by the propagating reports of its own innocency and prowess, and accusing its enemy of flagrant enormity and dastardliness, (as was done in this particular case,) but when peace comes, let us, in God's name, do justice, to them and ourselves. Baseness and villany are the growth of all climes, and of all nations. Without the most numerous, and the most cogent testimony, as the fact occurred within my own view, the eloquence of Cicero could not convince me that the firing was accidental. Some time after the burning of the city, we understood that we were to be embarked in shallops, and landed at Elizabethtown-point.

The intelligence, caused a sparkling in every eye. On the next day, about noon, we were in the boats:- adverse winds retarded us. It was ten or eleven at night, before we landed;—the moon shone beautifully. Morgan stood in the bow of the boat, making a spring, not easily surpassed, and falling on the earth, as it were to grasp it—cried "Oh my country." We that were near him, pursued his example. Now a race commenced, which in quickness, could scarcely be exceeded, and soon brought us to Elizabethtown. Here, those of us who were drowsy, spent an uneasy night. Being unexpected guests, and the town full of troops, no quarters were provided for us. Joy rendered beds useless, we did not close our eyes till daylight. Singing, dancing, the Indian halloo, in short, every species of vociferousness was adopted by the men, and many of the most respectable sergeants, to express their extreme pleasure. A stranger coming among them, would have pronounced them mad, or at least intoxicated; though since noon, neither food nor liquor had passed our lips; thus the passions may at times have an influencee on the human frame, as inebriating as wine, or any other liquor. The morning brought us plenty, in the form of rations of beef and bread. Hunger allayed, my only desire was, to proceed homewards. Money was wanting. How to obtain it in a place, where all my friends and acquaintances were alike poor and destitute, gave me great anxiety and pain. Walking up the street very melancholy, unknowing what to do, I observed a waggon, built in the Lancaster, county fashion, (which at that time, was peculiar in Jersey,) unloading stores for the troops, come or coming. The owner seeing me, grasping my hand with fervor, told me, every one believed me to be dead. Telling him our story in a compendious manner, the good, old man, without solicitation, presented me two silver dollars, to be repaid at Lancaster. They were gladly

received.* My heart became easy. The next day, in company with the late colonel Febiger, and the present general Nichols, and some other gentlemen, we procured a light return-waggon, which gave us a cast as far as Princeton. Here we had the pleasure of conversing with Dr. Witherspoon, who was the first that informed us, of a resolution of Congress to augment the army. It gave us pleasure, as we had devoted ourselves individually, to the service of our country. The next day, if not incorrect, we proceeded on foot, no carriage of any kind being procurable. Night brought us up at a farmhouse, somewhere near Bristol. The owner was *one of us*, that is, a genuine whig. He requested us to tarry all night, which we declined. He presented us a supper, that was gratefully received. Hearing our story, he was much affected. We then tried to prevail on him, to take us to Philadelphia, in his light waggon. It was objected that it stood loaded with hay in the barn floor; his sons were asleep or abroad. We removed these objections, by unloading the hay, while this good citizen prepared the horses. Mounting, we arrived at the "Harp and Crown," about two o'clock in the morning. To us, it was most agreeable, that we passed through the streets of Philadelphia, in the night time, as our clothing was not only threadbare but shabby. Here we had friends and funds. A gentleman advanced me a sum sufficient to enable me to exchange my leggins and mockasins, for a pair of stockings and shoes, and to bear my expenses home. A day and a half, brought me to the arms of my beloved parents.

At Philadelphia, I waited upon a cousin of my mother's, Mr. Owen Biddle, then a member of the "Council of Safety," who informed me, that while in captivity, he had procured me a lieutenancy. My heart was otherwise engaged. Morgan the hero! had promised and obtained for me, a captaincy in the Virginia-line. Following the fortunes of that bold and judicious commander, my name might have been emblazoned, in the rolls of patriotic fame. But alas! in the course of eight weeks, after my return from captivity, a slight cold, caught when skating on the ice of Susquehanna, or in pursuing the wild-turkey, among the Kittatinny hills, put an end to all my visionary schemes of ambition. This cause renewed that abominable disorder, the scurvy, (which I had supposed, was expelled from my system,) accompanied by every morbid symptom, which had been so often observed at Quebec, attendant

*Who do you think this was? Why Stephen Lutz, of Lancaster—poor but industrious. I have thanked him a thousand times since, and have had the pleasure of obliging him.

upon others. The medical men of all classes, being engaged in the army, that species of assistance was unattainable, in the degree requisite, lameness, as you now observe it, was the consequence. Would to God! my extreme sufferings, had then ended a life, which since, has been a tissue of labor, pain, and misery.

DIARY

OF

LIEUT. JAMES McMICHAEL,

OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA LINE,

1776-1778.

[The original diary of Lieut. James McMichael, of the Penn'a Line of the Revolution, for which we are indebted to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is in the possession of Col. William P. McMichael, of Philadelphia. The military record of Lieut. McMichael is given in the History of the Penn'a Line. The diary as furnished is an entertaining one.]

DIARY OF LIEUTENANT JAMES McMICHAEL.

May 27, 1776.—After Capt. Marshall's company formed at the Cross Roads, Drumore township, Lancaster County, we all marched at 3 o'clock P. M., and arrived at Colonel Thompson's at 6, where we remained that night. Being necessitated to Lodge without a Bed, I passed the night without sleep,—it being the first night I ever was denied a bed.

May 28.—Marched from Col. Thompson's at 7 A. M., proceeding thro' Fagg's Manor and arrived at Welch's Tavern. Here I spent the night with my worthy friend Lieut. John Clark.

May 29.—Having orders to proceed to Chester we marched at daybreak, and at 2 P. M., reached our destination; but orders being countermanded we returned to Prospect Hill, near Marcus Hook, where we encamped in tents, which was to me very disagreeable.

May 30.—Having now joined Col. Miles's Regiment we were this morning ordered on parade, when we went thro' our manœuvres and evolutions with great applause.

June 2.—This being the Sabbath Day I was much surprised when I was awakened by the noise of Drums and fifes Beating the Reveille. This day the soldiers appeared much intoxicated.

June 13.—Express at Camp informing us of a number of Tories having mustered at Lewestown. We are preparing to march thither to-morrow in order to disperse them, which we mean to do at the hazard of our lives.

June 14.—Left camp at Prospect Hill for Wilmington, where we received orders to return that evening to our former encampment.

June 15.—Vessels being ready to transport the Troops to Port Penn, we embarked at noon, and stood down the River.

June 16.—At daylight we arrived at Port Penn, where we remained until 2 P. M., when we proceeded a few miles into the country and encamped.

June 17.—At Reveille marched for Dover, Kent county, where we arrived at dark, after a fatiguing march.

June 18.—Left Dover at 9 A. M., for Lewestown.

June 20.—Arrived at Lewes at 11 A. M.

June 27.—The Roebuck, man-of-war, and the Liverpool, with three tenders, came into the Bay, but the detestible Tories hearing of the riflemen having arrived evacuated the town.

June 28.—Several scouting parties sent out, who having captured the officers of the Tories, swore them to be true to Congress, and then dismissed them.

June 29.—At 4 P. M., we embarked for Marcus Hook, and having a favorable wind, we reached our desired haven July 1, at 10 A. M.

July 4.—Marched from Marcus Hook at Reveille, proceeded through Chester, Derby and over Schuylkill and arrived at Philadelphia at 2 P. M.

July 6.—At 2 o'clock P. M. marched from our quarters to Stamper's Wharf [between Dock and Spruce Streets] where we embarked for Bordentown.

July 7.—Arrived at Bordentown at sunrise, and were ordered to proceed to Amboy. At 2 P. M. we marched. When near to Allentown, Capt Farmer's gun went off accidentally and shot a soldier of his own company. Reached Allentown at 6 P. M. and encamped.

July 8.—At 6 A. M. resumed our march—passed thro' Cranberry at noon, and reached Brunswick at dusk.

July 11.—Left Brunswick and reached Perth Amboy at noon, where we discovered the enemy on Staten Island. The inhabitants seem to be friends to our present struggle.

July 17.—At Reveille were informed that the enemy had landed at Elizabethtown, which caused us to be marched there. On arrival at 2 o'clock, we found the alarm was a false one. We determined to cross to Staten Island that night to visit the troops of Gen. Howe, but a hurricane arose which prevented our embarkation. We afterward ascertained that we would have been cut off, had we landed.

July 18.—This morning received orders to resume our former station at Amboy, and at 10 o'clock left Elizabethtown. This night we joined Gen. Mercer's brigade, no longer to take orders from an officer under a Brigadier General, for we now act as Continental troops, tho' raised for the defense of Pennsylvania.

July 23.—This day 1000 of the Pennsylvania militia came to Perth Amboy. A rifleman was shot by the enemy going in a boat to Staten Island.

July 24.—At the beating of Tattoo a boat was hailed by our sentries, going down Raritan river. This alarmed us all and occasioned us to stand by our arms and go to our alarm posts. On being brought to shore we found the crew had deserted her, and only a few swivel balls on board.

July 25.—At 4 P. M. three schooners came down the Sound and were hailed by our sentries. Returning no answer, a heavy cannonade ensued on both sides—from our battery near the Ferry, and from the enemy at Billop's Point on

Staten Island. During the action we had one man killed and one wounded—the schooners got off much damaged.

August 3.—I this morning was ordered to command 120 men, to take all the small craft from Amboy to Red Root Creek near Beamentown.

August 9.—His Excellency Gen. Washington sent a letter to Col. Miles requesting the riflemen to come to headquarters, New York, which we all agreed to *nemine contra decente*, to march next day.

August 10.—Being relieved from command, I return with my guard to Point Pleasant, near Amboy, and at 10 A. M., the Regiment marched to Elizabethtown and encamped on the Plains.

August 11.—The General was beat at sun-up, the troops were paraded, and proceeded through Newark, over the ferries of Passaic, Hackensack and Powl's Hook, and reached the city of New York at 4 P. M. After forming the regiment in the city, we marched a mile out of Town to a place called Pleasant Hill and there encamped. This night we joined Lord Stirling's brigade, which is entirely composed of Pennsylvanians, Virginians and Marylanders. We are now in view of a formidable English Fleet at the end of Staten Island, said to consist of 100 sail of the line and transports.

August 12.—This day the enemy received a large re-enforcement, which presages a sudden attack. We wait impatiently for them, as we only act in our own defense.

August 14.—A deserter from the enemy says, that there are about 25,000 on Staten Island just about to embark to attack us in New York.

August 17.—The movements of the enemy give undoubted indications of a sudden attack, which has caused Gen. Washington to issue a proclamation for all women, children and infirm people to leave the city until after the engagement.

August 18.—Two men-of-war, with their tenders came down Hudson's river—they were fired on by all the batteries near the shore.

August 19.—The enemy having struck their tents, we were closely inspected with regard to our arms and ammunition. The brigade paraded, and on being dismissed, we were ordered to rest on our arms all night. We have intelligence from a deserter that the enemy will attack us in a few days; also that the Phœnix was considerably damaged by our fire on 18th.

August 21.—A severe storm of thunder and lightning to-day. In the camp adjoining ours, one captain, one lieutenant and one ensign were killed by the lightning.

August 22.—The enemy having landed on Long Island, our

brigade was paraded and ordered thither. After leaving our camp, the order was modified—one-half to proceed to Long Island, the remainder to be in readiness to follow at a moment's notice. The First Battalion together with our musketry, and the Delaware Blues, went to the island and we were ordered to our tents.

August 24.—At 10 A. M., we all marched from our encampment and crossed St. George's ferry to Long Island. Just after we had joined the brigade, we had a heavy cannonade, with some small arms. This night we camped in the woods, without tents, in a hard rain. Sentries firing all night.

August 25.—This morning we were alarmed that the enemy were about to attack us in force; we got ready and marched to meet them. Not finding them we returned to our camp.

August 26.—A scouting party of 120 men, properly officered, were ordered out, but returned without making any discovery.

August 27.—At sunrise we were ordered to march easterly from near Flatbush a few miles, when we discovered the enemy coming against us with 5000 foot and 500 horse. We numbered just 400. We at first thought it prudent to retire to a neighboring thicket, where we formed and gave battle. Here my right hand man fell, shot thro' the head. We were attacked by the enemy's left wing, while their right endeavoured to surround us. Their superior numbers forced us to retire for a short distance, when we again formed and fought with fortitude until we were nearly surrounded. Having by this time lost a great number of men, we were again forced to retreat, when we found that the enemy had got between us and the fort. Then despairing of making good our retreat we resolved to die rather than be taken prisoners, and thus we were drove from place to place 'till 3 o'clock P. M., when we agreed to attempt crossing the mill-pond, that being the only way left for our escape. Here numbers were drowned, but it was the will of Providence that I should escape, and at half past three, we reached the lines, being much fatigued. The enemy advanced rapidly and endeavoured to force our lines, but were repulsed with considerable loss. They afterwards marched towards the Narrows, where they found our First Battalion and the Delaware Blues under command of Col. Hazlet. These battalions were chiefly cut off, we were ordered to cover their retreat, which exposed us in open field to a heavy fire from the enemy 'till evening—the remainder of our troops brought us 23 prisoners. At dark we were relieved and ordered to St. George's ferry to take refreshments. Thus happened the memorable action on Long Island, where the enemy attacked and defeated Lord Stirling's brigade, consisting of the follow-

ing regiments: Colonels Miles, Atlee, Smallwood and Hazlet. Major General Sullivan, Brig. Gen. Lord Stirling were taken prisoners, also Col. Miles and Atlee; Lieut. Col. Piper—all of our regiment also, 19 commissioned officers, 23 sergeants, and 310 rank and file. My preservation I only attribute to the indulgent Providence of God, for tho' the bullets went around me in every dircetion, yet I received not a wound.

August 28.—We marched to the lines at dawn of the morning and there lay under arms 'till 2 o'clock P. M., when we were alarmed that the enemy had come out to attack us. Going to the summit of the hill, we found the alarm false, and so returned to the ferry. We have had an incessant cannonade these four days past. We have the pleasing intelligence by some of our men who were captured and escaped, that the loss of the enemy is greater than ours.

August 29.—Gen. Washington thinking it proper to evacuate the island, we were all ordered to march at 9 o'clock P. M. We crossed at St. George's ferry to New York with great speed and secrecy.

August 30.—A flag of truce from the enemy, gives an account of numbers of our officers being prisoners, who request an exchange. At 1 P. M., we marched from Pleasant Hill, proceeded past King's Bridge and arrived at Mount Mifflin at dark.

Sepember 1.—Having now joined Gen. Mifflin's Brigade, we were all paraded by his orders, when he entertained us with a political discourse, wherein he shewed the propriety of evacuating Long Island, together with the evil consequences which would have attended the maintaining of it.

September 4.—The enemy have now landed at Morrisania, which gives suspicions of an attack here.

September 16.—An attack this morning began with our troops near Hell-gate, which continued for several hours, wherein our troops drove the enemy, killed and wounded 500 of them. Our loss did not amount to 100.

September 17.—This morning the enemy at Morrisania attempted to cross the bank which separates them from our troops, but were repulsed by our scouting party.

September 19.—The Fifth Battalion marched from Mount Mifflin to man the lines at Fort Washington, while a number of our troops crossed Hudson's River, expecting an attack on the Jersey shore.

September 22.—Our regiment marched from Mount Mifflin at 10 A. M., and arrived at Mount Washington at noon.

September 23.—At 11 o'clock the whole army at Mount Washington met on the grand parade in order to see a man shot,

who had left his post in the battle of 16th inst.—but he was reprieved by his Excellency Gen. Washington.

September 29.—We received intelligence at midnight, that the enemy were advancing. We all paraded immediately and man'd the lines. The alarm proved false and at daybreak we returned to our encampment.

October 9. —At 8 o'clok three men-of-war and three Tenders came up Hudson's River, which brought on a heavy cannonade from all our forts and batteries near the shore. They, however, passed by. We were all paraded and man'd the lines, but had no engagement. We are now situate on the banks of Hudson's River, ten miles from New York, two miles from Fort Washington, with our lines advantageous and well fortified, both by nature and art.

October 10.—A party of 120 men with wagons, were detached from our brigade to take forage from the enemies lines, with the intent to bring on an attack, but they would not come out.

October 11.—A barge of Gen. Washington's coming down Hudson's River, was unfortunately taken for one of the enemy, by our Engineer at Fort Washington, who fired an 18-pounder and killed three men on board.

October 14.—Gen. Lee arrived at headquarters at noon, but hearing of an attack at West Chester, Gen. Washington and he went to see the result. There are a number of fine troops in Gen. Lee's escort. Part of the fleet have come to the mouth of Harlem river.

October 18.—We are now informed of an attack at Frog's Neck yesterday, where our troops drove the enemy with considerable loss. We being apprehensive of an attack received orders to strike tents and transmit the baggage to Fort Washington, lest it should fall into the hands of the enemy.

October 20.—We marched from Fort Washington at 10 A. M., proceeded over King's Bridge and encamped on Philips' Manor.

October 21.—At sun-up we marched for White Plains, where we arrived at 2 P. M. At 4 o'clock a party of 100 men, properly officered, from our riflemen left to scour the woods near the enemies lines. We have intelligence that they mean to attack us in a few days—they are said to number 30,000.

October 23.—Our scouting party returned early this morning with 35 prisoners—1 regular, the remainder Tories. The enemy had fourteen killed in the attack, but unfortunately taking the Delaware Blues for the enemy, we fired on each other, in which six of our riflemen and nine of the Blues were killed.

October 25.—One captain, two subalterns, three sergeants with one hundred men, were ordered on a scouting expedition. We

left White Plains at 11 P. M. direct for the enemies advance sentries.

October 27.—Our scouting-party brought in 13 Waldeck and 3 regulars as prisoners.

October 28.—We have received an express that the enemy are rapidly advancing, in consequence of which all our troops were ordered under arms. My regiment was sent to the front to bring on the action, but not to endanger ourselves enough to be taken prisoners. We had not marched two miles before we saw them coming. We were attacked by their right wing (all Hessians) and after keeping up an incessant fire for an hour, we were informed by our flanking party, that their light horse was surrounding us, when we retreated to the lines. Their left wing attacked a party of ours at an advanced post on a hill. Our troops behaved with great fortitude, but being overpowered by numbers, were obliged to fall back to the lines. The enemy attempted to force our right wing in the lines, but were driven back, and finally retreated. The attack lasted from 11 A. M. to 2 P. M.; our loss did not exceed fifty. At 10 o'clock at night we marched from White Plains about four miles and encamped on a hill near Hudson's River, suitable to entrench upon. Being without our baggage and cooking utensils, (they had been sent to North Castle) we were very uncomfortable.

November 1.—Today we had a heavy cannonade near the Liberty Pole—our loss was not much. We encamp in the woods, have no tents, frost and cold severe.

November 6.—The enemy have evacuated their lines and burned part of White Plains, going off towards King's Bridge, which has been the cause of us now receiving marching orders for New Jersey.

November 7.—Left our encampment at noon and proceeded to North Castle, where we encamped.

November 8.—At 6 A. M. left North Castle, and proceeded thro' Philip's, Van Cortland's and Livingston's Manors, and reached Peekskill at dusk and encamped.

November 9.—We embarked on boats at 10 A. M. and sailed five miles down Hudson's River to Lamb's Landing, where we went on shore and marched five miles to camp.

November 10.—Left our encampment at 10 A. M. proceeded thro' Haverstraw and to Clarkstown and encamped on the plains.

November 11.—At Reveille left camp for Tappan and encamped in the woods.

November 12.—This morning continued our march from Tappan, through Scranburg, New Bridge and reached Hackensack at 5 P. M.

November 14.—From Hackensack crossed the Bridge over the Passaic, thence to a pretty town called Sackin river, three miles from Newark, near which we encamped.

November 15.—At day break we left Newark and proceeded to Elizabethtown, where we got to quarters at 3 P. M.

November 16.—We marched from Elizabethtown at noon, thro' Woodbridge to near Beamantown where we encamped. At the former place we heard the cannonading of Fort Washington, which we subsequently learned was captured.

November 17.—Marched from Beamantown to Brunswick, where we arrived at 2 P. M. Here our soldiers drank freely of spirituous liquors. They have chiefly got a disorder, which at camp is called the Barrel Fever, which differs in its effects from any other fever—its concomitants are black eyes and bloody noses.

November 21.—Receiving news that our troops have evacuated Fort Lee, and that the enemy have landed 16,000 men at Dobb's Ferry and are advancing towards Hackensack, occasioned marching orders to be issued.

November 23.—All of Lord Stirling's brigade (except the riflemen), have marched to meet the enemy at Newark.

November 27. Intelligence that the enemy are marching for Brunswick causing us to prepare to meet them, but we are reduced to so small a number we have little hopes of victory.

December 1.—The enemy appeared in view at 1 P. M. We were all under arms on the parade. After a heavy cannonade of an hour, in which we had two killed, we received orders to evacuate the town, and proceeded towards Princeton and encamped near Kingston.

December 2.—Just at dawn the General was beat, when we got ready, marched through Kingston and at 8 A. M. reached Princeton, where we got quarters. It is chiefly inhabited by Tories.

December 7.—At 2 P. M. we paraded, the enemy being in sight, when orders came to evacuate the town and proceed to Trenton, where we were quartered at 10 P. M.

December 8.—We paraded in Trenton at 4 A. M., and at dawn crossed the Ferry into Pennsylvania. At 4 P. M. the Hessians appeared in view, but were soon dispersed by several messengers sent from an 18-pounder of ours from the shore. Here we remained in the woods, having neither blankets nor tents.

December 9.—At 3 P. M. we marched from near Trenton ferry to Thompson's Mill near Coryell's ferry, where we encamped in the woods. Weather very cold.

December 25.—We have now received the glad news that marching orders have been issued. At sundown we marc e l

down the Delaware to McKonkey's Ferry [Taylorsville] and crossed at 9 P. M. for Trenton. The weather uncommonly inclement.

December 26.—We arrived at Trenton at 7 A. M., when we began the attack, which continued 'till 9 A. M. We drove them furiously, killed and wounded upwards of 100, and took prisoners 1014. Our loss was but trifling. We returned the same day to McKonkey's ferry, transported our prisoners to Newtown [Bucks County, Penna.] and after suffering much fatigue we reached our camp, and having obtained comfortable lodgings I found Morpheus had got possession of me.

December 29.—Having again received marching orders, we got ready at dark, and at 10 P. M. crossed at Yardley's Ferry, where we lodged. Weather very cold, snow 6 inches deep, no tents, and no houses to lodge in.

December 30.—Left Yardley's at 8 A. M. and reached Trenton at 10 A. M., where we had the pleasure of seeing seven prisoners brought in by our light horse, from whom we learned that the enemy are at Princeton 7000 strong, and intend to attack us at Trenton in a few days.

January 2, 1777.—At 10 A. M. we received news that the enemy were advancing, when the drums beat to arms and we were all paraded on the south side of the bridge [over Assunpink Creek]. Gen. Sullivan with 1000 men were detached to bring on the attack, which they did and reached town at 5 P. M., but our artillery fire was so severe, that the enemy retreated out of town and encamped on an adjacent hill. We continued firing bombs up to seven o'clock P. M., when we were ordered to rest, which we very commodiously did upon a number of rails for a bed. Thus my friend Capt. Marshall and I passed the night until two after twelve o'clock.

January 3.—At 1 A. M. we all paraded and marched for Princeton. We reached Stony Brook at 9 A. M., where we sighted the enemy. Gen. Mercer with 100 Pennsylvania riflemen and 20 Virginians, were detached to the front to bring on the attack. The enemy then consisting of 500 paraded in an open field in battle array. We boldly marched to within 25 yards of them, and then commenced the attack, which was very hot. We kept up an incessant fire until it came to pushing bayonets when we were ordered to retreat. Here Gen. Mercer was mortally wounded, Col. Hazlet and Major Fleming both killed, with 19 rank and file, and 60 wounded. Having retreated a short distance, we were reinforced, when we immediately rallied, and with the utmost precipitation put our foes to retreat. We killed 60 on the field, wounded 75, and took 215 prisoners. We evacuated Princeton and marched for Somerset Court House, where we arrived at 8 P. M.

January 4.—We marched from the Court House for Pluckamin which we reached at 3 P. M., where we encamped on the north side of a hill very well supplied with large stones, which served us instead of pillows, where we passed two nights.

January 6.—At 9 A. M. we marched from Pluckamin for Morristown via Vealtown, where we arrived at 5 P. M. and encamped in the woods, the snow covering the ground.

January 7.—This morning I secured good quarters, where I lived happily while we remained at Morristown, with very agreeable people.

January 8.—Morristown is devoid of beauty, both in its form and location; the inhabitants very hospitable, all professors of the Presbyterian religion, which renders them to me very agreeable.

January 12.—We marched from Morristown at 3 P. M., and arrived at Chatham at dark, in the suburbs of which we got very agreeable quarters. The young ladies here are very fond of the soldiers, but much more so of officers.

January 23.—At 4 P. M. marched from Chatham for Springfield, where at 6 P. M. we got quarters.

January 24.—We marched from Springfield at 2 A. M., proceeded thro' Westfield, Scott's Plains, and near to Quibbletown [New Market], where we were attacked by the enemy about 600 strong, with three field pieces. We numbered 350, commanded by Col. Buckner, but at the commencement of the attack the Colonel rode off with precipitation, which was to us a great disadvantage. However, the ground was advantageous, and we killed and wounded seventy of the enemy, with a loss of only four men slightly wounded. We then retreated and reached our quarters.

January 31.—Yesterday we marched to Elizabethtown, and to-day, after passing through Connecticut Farms and Springfield reached Chatham, where I secured my former lodgings.

February 10.—Having obtained a furlough I left Chatham at 7 A. M.

[Between February 10 and April 11 the diarist passed with his family and friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, during which time, also, he was married.]

April 11.—Having now finished my business in Philadelphia, I embarked at Chestnut street wharf at 8 A. M., and being favored with wind and tide, I landed at Billingsport at 10 A. M., where I again rejoined my worthy friends at that place.

April 16.—In consequence of general orders issued by Gen. Schuyler, we were ordered to evacuate Billingsport and go to Liberty Island, which point we reached at sundown.

April 17.—This morning we were ordered to Red Bank; embarked and reached there at noon.

April 22.—A detachment of 1 Major, 2 Captains, 7 subalterns, (one of which I was), and 116 rank and file were ordered to Liberty Island.

April 30.—Having now received our new commissions, we proceeded to the arrangement of the officers. I was nominated a subaltern to Capt. Clark. This was transacted at Red Bank, after which we returned to Liberty Island, in order to arrange the men next day.

May 1.—Early this morning returned to Red Bank, where our regiment was properly arranged, after which, with three companies (one of which was ours), returned to Liberty Island, where we were entertained by a harmonious band of music, and passed the day in jolity.

May 15.—At noon the alarm guns down the river were fired and flags all hoisted. We were paraded and awaited the attack, which proved a false alarm.

May 16.—Having been in a fluctuating manner with regard to the disagreeable appointment of Col. John Bull, we had a few officers detached to the Board of War, in order that the command might devolve on Lieut. Col. Lewis Farmer. Upon the return of the officers, they gave us the impression that the Board was determined to make no change, which caused a rupture among the officers.

June 13.—Embarked [Philadelphia] for Fort Mercer.

June 14.—We were alarmed by a heavy cannonade in the night, and to-day learn that the enemy are advancing on this place. We received orders to march next day.

June 15.—Marched from Fort Mercer at 2 P. M., crossed Gloucester ferry at 4, and reached Philadelphia at 7 P. M., where we received marching orders.

June 16.—The time being at hand when we were to receive a positive answer to our late memorial against Col. Bull, at noon all the officers of the regiment met, when Capt. Moore, Capt. Robb, Lieut. Finley and I were chosen a committee to treat with the Executive Council. We got but little satisfaction, in consequence of which we returned fully determined to resign, rather than be commanded by Col. Bull.

June 17.—At 10 A. M. we appointed for a meeting of the officers in Elbow Lane, where we set to write out our resignations. I was one of the writers and wrote my own resignation with sixteen more, and we then marched to the State House to deliver them. On the way we were stopped by Col. Farmer, who gave us the pleasing news that Col. Bull was not to command us and that Col. [Walter] Stewart was appointed. Col. Farmer further informed us, that Col. Stewart requested all the officers of the regiment to meet him at 4 P. M., at the City

Tavern. We immediately repaired to our Quarters where we dressed ourselves and at the time appointed we waited on Colonel Stewart, to our great satisfaction, when after drinking some gallons of Madeira, we returned to our Lodgings much satisfied.

June 18.—We paraded at 4 P. M. and after passing muster, we received marching orders.

June 20.—At 10 A. M. we paraded and marched to the State House, thence to Gen. Gates's headquarters, thence to Gen. Mifflin's, and then returned to the Barracks, where Col. Walter Stewart returned us his thanks in a very polite manner for our behavior during our march through town.

June 22.—At 6 A. M. we left the city for Coryell's Ferry, and at 3 P. M. encamped at the Crooked Billet, [Hatborough] where owing to the bad weather we remained two days.

June 24.—At 5 A. M. we left Crooked Billet, and crossed Coryell's Ferry at 3 P. M., where we encamped on the Jersey shore.

June 25.—We marched from the ferry past Ringo's Tavern, thence to Coxetown and Somerset Court House.

June 26.—We reached Bound Brook, where we awaited an attack of the enemy. They not appearing, we proceeded to and encamped on Mount Prospect.

June 27.—At 7 P. M. we received marching orders, and sent our baggage and tents to headquarters.

June 28.—We marched from Mount Prospect at 10 A. M. on a scout. Our force numbered 1200 men, commanded by Gen. Sullivan. We proceeded through Quibbletown near Bonhamtown, thence through Metuchen, near which we encamped in an open field.

June 29.—At 4 A. M. we left our encampment, returned through Metuchen, where we heard the enemy's drums beat to arms, and we formed in line of battle. They did not come out to meet us, when we returned to Sampton, where finding the enemy had returned to Amboy, we received orders to return to camp, and at 8 P. M. reached headquarters at Middlebrook, much fatigued.

July 3.—Receiving intelligence that the enemy had evacuated Amboy and gone to Staten Island, we received marching orders, and at 7 A. M. passed thro' Baskenridge to Morristown where we went into camp.

July 9.—I have now sat on court martial near a week.

July 11.—At Reveille all tents were struck, after which we paraded and marched to headquarters, where I was ordered to return to Pennsylvania in search of deserters. At 9 A. M. I proceeded thro' Baskenridge, thence to Steel's Tavern, thence to Somerset Court House and Rockyhill and at 9 P. M. reached Stony Brook, where I passed some days with my wife.

July 14.—I left Stony Brook, passed through Amwell, thence to Coryell's passed Robinson's Ferry and at 8 P. M. took quarters at Sherrad's Ferry in Alexandria township.

July 15.—Departed from Sherrad's, passed Helltown, Hugh's Furnace and thence to Philipsburg, where I crossed the Delaware to Easton. From thence I passed Bethlehem, a beautiful town in which is a cloister, to Allentown and the King of Prussia, where being indisposed I took quarters.

July 16.—At daybreak I resumed my journey passed Fetterolf's Tavern, Mayberry's Furnace, and quartered at Colbrookdale for the night. I met only one person, a young lady, who could speak English!

July 17.—At 6 A. M. I proceeded to Pottsgrove, a pretty town whose people are Tories. I put them to silence, but being informed that an insurrection might take place, I thought it advisable to cross the Schuylkill. Thence I continued on to Brownback's Tavern, and at noon reached the powder mills on French Creek, where delivering my orders to Ensign Lincoln, I proceeded and passing the Valley Forge came to the Spread Eagle on the Lancaster road, where I quartered. Along the road from Easton to Pottsgrove, I was looked upon as a barbarian by the inhabitants, and they appeared to me like so many human beings scarcely endowed with the qualifications equal to that of the brute species. Repeatedly I talked Latin to them, when I found that it was worse than English for them to understand. I therefore concluded that they were devoid of any qualification calculated to complete happiness unless when blended with others equally ignorant with themselves.

July 18.—At 6 A. M. I departed from the Spread Eagle, crossed the Schuylkill and arrived at Col. Farmer's on Second Street, in Philadelphia, where I was kindly entertained until the 21st.

July 21.—At 7 A. M. I proceeded through Frankford, Bristol and Trenton to Stony Brook, where I remained until the 28th.

July 28.—I left Stony Brook at 9 A. M., passed Rocky Hill, Somerset Court House, Steel's Tavern and Baskenridge and reached the house of Jonathan Stile, where leaving my hackney, I returned two miles and took quarters.

July 29.—Continued my march through Vealtown, the Cross Roads, the White house, and Ringo's Tavern, to the house of Mr. Large in Amwell, where I nighted.

July 30.—I rejoined the regiment at Coryell's ferry.

July 31.—We passed Bogart's Tavern and camped at the Cross Roads in Warwick township [Bucks County, Pennsylvania] at 7 P. M.

August 1.—At 3 A. M. the General beat; tents were struck and at 6 A. M. we marched, proceeding thro' the Crooked Bil-

let reached Germantown at 6 P. M., on the plains of which we encamped. Our encampment was very beautiful.

August 3.—The largest collection of young ladies almost ever beheld came to camp. They marched in three columns. The field officers paraded the rest of the officers and detached scouting parties to prevent being surrounded by them. For my part being sent on scout, I at last sighted the ladies and gave them to know that they must repair to headquarters, upon which they accompanied me as prisoners. But on parading them at the Colonel's marquee, they were dismissed after we treated them with a double bowl of Sangaree.

August 8.— We received orders to hold ourselves in readiness to pass a grand review at 10 A. M., upon which we all got into uniform, with our hair dressed and powdered. At noon His Excellency Gen. Washington with a number of General officers passed us; We received them with a General salute, both officers and soldiers, when we were afterwards ordered to our encampment.* At 4 P. M. we marched from the plains and proceeded thro' Germantown to White Marsh, where we encamped.

August 9.—Early we marched into Upper Dublin township where we encamped. I am considerably indisposed and our camp is indifferent.

August 10.—At dawn the General beat, when all tents were struck. We marched N. N. E., passed Wells's tavern, then S. S. E. to the Crooked Billet, then N. W., and reached the Cross Roads [Hartsville], where we encamped at 6 P. M.

August 16.—

Since we came here for to encamp,
Our mornings have been very damp.
But at noonday excessive warm,
And like to do us all great harm.

August 23.—At 3 A. M. we marched from camp at Cross Roads, passed the Crooked Billet, and proceeded to Stenton, near Germantown, where receiving orders to march thro' Philadelphia next day, we encamped. The night was wet and the camp disadvantageous.

August 24.—At 3 A. M. the General was beat, when all tents were struck, and at 4 o'clock we marched for Philadelphia. At 6 A. M. we entered Front street, passed down the same in subdivisions to Chestnut street, when turning we proceeded to the Commons, thence over the Middle Ferry [Market street] on Schuylkill, to the heights of Derby, at 8 P. M. where we en-

*The Marquis de Lafayette witnessed this review, an account of which he also gives in his Memoirs

camped. Many of the inhabitants are Tories and possessed of valuable estates.

August 25.—At 3 A. M. tents were struck, at 4 A. M. marched W. S. W. past Marcus Hook, and 2 P. M. encamped in Brandywine Hundred, New Castle county, within 5 miles of Wilmington.

August 26.—At 4 A. M. we marched from our encampment to Brandywine Bridge, near Wilmington, when turning N. N. W. we proceeded a few miles and encamped near the east bank of the creek. Here I was ordered on Court martial duty. Here we also learned, that the enemy had landed and were encamped at Iron Hill.

August 27.—Received orders this evening to march next day to White Clay Creek.

August 28.—We marched from our encampment at 4 A. M. and proceeding thro' Wilmington, Newport and the Rising Sun [Cecil County, Maryland], encamped in White Clay Creek Hundred, where we learned the enemy were near Newark and had driven in the Militia. Here we lay under arms, without tents or blankets, as the wagons were left in the rear. A detachment of 150 men were sent out from Gen. Weedon's brigade to observe the movements of the enemy. We expect a general attack to-morrow.

August 29.—At 3 A. M. we marched from White Clay Creek, proceeded N. E. a few miles up the Lancaster road, then turning marched to the heights of Newport, on Red Clay Creek, where we took post. Our scouting party returned with 14 regulars, prisoners. They gave us to understand that their army was not advancing, but that they intended shortly to attempt the conquest of Philadelphia. Our encampment here was exceedingly beautiful, and being chiefly surrounded by Whig inhabitants, was to us very agreeable.

September 2.—An express arrived at 6 A. M., with news that the enemy were advancing. We struck tents and marched to an advantageous height at the intersection of the roads leading to Newport and Wilmington, and remained under arms to 3 P. M., when we learned that the enemy had advanced to the heights near Christina Bridge and halted. Orders were issued to cook our provisions and to be ready to march at a moment's warning.

September 6.—This morning I was sent out to reconnoitre; proceeded to Newport, thence to the Artillery Park, and afterwards reached our advanced detachment, where I was informed that in the late skirmish three of our regiment were killed and one wounded. At evening returned to camp.

September 7.—Agreeably to General orders of the day, the officers' chests and heavy baggage were sent over Brandywine, and everything prepared for the expected attack to-morrow.

September 8.—At 3 A. M. the General was beat and all tents struck. All the regiments were paraded, the men properly formed with an officer at the head of every platoon, and after wheeling to the right, we remained under arms until 9 o'clock. Then the alarm guns were fired and the whole army drawn up in line of battle, on the east side of Red Clay Creek, with Gen. Greene's division to the right. Here we remained for some time, when Gen. Weedon's brigade (of which my regiment was a part), was detached to the front to bring on the attack. We crossed the creek and marched about a league to an eminence near Mr. McCannon's meeting house, and there awaited the approach of the enemy, who were within half a mile of us. They however, encamped, which occasioned us to remain under arms all night, the sentries keeping up a constant fire. One of our officers on picket, deserted his post and was immediately arrested.

September 9.—At 4 A. M. we received marching orders and proceeded E. N. E. to the Crooked Billet, on the great road from Wilmington to Lancaster; thence thro' Kennett township, Chester county, crossed the Brandywine and turning S. E. encamped in the township of Birmingham, being extremely fatigued for want of rest and severe marching.

September 10.—At noon the alarm guns were fired, and the army drawn up in the usual manner, and marched to a height near the Brandywine, where we took post. The enemy not appearing we posted strong pickets and remained all night in the woods.

September 11.—An attack was made at 7 A. M. on our scouting party, in which Capt. Marshall was wounded. We all paraded near Chadds Ford, and had a heavy cannonade followed by small arms on both sides, but not much execution done owing to the distance. However, this proved to be but a feint, while the enemy's Grand Army marched up the west side of Brandywine and crossed at Birmingham Meeting house. Gen. Sullivan's division was detached in front to bring on the attack. Both parties met at 4 P. M., when a heavy engagement commenced, which continued about an hour, when our troops being overpowered in numbers were obliged to give way, at which time we were marched to their aid. We took the front and attacked the enemy at 5.30 P. M., and being engaged with their grand army, we at first were obliged to retreat a few yards and formed in an open field, when we fought without giving way on either side until dark. Our ammunition almost

expended, firing ceased on both sides, when we received orders to proceed to Chester. We marched all night until we neared the town, when we halted, but not to sleep. This day for a severe and successive engagement exceeded all I ever saw. Our regiment fought at one stand about an hour under incessant fire, and yet the loss was less than at Long Island; neither were we so near each other as at Princeton, our common distance being about 50 yards. And thus happened the battle of Brandywine, in Chester county; the loss on either side not properly authenticated.

September 12.—At 4 A. M. we proceeded thro' Chester, later to Derby, and encamped near Schuylkill bridge at 9 o'clock.

September 13.—At sunrise we crossed Schuylkill bridge and turning to the left to avoid the city, proceeded to the Falls of Schuylkill and at 11 A. M. reached the site of our former encampment, near Germantown, where we encamped and put up our tents, which we have been without for a week.

September 14.—At 9 A. M. we marched from camp near Germantown, N. N. W. for a few miles, up the great road from Philadelphia to Reading, then turning W. S. W. we crossed the Schuylkill in the centre between Philadelphia and Swedes Ford, 8 miles from each. We reached the great road to Lancaster, at Merion Meeting house, and proceeded up that road, when we encamped in an open field, being denied every desirable refreshment.

September 15.—At 6 A. M. we marched to the Sorrel Horse, the Spread Eagle and to Paoli, where we encamped.

September 16.—Intelligence reached camp at 1 P. M., that the enemy were on the march for Swedes Ford, whereupon we proceeded a mile up the road and turning took post on a hill, by which time an attack commenced between our scouting party and that of the enemy. The day being extremely wet the enemy declined to advance. At 3 o'clock we received marching orders and halted at 2 A. M., but remained under arms until daybreak. The rain fell in torrents for eighteen hours. This march for excessive fatigue, surpassed all I ever experienced.

September 17.—At noon we marched to the Yellow Springs and encamped in the woods.

I then thought were I but at Maidenhead,
I would be treated to a warm bed—
But whilst in camp, the wood must be my shade,
And ready be to any alarm that's made.
Whilst I my sword must gird around my thigh,
And fight courageous when the enemy's nigh—
Leaving to Providence to consumate
What is recorded in the Book of Fate.

September 18.—We marched from the Yellow Springs at 4 A. M.; passed Warwick Furnace and encamped at Reading Furnace.

September 19.—At dawn, broke camp and crossed the Schuylkill at 2 P. M., at Parker's Ford [Lawrenceville], where we had to strip to wade. Reached the great road to Reading, passed the Trappe, crossed the Perkiomen, on the eastern bank of which we encamped. Through false alarms we got no rest, tho' after such fatigue rest would have been very agreeable.

September 20.—At 4 P. M. marched from the Perkiomen, proceeded down the great road, crossed the Skippack, and thence to Pauling's Ford, in Providence township, where we encamped. We had a fair view of the enemy's encampment, being only separated from us by the Schuylkill and a small hill.

September 21.—At 3 P. M. we marched to the Ridge Road, where we halted 'till 9, crossed the Perkiomen and Skippack, passed the Trappe and encamped near Pottsgrove.

September 26.—We left camp at Pottsgrove at 9 A. M. for Pennybecker's Mill [now Schwenksville] where we encamped.

Just when we came into our camp, an army did appear,
They were on an adjacent hill which was to us quite near,
They travers'd all the hill about, as tho' we were their foes
And seemed quite uneasy the secret to disclose.
But we with mirth and jolity did seat ourselves to rest
Upon the hill right opposite, tho' they seem'd quite distress'd.
Then taking Carnaghan's canteen, which had in it some rum,
We took to us a little draught, my rhyme to end did come.

September 28.—In consequence of the good news received from our army in the North [battle of Bemis Heights, New York], we were all paraded, and a salute of 13 guns was fired by our park of artillery, with three huzzas.

September 29.—At 10 A. M. we marched from Pennybecker's Mill o the Methodist [Mennonite] meeting house, where we remained several days.

October 3.—Early this morning orders were issued for the troops to be furnished with two days cooked provisions, and each man served with forty rounds of ammunition. At noon the sick were sent to Bethlehem, which indicates that a sudden attack is intended. At 6 P. M. the whole army marched, with Gen. Greene's division in the advance. We passed White Marsh meeting house, when Major J. Murray, Capt. [John] Nice and I were ordered at the head of 80 men to feel their advance pickets, and if we conveniently could, to attack them. Owing to the picket being within a mile of their main body, we were unsuccessful, and rejoined our regiment at daybreak.

October 4.—At 5 after 5 o'clock the attack began from right to left. We drove the enemy for near 3 miles with the utmost precipitation, but the Maryland militia under the command of Gen. Smallwood, not coming to flank us in proper time, together with the cowardice of the 15th Virginia regiment, gave the enemy an opportunity of coming round our left flank. When their main body attacked our left, we advanced into a field and put every party to retreat that attacked us in front; but by this time we sustained a fire from front, left and part to the rear, when Gen. Stephen ordered Col. Stewart to evacuate the ground from the right of sub-divisions by files. It was disagreeable to have to leave the field, when we had almost made a conquest, if the Virginians had stood to our aid. Agreeably to orders, we retreated regularly a short distance, but the enemy taking a different route, we were obliged to march the road from whence we came, in order to head them, but did not fall in with any part of them afterwards. We then marched up the Skippack road to Pennybecker's Mill, where we betook ourselves to rest at 9 P. M. Thus happened the memorable event of the battle of Germantown, in which great numbers were killed on both sides, and which lasted from 5 till 10 o'clock. That of Brandywine, was not in any measure such a general attack, neither was the loss at that place any way equivalent. I had previously undergone many fatigues, but never any that so much overdone me as this. Had it not been for the fear of being taken prisoner, I should have remained on the road all night. I had marched in twenty-four hours 45 miles, and in that time fought four hours, during which we advanced so furiously thro' buckwheat fields, that it was almost an unspeakable fatigue.

October 5.—To-day changed our encampment to the west bank of the Perkiomen.

I then said, I had seen another battle o'er
And it exceeded all I ever saw before,
Yet thro' the danger I escap'd without receiving harm
And providentially got safe through firing that was warm,
But to my grief tho' I fought sore, yet we had to retreat
Because the cowardice of those on our left was great.

October 8.—At 8 A. M. we marched from our camp, passed Pennybecker's Mill and along the Skippack road, then turning N. N. E., we crossed the North Wales road and proceeded to the road leading to Bethlehem, on which we encamped, in the township of Towamensing, 26 miles from Philadelphia, where we remained some days.

October 16.—At 7 A. M. we marched from Towamensing to

the intersection of the roads to North Wales and Bethlehem, then turning S. S. W. we proceeded to our former encampment near the Methodist [Mennonite] meeting house adjacent to which, we formed a camp.

October 17.—At 4 A. M. the 13th Pennsylvania, with the 2d and 5th Virginia regiments marched to White Marsh Church, where we built large fires and returned to our camp.

October 18.—This day the agreeable news from the northward arrived at camp, that our army under Gen. Gates had obliged Gen. Burgoyne with his whole army to surrender as prisoners of war, upon which His Excellency Gen. Washington ordered the whole army to be paraded at 3 P. M. when a feu de joy with blank cartridges, followed by three huzzas was performed by the whole army, superintended by the Major General and Brigadier of the day.

October 20.—At 4 A. M. we marched from camp near the Methodist meeting house and proceeded to Upper Dublin [township] and there received orders to pitch tents. Here we remained 'till evening when we were ordered to the Broad Axe, thence past Plymouth and Barren Hill meeting houses, but the night growing excessive wet a council of war thought it expedient for us to return to our encampment, where we arrived at daybreak, after marching 30 miles.

October 22.—At 9 o'clock at night we marched and proceeding past White Marsh church, through Flowertown, Beggarstown, and Germantown, halted at the Rising Sun [Nicetown] it then being daybreak.

October 23.—We remained between the Rising Sun and Three Mile run, until 9 o'clock, waiting until Gen. McDougal would attack the enemy at Schuylkill, but they having evacuated their post, we had to return to our encampment.

November 2.—We marched from Upper Dublin and took post at White Marsh, where we erected abatis in front of our encampment.

By Tories we were now surrounded
Either when marching or retreating
But Tories still are pusilanimous
And can't encounter men magnanimous.
We made us merry at their expense
While they wish'd we were all gone hence.
These were the people called Quakers
Who in war would not be partakers.
To Liberty's Sons this seem'd but light
We still allow'd that we could fight.

November 11.—

> The weather now began to cover with snow
> The Earth; likewise the wind N. W. did blow,
> Whilst our abode was only in our tents,
> Where we remained during what events
> Might here occur, whether of joy or grief—
> And to attack the enemy was our sole relief.

November 20.—At 8 A. M. we marched from White Marsh, passed Abingdon, we crossed the Neshaminy to Kucklestown, on the heights of which we encamped.

November 21.—We marched from Kucklestown at 8 A. M., and proceeded past a small town called Four Lanes End, thence to Bristol, when we crossed the Delaware to Burlington, where we arrived at 2 P. M.

November 22.—At 10 A. M. we marched from Burlington to the heights of Mount Holly, where we took post.

November 26.—Having received word that Gen. Cornwallis with 4000 men were ravaging the county of Gloucester, at 1 A. M. marched to Moorestown and thence to Haddonfield, near which we halted until evening. We learned that the enemy had retreated to Philadelphia, after taking a large quantity of live stock with them. We returned to our encampment at midnight, after a fatiguing march

November 27.—We left Mount Holly, proceeded to Burlington and crossed the Delaware to Bristol, near which we encamped in the woods, without tents.

November 28.—At daybreak left Bristol, passed thro' Four Lanes End, over Neshaminy bridge, passed Southampton Meeting house and Abingdon and reached White Marsh at 8 P. M.

December 5.—At 2 A. M. the alarm guns were fired, when we paraded, marched to and man'd the lines. The enemy marched thro' Germantown, Beggarstown, Flowertown, and took post on Chestnut Hill. At 8 A. M. a detachment of Militia, under Gen. Potter were ordered to skirmish with them, in which both sides met with loss. The enemy encamped while our Grand Army remained at the lines. Our bagagge, including tents, were sent to the Trappe. The weather was excessive cold.

December 7.—We man'd the lines at 5 A. M.; at 8 o'clock the alarm guns fired, when we discovered the enemy advancing. The riflemen under Col. Morgan were detached to skirmish with them. Their intention seemed to come around our left flank, but could not effect their design; they then went into camp. The sentries kept up a fire all night and everything presaged a general attack in the morning.

December 8.—We stood at arms at 5 A M., expecting a general engagement, but contrary to our expectation we passed the day at the lines undisturbed 'till 11 o'clock at night, when a regiment from each brigade were ordered to attack at daybreak.

December 9.—We marched to Chestnut Hill, but hearing the enemy had returned to Philadelphia, we returned to our encampment.

December 11.—At 3 A. M. we struck tents, passed White Marsh Church, and on to the upper bridge over the Schuylkill, when the enemy having crossed at the Middle Ferry, attacked a party of Militia under Gen. Potter. The loss was inconsiderable on both sides. We then turned W N. W. and proceeded thro' Hickorytown and encamped near Swedes Ford.

December 12.—At 6 P. M. we marched to the bridge [made of wagons], which we crossed in Indian file, and at 3 A. M. encamped near the Gulph [Mill], where we remained without tents or blankets in the midst of a severe snow storm.

December 19.—At 10 A. M. we marched from the Gulph and took post near the Valley Forge, where our ground was laid out for cantonments.*

January 8, 1778.—I departed from Swedes Ford, and at 10 A. M. arrived at camp near the Valley Forge, where I was a welcome guest to the officers and soldiers of the 13th Penna. Regt. Here I began to assist in building a hut for the winter quarters of Capt. Robert Gray, Mr. Garman and myself.

January 14.—At the request of Colonel Stewart, the officers of the regiment were summoned to dine with him, where we passed the day in civil jolity. In this manner several days were spent, passing by a rotation from the senior to the junior officers. Thus and in many other desirable enjoyments we passed some part of the Winter campaign, making ourselves as happy as circumstances would possibly admit. While confined to the camp, we passed many hours in recreation, viewing the environs thereof and surveyed the most advantageous posts in case of an attack

February 8.—At 6 o'clock P. M. Capt. John Speer made his exit to the Eternal World, after an indisposition of two weeks. He was a gentleman possessed not only of a patriotic spirit, but also of a large degree of fortitude, and yet after escaping in many dangerous engagements, he at last died of an Intermittent Fever in the 27th year of his age. His remains were interred in Upper Merion, with all the honors of war, accompanied by a great number of officers of Gen. Greene's division.

*Between December 22, 1777, and January 8, 1778, Lieutenant McMichael obtained leave of absence to visit his family.

March 15.—I this morning proceeded to the grand parade, where I was a spectator to the drumming out of Lieut. Enslin of Col. Malcom's regiment. He was first drum'd from right to left of the parade, thence to the left wing of the army; from that to the centre, and lastly transported over the Schuylkill with orders never to be seen in Camp in the future. This shocking scene was performed by all the drums and fifes in the army—the coat of the delinquent was turned wrong side out.

March 20.—To us who had built ourselves a city on the banks of the Schuylkill, the return of Spring brought thoughts of happiness, which we should have enjoyed more fully, were Philadelphia again in our possession. We rely on the prudence and military skill of our worthy General, to accomplish this.

April 30.—This day with most of the officers of Gen. Greene's division I accompanied the corpse of Lieut. Green to Upper Merion, where it was interred with the honors of war. He was a gentleman of an amiable disposition, who unfortunately was mortally wounded in a duel with Lieut. White.

May 1.—Having now an opportunity I thought proper to send part of my superfluous baggage and some of my books to Jersey [the journal from which this copy is made being of the number].

Farewell my Journal, we must part
Which contains some nature but no art—
The companion of my sore fatigues
Throughout the war, but not intrigues;
Therefore adieu my ambiguous book,
May you be pleasing to those who in you look.

May 6.—Agreeably to General Orders of yesterday, we paraded at 9 A. M., when a suitable discourse was delivered to each brigade by the Chaplains. At 10 A. M. there was a signal given by the discharge of a field piece from the Artillery Park, for the whole army to load and ground arms. At half after eleven, a similar signal was given, upon which we immediately marched to our alarm posts, where the Commander in Chief reviewed us, beginning at the right of the front line and proceeding to the left, then turning to the left of the rear line he passed along to the right. Attended by all of his aids and guards, he then took post upon an eminence to the right in rear. Immediately afterwards a signal was given for the commencement of the feu de joy, when a discharge of 13 pieces of cannon followed by a running fire of the infantry from right to left of

the front line and continuing to the left with a like discharge from left to right of the rear, were performed. Then a signal for three cheers. This was followed by a discharge of 13 pieces of artillery, with the same ceremonies as in the former fire. We afterwards returned by brigades to our encampment, when all the officers in general were desired to dine with his Excellency Genl. Washington, and spent the afternoon enjoying all desirable mirth and jolity. Many patriotic toasts were drank, and at evening we all returned to our quarters.*

* This inspection and review was to celebrate the treaty of alliance between France and the United States, which was signed February 6.

Erkuries Beatty

JOURNAL

OF

LIEUT. ERKURIES BEATTY

IN THE

Expedition Against the Six Nations

UNDER GEN. SULLIVAN.

1779.

[This journal is in possession of the New York Historical Society, and was published in connection with the record of the centennial celebration of the expedition of Gen. Sullivan against the Six Nations Indians in 1779. Lt. Beatty belonged to the Fourth Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, where a biographical reference is given.]

JOURNAL OF AN EXPEDITION TO ONONDAGA.

April 6th, 1779.—Marched of from the Middle fort with a Comp'y, from the 4th P. Reg't. and a Comp'y from the Rifle Corps about 9 o'clock proceeded on to Cobus Kill 12 Miles from Schohary; arrived there at 4 o'Clock when we was Joind by Capt Johnstons Compy of Col. Dubois's Regt. from the lower fort Schohary when he took the Comd. staid here all Night. Next morning we proceeded on with the 3 Companies to Mohawk River to Conogoharie 25 Miles where we staid all Night. Nothing material happend. on our March, the next day marched on to fort plank 6 miles where we got waggons sufficient to Carry our m[ens] packs then proceeded on within 4 Miles of Fort Herkimer where we staid all Night. Next morning started early arrived at Fort Herkimer where we Join'd Capt. Bleeker Compy. from Col. Gansevorts Regt. Capt. Fowlers Compy from Col. Livingstons Regt. & Capt. Lane's Compy. from Col. Aldens Regt, staid here & got breakfast then Marched of of Capt. Bleeker taking the Command, marched on 13 Miles when we encamped all Night in the woods the next morning got of early went on to old fort Stanwix 6 Miles where we breakfasted, then proceeded on to Fort Schuyler 16 Miles where we arrived about 5 o'Clock and was saluted with three pieces of Cannon from the fort four Companies Encamped on the Glacis and the other two quartered in two houses that was there. The officers quartered in the Garrison which consisted of Col. Vanschaiks Regt. & a Compy. of Artillery.

April 14th, 1779.—Rested all this Day nothing material happening—

15th.—This day about 63 Oneida Indians came into the fort with their baggage & squaws they all fired coming in & was saluted with 3 pieces of cannon from the fort after some Ceremony they went out and lay about $\frac{1}{2}$ of a Mile from the fort.

16th.—This Morning the Sachems apply to Col. Van Schaick to go on the Expedition with us but the Col. told them that we was not going on any Expedition which almost satisfied them, this afternoon about 20 More came in of the Tuskeroras & Oneidas.

17th.—It snowed last Night and partly all this Day nothing material happening.

18th.—Snow'd by spells this day The Indians applyd to Col.

for to go on an expedition by themselves which was granted them and they Drawed provision, then they petitioned for two officers to go with them but no Men, which was granted them Lt. McClellan of Col. Gansevorts Regt. and Ensign Hardenburg of Col. Van Schaicks Regt. was ordered to go with each to take a Sergt. and 20 Days provision with them and they marched of about 1 o'Clock about 60 of them leaving their Sachems & Squaws behind them, this Day arrived at the Fort 30 Batteaus with stores from Schenectady. We Recd. orders to Draw 3 Days provision and hold our selves in Readiness to march to morrow morning at Day Break.

19th.—last night the Batteaus was carried into wood creek about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile from the fort and this morning flights of snow fell but we march'd of about sunrise with 3 Companies from Col. Van Schaicks Regt. when Col. Van Schaick took the Comd. with his other field officers Lt. Col. Willet & Magor Cochran sent a proper Guard with the batteaus and we proceeded down wood creek by land till we arrived within about 2 Miles of Lake Oneida 22 Miles from the fort staid here 3 or 4 hours for the boats where they Arrived about 3 o'Clock when we immediately embarked & proceeded into the Oneida lake the wind blowing very high all Night, about day break we stopt and Collected our boats then proceeded on till about 1 o'Clock when we stopt about 2 hours & Drawd provisions then proceeded on to the Onandaga landing at the farther end of the lake which is across 33 Miles and in breadth 13 Miles where we arrived about 3 o'Clock. Immediately Disembarked, Drawed Rum, turned out a sufficient Guard to leave with the boats then formed the line of March Viz The Men to March in two Columns about the Distance of 100 Yards each Capts. Graham, Gray, Hicks & Renshaw with their Companies to form the Right & Capts. Louie's, Johnston, Fowler & Bleeker to form the left and the Rifle Compy. to divide upon each flank The Main body to march two deep and in case of interuption to file of to Right and left and Join the line and the Rifle men to keep on the flanks, in this Manner we march'd of thro the woods with the greatest silence about 14 Miles when we stopt about dark and laid down without any fires and the strictest orders to keep silence.

21st.—this morning set of about Day Break on the same line of march and went about 6 Miles when we halted, Capt. Graham with his Compy. was sent forward as an advance party then proceeded on to the Onandaga lake about 8 miles in length & 4 in Breadth waded an arm of it about 4 foot deep and 200 yards wide and came to Onandaga creek, small but deep, had to cross it on a log. Capt. Grahams Co Just as he had

crossed the creek caught an Indian who was shooting Pidgeons & made him prisoner, And we got some Information from him, then proceeded on till we come within about one Mile of the Town when we Recd. word from Capt. Graham that he had caught one Squaw and killed one and had taken two or three Children and one White man and one or two made their escape and alarmed the town. The Col Immediately sent me forward to order him on as quick as possible and make as many prisoners as he could & he would support him with the main body. I overtook him at the first town and delivered my orders and he Immediately pushed on about two miles to the Next town where he made a small halt and took a great many prisoners, soon after Magor Cochran with Capt. Grays Compy. came up and ordered me to stay with the prisoners and their two Compys. to push on to the next town about one mile forward which they did and made more prisoners and killed some particularly a Negro who was their Dr. they then plundered the houses of the most valuable things and set fire to them and Returned to the middle town where I was. Capt. Bleekers Compy. had come up by this time and left the main body at their first town we then collected all our prisoners plundered this town and sett fire to it then marched of to the main body which lay at the first town, we stayd there about 8 hours and killed some five horses and a Number of Hogs & plunderd their houses and set fire to them and Marched of about 4 o'Clock in the same line of march as we came only the front changed and a Compy. to guard the prisrs. who was to march between they two Colums marched on about 2 Miles from the town down the Onand'ga creek when about 20 Indians who Lay concealed on the oppisite side of the Creek fird upon us, but the Rifle Men soon Dispersed them killing one of them, we then march'd on and crossd the Onandga Creek in two places for fear the enemy should attack us but we met with no interruption, crossed the arm of the lake and encamped by the side of the lake about 8 Miles from the town—We killed about 15 took 34 Prisoners, burned about 30 or 40 Houses, took 2 stand of Coulors, and we had not one man killed or wounded—

22nd.—Marched of early this morng and arrived at the boats about 4 o'Clock stopt about one hour to Draw rum then embarked and went 7 Mile to a large Island in the lake where we encamped and Drew provision.

23d.—The next morng the wind blowing we did not sett of till about 9 o'Clock but the wind begin to Lull and we arrived into wood creek about 4 oClock when we Disembarked left 2 Compys. to guard the boats up the Creek & we proceeded on to Fish Creek about 7 Miles where we Encamped.

24th.—Rained a little last Night set of early this morning small showers of Rain fell to day we arrived at fort Schuyler about 12 o'clock when we were saluted by 3 Pieces of Cannon from the fort and each Compy. took their old Quarters.

25th.—This Day we was busy in collecting the plunder and making an equal Distribution of it to each Comy. and Recd. orders to hold ourselves to embark tomorrow morning early to go down the Mohawk River.

26th.—This Morning Capt. Louies & Capt. Fowlers Compy. was ordered to march down to Fort Herkimer to guard some waggons and afterwards to join their Regt. the other 4 Companies embarked with the prisoners about sunrise and proceeded down the River to fort Herkimer where we arrived about dark, part of the boats was ordered to go forward 6 Miles to the carrying place and wait there in the morning till the Rest came up.

27th.—set of early this morning and went to the carrying place, some showers of Rain falling, had our boats carried over as Quick as Possible and proceeded down the River as far as Major Funda's within 24 Miles of Schenety where we stayed all night.

28th.—set of early this morning and arrived at Schenectady about 12 oClock when each Compy. Recd. orders to Join their Regts. as soon as possible, put the men in the barracks & staid all Night.

29th.—This morning about day break set of with Capt. Grays compy. and the Rifle compy. leaving the prisoners with Capt. Bleeker to Guard to Albany, proceeded on till we arrived at middle Fort Schohary Just being out 3 Weeks.

E. BEATTY.

JOURNAL OF AN EXPEDITION TO THE INDIAN TOWNS.

Friday, June 11th, 1779.—Marched from Schohary with 4th P. Regt. & Rifle corps 8 o'Clock leaving 15 Men from each Corp with proper officers for the safety of the Place the rest arrived at Schenectady at Sundown where we encamped—

Saturday 12th.—Lay encamped all day.

Sunday 13th.—Crossed over the River encamped opposite Schenectady and was supplyed with 36 Batteaus to go up the Mohawk River with a quantity of provisions, Small Showers of Rain fell today

Monday 14th.—Showers of rain almost all day embarked in our boats at 2 o'Clock, proceeded up they River very strong water, went 3 Mile up when we encamped on the shore.

Tuesday 15th.—Rained all Last Night which made it very disagreeable in our tents embarked this Morning 8 o'Clock proceeded on 10 Mile midling strong water encamped on the shore.

Wednesday 16th.—Embarked this morning at Sunrise went on 13 Miles to Major Fundas where we encamped.

Thursday 17th.—Embarked this morning sunrise went up very good water all day arrived at Conojoharie at Sundown 17 Miles where we found Col Gansevorts Reg't. encamped we immediately unloaded our Boats and encamped on the left of Col. Gansevorts Regt.

Friday 18th.—lay in camp very Quiet all day Nothing Material happening.

Saturday 19th.—Struck Tents very early Marched of for Springfield very bad road passed on the road a Number of Waggons with Batteaus & provision going on to the Lake likewise a New York Regt. which was encamped on the Road side 6 Miles from Conojohaira arrived at Springfied 4 o'clock P M 17 Miles which had formerly been a pretty little Settlement but the Indians at the distruction of Cherry Valley had likewise Distroyed it, it lies within 4 Miles of lake Otsego and about 6 or 8 from Cherry Valley here we encamped in a very pleasant place—

Sunday 20th.—lay in camp all day nothing material happening great Number of Waggons passing all day to the lake with provision & Batteau—Came here this evening & encamped two Companies of Col. Aldens Regt. N. E. on their way to join their Regt. laying at the Lake.

Monday 21st.—This morning Major Parr with near 100 men properly officered went on a 3 Days scout likewise to clear out the branch of the Susquehana which comes out of the Lake Otsego to make it passable for Boats, likewise the two Companies of Col. Aldens Regt. moved to their Regt. nothing else material happening a Number of Waggons passing to the lake with Boats and provisions, we send out parties every day to keep the Roads in Repair.

Tuesday 22d.—This Morning the Colonel and a Number of Officers besides myself went on a fishing party across Lake Otsego catched a few fish and Returned in the Evening but got very wet as there was showers of Rain fell in the afternoon—on the lower end of the lake (which is about 8 Mile in lenth and 2 in Breadth) we found two Companies of Col. Aldens

Reg't. who had made a Dam across the neck that runs out of the lake so as to Rais the water for to carry the Boats down they creek.

Wednesday 23d.--This Day about 2 o'Clock Major Parr arrived with his party brought no news of any consequence but that they the branch of the Susquehana which he went down about 10 Miles from Lake Otsego was passable for Boats. lay in Camp all Day nothing of consequence happening sending out fatigue parties on the Roads as usual likewise great number of Waggons passing to the Lake.

Thursday June 24th.—Lay in camp to Day Nothing of Consequence happening.

Friday 25th—This Morning Capt. Simpson with 40 Rifle Men went on a scout likewise Lt. Bevins with 20 Musquet Men went on a scout. Showers of Rain fell to day and exceeding warm weather, not many waggons Pass'd to day.

Saturday 26th.—Rained almost all last night but very warm all Day, about 9 o'Clock. Col. Dubois Regt. Arrived here with 2 Pieces of Artillery likewise a Quantity of Amunition for the expedition and some Cloathing,staid & eat Breakfast and Proceeded on to the lake then to take Part, this afternoon Capt. Simpson with his party and Lt. Bevins with his arrived at Camp but brought no news of Consequence, this evening a Number of Waggons arrived here on their way to the Lake with amunition likewise our P : Mr.

Sunday 27th.—This morning sent a escort with the amunition to the lake, to day about 2 oClock one of the Rifle Officers sent his waiter about one Mile from Camp to get Sallad, but the waiter was unhapily made prisoner by a few Indians after having fired three Shot which we heard in Camp Imediately went out Scouts but could see Nothing.

Monday 28th.—This Day the Col. and a Number of Offrs with myself went to see Col Dubois and his officers who were encamped at Lows Grove on the uper landing, found them all very well and they provided a very good dinner for us suitable to the place & time, there was about fifty offrs. dined together, after Dinner we had a song or two from different Officers and Returned home a little before Sundown, we were all very sociable at dinner and Spent our time with the Officers very agreeable—little flights of Rain fell to-day in the morning nothing material happening—

Tuesday 29th.—Lt. Boyd with a Scout went out to day and Lt. Cotin with another party, a Number of Col. Dubois's officers came to see us to day and dined with Col. This evening the flying Hospital arrived here with a Number of Hospital Stores and all the surgeons that is going on the expedition and here encamped.

Wednesday 30th.—This morning Capt. Henderson with a large escort went to convey the Hospital to the landing.

Thursday July 1st.—This day fell some Rain about 2 oClock, Genl. Cinton arrived at our Camp with the Adjt. Genl. and a Number more officers and encamped, about Dark Col. Gansevorts Regt. Arrived, here and encamped in front of us, this evening we Recd. orders to march to-morrow morning early.

Friday 2d.—Accordingly this morning we struck our tents early, the Regt. marched by Cherry Valley to the lower end of the lake. The baggage of the Detachment went to Springfield landing with a proper Guard with the Col. & the Qr. Masters & myself, put the baggage on board Boats & Proceeded to the lower end of the lake where we arrived about 3 oClock and found the Regt. there before us, we Immediately took out our Baggage and encamped on the Right of Crohans House a very pleasant place in the evening the Genl. arrived with Col. Gansevorts Regt. & the Hospital & a great deal of Provision, they encamped on the left of us.

Saturday 3d.—This morning Major Church with a Number of Boats went to bring Provision from Springfield landing, about 10 oClock Col. Dubois Regt. came here with more Provision & encamped in the rear of Col. Gansevorts Regt. two Hours after Col. Wisenfills Regt. arrived here with Provision and encamped in the rear of us, likewise the Artillery and stores came with Col. Dubois Regt. and encamped between our Regt. & Col. Gansevorts, made a Magazin of Crohans House.

July 4th.—Last night we were alarmed by some of our Centries firing at Indians who was crieping up to them, we Remained under arms one Hour then went to our tents with orders not to pull of our Cloaths, there was several shots fired before morning, and at Day break we tracked a number of Indians Round about our pickets but never one of them returned our fire. Major Parr with his Rifle men went on Scout this morning.

This Day three year being the Day that Independence was declared it was celebrated by firing a Feu De Joy all the troops was drew up on the Banks of the Lake in one line with the two Pieces of Artillery on the Right there was 13 Pieces of cannon fired and three Volleys of Musquetry one after another and three Cheers with every fire it was done extraordinary well and with great exactness, afterwards the troops was drew up in a Circle by Coloms on a little hill when Parson Granoo preached us a sermon suitable to the occasion from the 4 Chapter of Exodus and 12 Verse, afterwards the troops was Dismissed, Col. Rignier Adjt. Genl. gave an invitation to all the officers to come and drink Grog with him in the evening ac-

cordingly a number of officers (almost all) assembled at a large Bowry which he had prepared on the bank of the lake but however we sot on they ground in a large Circle and closed the Day with a Number of Toasts suitable & a great Deal of Mirth for two or three hours and then Retirned to our tents. the whole Day was Conducted extremely well considering the place, a great deal of provision came over they Lake here today—Weather very warm—This afternoon Lt. Evans Rifle Regt. Returned from a Scout being down the Susquehannah as far as Yaukams but brought no news of consequence.

July 5th, Monday.—To-day Col. Aldens Regt. came over with the last of the Provision and Stores of all sorts and encamped in the center of the second line behind the Artillery likewise a few of the Oneida Indians come over with the Regt. and encamped on the Banks of the lake, the all soon got Drunk & made a terrible noise.

6th, Tuesday.—This forenoon the Adjt. Genl. Reviewed the front line very particularly. This afternoon was a high wind and some Rain, Prayers now every evening from Parson Ganoo.

Wensday July 7th.—This Day the Adjt. Genl. Reviewed the second line, took a party with some more of our Officers and went a fishing three or four mile from Camp catched a number of Trout in one of the branches of the Susquehanna—all of the Off'rs of the Line met this eving at the large Bower and took a Sociable Drink of Grog given by Col. Gansevorts Officers.

July 8th.—To day at one of the Pickets two of the out Centries fired at two men they saw creeping up to them, they did not Return the fire but Immediately Ran away, T. D. D. W. The Gl.—Nothing of consequence happened to Day.

July 9th Friday.—a little Rain fell last night, but to day was a warm day.

10th, Saturday.—Lay quiet in Camp all Day.

11th, Sunday.—This Day being a very Rainy Day did not go out m ch, therefore heard no News.

12th Monday.—Rained very hard most part of all last night but this morning cleared up very cold considing the time of years likewise a high whisting wind last Night, all still to day.

13th, Tuesday.—Drew arms for the Men in the Regt. that was wanting and other nessecary things for the good of the Service which kept us buisy almost all Day—

14th, Wensday.—This Day did not do any thing.

15th, Thursday —To day three men Deserted from our Regt. likewise some more from the other Regts.

Friday 16th.—Nothing material happened to day.

Saturday 17th.—No News—

Sunday 18th.—To day some of our men found a very fine Chest of Carpenters tools, and some Books, Map & Number of Papers, the chest was concealed in a thicket of Bushes covered with bark, near one of our pickets, it is supposed it was they property of Crohan who formerly lived here But is now gone to the Enemy therefore they Chest is a lawful prise to the men thet found it.

Monday 19th.—This morning Capt. McGowan went to Schohary there to stay till he gets his side cured, likewise I felt very unwell this morning which caused me to take a Vomit which worked me severely, in they afternoon I got a good deal Better but still continued a swelling in my face which was occasioned by the tooth Ach.

Tuesday 20th.—This Day we heard that Spain had acceded to our Independance, and had Reinforced Count De Estaing with seven or eight sail of Ships of the line, likewise that Spain had laid siege to Gibralter & that the French had taken the Islands of Gurnsey & Jersey, furthermore heard that the Enemys light Horse had made an Excursion into Connecticut from Rhode Island, and had burnt 6 or 7 houses in Newhaven but was Repulsed by our people with loss unknown—It rained all last Night very hard & steady, and this morning till 10 oClock and it cleared up Warm, felt myself pretty well Recovered to day—

Wensday 21st.—This Afternoon was brought in two of our Men, who Deserted from this place, & one was Imediately tied up and Received 500 Lashes & was again commited to the Guard house, the other was Ironed and closely confined there to remain to be tryed for his life at the Next General Court martial that Sets—

Thursday 22d.—To day came in one other Deserter of himself and had a very plausable Story to tell but was commited to the guard house for tryal.

Friday 23d.—Nothing happened to day.

Saturday 24th.—To day we heard that 563 of the Enemy was taken at Ver Planks point on the North River likewise one man was Released from the guard house.

Sunday 25th.—To day a small Rain fell all day.

Monday 26th.—Raind almost all last night and best part of this day.

Tuesday 27th.—Some rain fell last night and a little to day by showers. To day we had the agreeable news confirmed of the prisoners taken on the North River—Genl. Wayn with 1100 men Surprised the Garrison at Stony Point killed 100 and took upwards of 500 Prisoners he had 4 killed and 21 Wounded there was not a Gun fired on either Side. Genl.

Wayn entered the Fort at 3 oClock in the morning the Garrison was commanded by Col. Johnston, likewise we heard that the Indians had taken 36 Men at Fort Schuyler who was at making hay & afterwards was pushing down they Mohawk River in consequence of which there was a Detachment sent off commanded by Col. Gansevort to Conojoharie consisting of 265 Men and 5 Captains with 3 Days provision—Likewise we heard that there was a Major 2 Captains one Sub. and 15 Men taken Prisoner by 7 Indians & one White man at Sabbath Day Point or near it, somewhere near Lake George, the officers and men went out to gather huckelberries & was taken asleep—

Wensday 28th.—This morning (agreeable to the Sentence of a Genl. Court Martial) at Troop Beating they three men was brought out to be Shot one belonging to our Regt. one to the 6th Massuts. & the other to 3d. N. York all found Guilty of Desertion, the troops was drawn up on the grand Parade the man belonging to the 3d. N. York Regt. was shot the other two was reprieved by the Genl. very warm to day.

29th. Thursday. - Raind a little last night but none to day, to day we had a Newspaper which give a particular Account of Genl. Wayn taking they Fort at Stony Point they killed 60 of the enemy & took 400 Men besides 25 officers with Col. Johnston the Comdr. & one Capt. killed of the enemy Genl. Wayn got a slight wound in his Temple besides 5 other of our Offrs. & 50 Men & 25 killd of our men likewise we took 14 Pieces of Ordonance 700 Stand of Arms, Tents, Rum, Cheese, wine, and a number of other Articles of Stores. Our troops took out the ordinance & stores and Destroyed the Fort and Returned with the Prisoners near our Grand Army. The enemy had 60 killed & about the same number wounded—Likewise we heard in the papers of 5 of the Enemys Provision Ship being taken with 20,000 Barrells of Different Stores safe arrived in Eastern ports—We heard from Fort Schuyler that Lt. Scudder was taken, with them 36 Men—We had the goods news in Genl. Order to day—

Friday, 30th.—Nothing of Consequence happend to Day.

Saturday, 31st.—To day Small Showers of Rain fell this evening Col. Gansevort arrived with the comand had been as far as Fort Herkimer but brought no news of Importance.

Sunday, August 1st, 1779.—Raind almost all last Night, to day at 11 oClock the Officers of the brigade met agreeable to Genl. Orders (as has been this few days past) to learn the Salute with the Sword, the Genls. Curiosity led him out to see how they saluted after the was dismissed, they formed a Circle round the Genl. and requested of him to give them a Keg of Rum to drink, a demand, at the same time we little expected

to have the favour granted us, but we happened to take the General in one of his generous thouts which he is but seldom posses'd of, and instead of one he gave us six when, we gratefully acknowledged the favour by thanks and Imediately repaired to the cool Spring where we drank two of our Kegs with a great deal of mirth and harmony toasting the Genl. frequently—and then Returned to our Dinners, in the afternoon Parson Gano Give us a Sermon.

Monday, 2d, 1779.—To day at 11 oClock the Officers again assembled at the Spring to finish the remainder of our Kegs which we did with they Sociability we had done the day before.

Tuesday, 3d.—(I had like to forget to mention that there was a Comand of 150 men under the command of Major Parr on Sunday morning went to Oaks Creek about 3 Miles from here with the cattle to pasture—I am informed there is a house there and about 50 Acres of clear land on which is excellent grass) Nothing of consequence as I know of to day the Rifle men went down by the side of the lake to try their Rifles which they did by Shooting at marks.

Wensday, 4th.—This morning 150 Men comanded by Major Church went to Oaks Creek to

[One leaf of Journal missing]

Monday, August 9th.—Agreeable to yesterday's order the Genl. beat at 6 oClock, the troops marched about 8, excepting 3 Men which was to remain in each boat to take them down the River The Infantry march in front which I now belong to, and the Remainder of the Battillions next marched on 16 Miles within 5 Miles of Yorkams where we encamped on a Small improvement called Burrows farm, where there was a great many Rattlesnakes & very large, there was one killed with 15 Rattles on.

Tuesday, 10th.—Raind a little last night and this day till 1 oClock Marched of the ground at 3 oClock and went 5 Miles to Yorkams where we encamped the men in the Boats encamped on the farm which lies on the East side of the River and the Remainder on the other side Opposite, went on Guard to night.

Wednesday, 11th.—Marched of this Morning Sunrise and proceeded on 14 Miles down the River where we encamped on a Small farm, passed Several small farms to day with very poor houses on them & some None, the Rifle Men in front saw fresh Indian tracks to day on the Path & found a Knife at one of their fires. To day we crossed a large creek called Otego, and passed several old Indian encampments where they had encamped when the was going to Destroy Cherry Valley or returning, likewise we passed one of their encampments yesterday—we encamped to night at Ogdens farm & very bad encamping ground.

Thursday, 12th.—March'd of this morning 7 oClock, had the advanced Guard to day proceeded down the West side of the river as usual, 12 Miles came to a Small Scotch Settlement called Albout on the other side of the River 5 Miles from Unindilla, which we burnt but the people had gone to the Enemy this last Spring went on to Unindilla Crossed the River to the East side and encamped, the River was about middle deep when we waded it—This settlement was destroyed by our detachment last fall excepting one house which belonged to one Glasford who went to the enemy this spring, his house was Imediately burnt, when we came on the ground to day, we passed several old Indian encampts. where the encamped when the destroy'd Cherry Valley the Road midling hilly.

Friday 13th.—This morning very foggy and a great deal of dew—Marched of 6 oClock went 2 Miles waded the River about 3 foot deep proceeded on to Conihunto a small Indian town that was, but was Destroyed by our detachment last fall its 14 Miles from Unindilla. A little below this town there is 3 or four Islands in the River where the Indians Raised their Corn on one of those Islands our troops encamped with the boats & Cattle the light Infantry went 2 Miles from Conihunto where they encamped a little after 3 oClock in the woods Middle good Road to day.

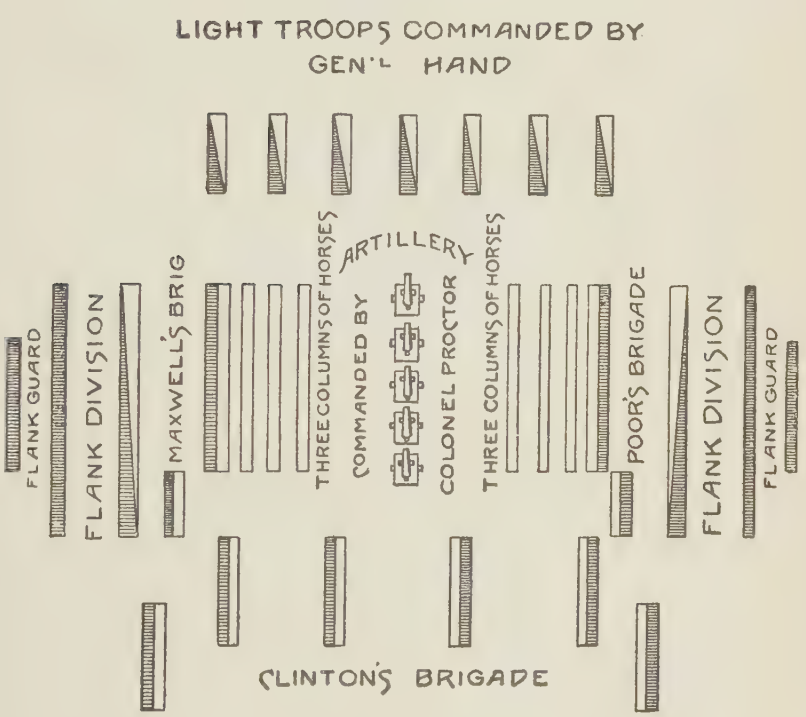
Saturday 14th.—Marched this morning at 8 oClock very hilly road for the Right flank arrived at the fording 2 Miles from Onoquaga about 2 oClock which is 8 Miles from where we started, the ford being too deep to wade crossed in our Boats to the East side went over a high hill and got Onoquaga at 3 oClock where we encamped on very pretty ground. This town was one of the Neatest of the Indian towns on the Susquehana, it was built on each side of the River with good Log houses with Stone Chimneys and glass windows it likewise had a Church & burying ground and a great number of apple trees and we likewise saw the Ruins of an Old Fort which formerly was here many years ago. The Indians abandoned this town last fall when they heard of our Detachment coming to Destroy it, they had but just left it when we came in it but we did not catch any of them but burnt their town to ashes and the Detachment Returned. This evening we fired an evening gun.

Sunday 15th.—Very heavy dew this morning went on Guard the Army Remain at Onoquago to day quiet no news Stirring as I hear of particular.

Monday 16th.—This morning a very heavy Dew & fog which is very customary in this country, was relieved of my Guard and the day proved Exceeding warm to day, a heavy shower

ORDER OF MARCH

JULY 31. 1779



of rain this afternoon at 12 oClock Major Church with the 4th. P. Regt. went out 5 or 6 Miles to meet 4 or 500 Militia who we expected to join us here but he returned in the evening and saw nothing of them.

Tuesday 17th.—Marched of from Onoquago this morning 8 oClock proceeded down the river 3 Miles to one of the Tuskurora towns which was burnt by our Detachment last fall, here waded the river about 4 feet deep to the west side went on one Mile when we came to another of they Tuskurora towns call Shawhianghto consisting of 10 or 12 Houses which we burnt, then marched on over a very barren mountaneous country 10 or 12 Miles came to a Tuskurora Settlement called Ingaren consisting of 5 or six houses but a good deal Scattered, encamped at the lower end of the Settlement after burning the houses, here they had planted a good deal of Corn potatoes &c. which we destroyed a few Yards in front of our Compys. encamping ground there was a tanfat farm with several Hides in a tanning which they Soldiers got & close by it they discovered a little man in a hole which was laid there & a little dirt thrown over him just to cover him, we had his head uncover'd but he was to putrified, we could Not discover whether he was a white man or Indian but supposed to be a white man as there was a Scotch Bonnet found near him—marched to day 15 Miles.

Wensday 18—Marched of from Ingaren 7 oClock: thro a very fine Rich country very well timbered but poorly Watered, scarce any, arrived at Chinango River at 4 oClock where we forded it about 4 feet deep & almost as wide as the Susquehana but not so deep, as soon as we got over we halted and Major Parr with 100 men went up the River to destroy the Chinango town which lay 4 Mile up the River but when we came there we found the town was burnt which consisted of about 20 houses it seems when the Indians Evacuated it last winter they destroyed it, therefore we Returned & found the army encamped 2 Mile below the Chinango River Marched to day 22 Miles and burnt several Indian houses on the Road, this evening came up the River 2 Runners who informed us that Genl. Poor with 1000 Men was within 9 Miles of us coming to meet us and that Genl. Sullivan lay at the mouth of the Tyoga and that he had sent part of his army up to Shamong which they destroyed and had returned to Genl. Sullivan with the loss of 9 Men killed and some more wounded which was in Small Skirmishing, the indians had taken of all their things from Shamong excepting a few cattle which our people got.

Thursday 19th—Marched this morning 7 oClock went 2 Mile when we burnt 7 or 8 houses on the East side of the River, 4

Miles farther at the Chuggnuts we fell in with Genl. Poors army who was ready to march, they had Burnt this Settlement which lies on the East side of the River about 20 houses made no halt here but went on 4 Mile Genl. Clintons Army in front & Genl. Poors in the rear, came to a Midling large Creek where we made a halt for one hour then marched on 12 Miles without halting & arrived at Owego about sun Down after a very fatiguing march of 22 Miles, this afternoon fell a Small Shower of Rain.

Friday 20—Raind a little last night and Succesively all this Day therefore did not move: went a party down to Owego town which lies one mile lower down and burnt it consisted of about 20 houses.

Saturday 21st.—Clear weather this morning but a very heavy fog, marched of a little after 7 oClock forded Owego Creek which is reckoned one third of the Susquehana at this place, it was about three feet Deep & about 50 Yards Wide went thro' the ruins of Owego town crossed a pretty large brook went 12 Miles halted at a Small brook one hour for refreshment. Proceeded on 3 Mile further when we encamped at 4 oClock Opposite Fitzgeralds farm in the woods it a very fine farm but no house on it nor any body living on it—On this ground where we encamped Mr. Sawyers a Man who was made prisoner by Indians Along with his Neighbor Mr. Cowley who both lived on the head of the Deleware. After the Indians having them so far on their Journey they rose in the Night killed the Indians which was 3 or 4 & made their Escape. we saw the bones of the Indians. Since we came on the ground to day we met with a bad Accident, two of our Boats of Amunition over set in the River & Damaged a good many boxes of Catridges & a few Casks of Powder—to Night went on Guard.

Sunday 22d.—Marched of this morning 7 oClock, proceeded on crossed to midling large brooks Arrived at Tyoga 11 oClock where we found Genl. Hands Brigade encamped one Mile above the mouth of the Tioga where the was building 4 Block houses they other troops was encamped on the point which was Genls. Poors & Maxwells Brigades we encamped on the Right of the whole, on our coming in to Camp we was saluted by 13 Pieces of Cannon which was Returned by our two little pieces, on the River we found Genl. Hands Brigade under arms with a Band of Musick which played Beautiful as we passed by them we encamped on a very pretty piece of ground and Spent the Remainder of the day in seeing our friends in the Different Regts., likewise when we arrived here our Infantry was Disbanded & ordered to join their Respective Regts., very heavy Showers of Rain this afternoon Marched 7 Miles to day.

Monday 23d.—to day we lay at Tyoga Spint the day in seeing our friends—to Day a Capt. of Genl. Hands Brigade was Shot by Accident dead.

Tuesday 24th.—Drew some Cloathing for the men went to day to see an old Indian burying ground which lay just by our Camp there was about 100 Graves some of which our men had Dug up, they bury their Dead very curious after this manner. The dig a hole the length of the person the are to bury & about 2 feet Deep, they lay him on his back in the grave with an old Blanket or blanket Coat round him and lay Bark over the Grave even with the Surface of the Earth so as to prevent the earth from touching the body, then the heap up the dirt on the top of the Grave in a round heap which is from 4 to 6 feet high, but the graves is very old and a number of them as this formerly was a very Capital town, but a few Years ago they Moved up the Tyoga to Shamong where the built that town & there is no houses here now but very pretty land—This afternoon our Regt. move up the River & joined Genl. Hand's Brigade with 4 Companies from the other Regts & had orders to hold ourselves in readiness to march to morrow—

Tyoga Branch Wensday 25th.—Raind almost all Day had all our heavy Baggage Stored in the Garrison. Recd. orders to march to morrow morning 8 oClock the Rain Raised the River very much, I heard that three Oneida Indians arrived at H'd Qrs. this evening from Oneida Castle, but what News the brought I don't know.

Thursday 26.—This morning they freshet in the River had carried away a number of our boats down the River—marched of about 11 oClock leaving all our heavy baggage & woman at the Garrison, carried on pack horses 27 Day provision likewise went with us 7 Pieces of Ordinance with three Amunition Waggons, four boats came up the River marched two mile up the Tyoga where we encamped 4 Mile from the mouth of Tyoga on very good ground but woods.

Friday 27th.—Marched of this morning 8 oClock in the following line of march viz: Genl. Hands Brigade of Light Infantry in front in 6 Colums each. colum 2 Deep and 2 or 300 Yards distance from each; Genl. Poors brigade on the right in one Column by Platoons following Genl Hands right column. Genl Maxwells Brigade on the left in one column by platoons following Genl. Hands left Colum. Genl. Clintons Brigade fetching up the rear in the same line of March and Genl. Hands Artillery & Pack horses in the Centre. Col Ogden on one flank and 200 Men & Col. Dubois on the other with the same Number in order to gain the Enemys rear in case of an Attack; the Rifle Men in front of the whole reconoiting Mountains, roads,

Defiles &c—Marched this Day 6 Miles within 2 Miles of Shomong where they had planted a great deal of Corn beans &c which we feasted very heartily on, there was several Indians saw on our March to day, but they made their escape, likewise Major Parr who was Advanced with the Rifle men saw a number of fires 5 or 6 mile a head which he supposed the Indians was at. went on Guard to night.

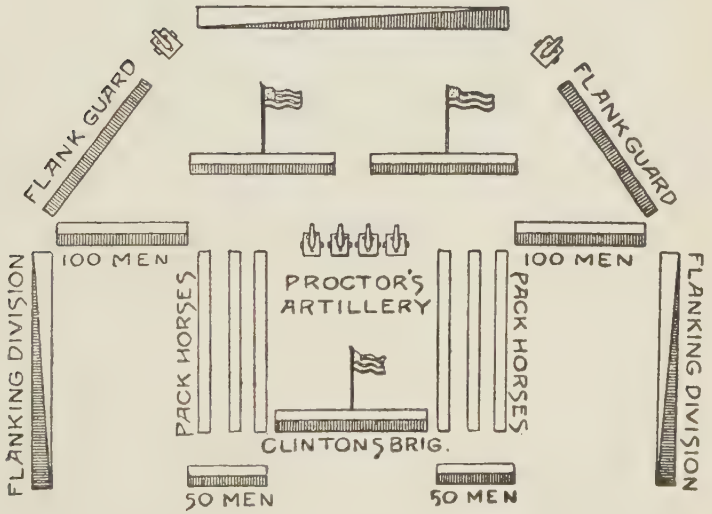
Saturday, 28th.—Very heavy Dew this morning did not move today till 2 oClock occasioned by our Amunition waggons breaing Yesterday & had to mend them before we started. Just as the Genl. beat there was a few of our Volunteers went across the river to burn a house they was fired on by 6 or 7 Indians, they imediately recrossed the river in a fright without even returning a Shot The Artillery Pack horses & Some troops crossed the river here to escape a very large hill which there was to cross and crossed at Shamong where the army encamped 2 Miles from where we came from to day this town was very beautifully Situated on the bank of the Tyoga but a good deal Scattered the land Excellent it lies near a West course from Fort Sullivan but a little to the North of West, it was burnt by Genl. Sullivans army Just after their Arrival at Tyoga which I before Mentioned.

Sunday, 29th.—Marched this morning 9 oClock, went about 3 Mile when we found the Enemy strongly Entrenched with Logs Dirt brush &c the firing Imidiately begun in front with the Rifle Corp & the Indians made great halooing, orders was given then for the troops to form in line of battle which was done. Genl. Hands brigade in front but none of the troops advanced as we discovered the main body of the Enemy was here and had their front secured by a large Morass & brook, their right by the River & on their left partly in the rear was a very large hill, their lines extended upwards of a Mile the firing was kept up very briskly by the Rifle men & a company who was sent to reinforce them, likewise the Indians returned the fire very brisk with many shouts for about 2 hours while a disposition was made for to attack them. Genl. Clintons & Poors brigades was sent of round their left flank to take possession of the hill in the Enemys rear and extend their line intirely round them if Possible. after the had gone about half an hour Genl. Hands brigade advanced in a line of battle with all our Artillery in the Centre within about 300 Yards of the Enemys works but in full View of them a very heavy canonade began & throwing of Shells the enemy returned the fire very brisk for about half an hour when the Enemy retreated up the hill in a great Disorder & as the got near the top received a very heavy fire from Genl. Poors brigade: the enemy

ORDER OF BATTLE

DIRECTED BY GENERAL SULLIVAN

LIGHT CORPS COMMANDED BY
GENERAL HAND



then took round Genl. Poors right flank by the river which Genl. Poors had not guarded as he had not time to, therefore they made their Escape leaving a number of their dead behind them. As soon as the Enemy left their works Genl. Hands brigad pursued them up the hill as far as where Genl. Poor was when we made a halt, the rifle men pursued them about one Mile farther and made a Negro prisoner, likewise saw some of their wounded going up the river in Canoes they fired on them but the All made their Escape wounded and all. The Army then returned down the hill & encamped about 2 Mile above the Enemys works, our loss about 40 killed & wounded among which is three Officers one of which is since Dead, their loss cannot be ascertained as they all carry their dead & wounded of, but there was 10 or 12 Scalps taken which was killed by Genl. Poors brigade on the hill, likewise made one white man prisoner & one Negro who informed us that their force was about 400 Indians and 300 Tories their chief commander Old Butler, other officers Young Butler, Brant & McDonald the others indian Chiefs. Up the brook about one Mile from where the Indians had their works was a New Indian town midling large but poorly built, which was burnt by Genl. Clintons Brigade the most all Hutts. The Enemy left very little plunder behind but had Genl. Poor had a little more time to extend his Army round their rear to the river they would undoubtedly all been made Prisoners, or our Victory been a great deal more compleat, but it is generally believed the Enemys loss is very considerable—

Monday, 30th.—Raind a little last night and partly all this day by Showers near half the Army out to day cutting up Corn which is in great Abundance here; the party out of our Brigade went over the River where the corn Chiefly grows, went up the River about 2 Miles then took up a large branch of the River (which bears near S. W.) one Mile burnt 5 houses and destroyed all the corn in our way. Our Brigade Destroyed about 150 Acres of the best corn that Ever I saw (some of the Stalks grew 16 feet high) besides great Quantities of Beans, Potatoes, Pumpkins, Cucumbers, Squashes & Watermellons, and the Enemy looking at us from the hills but did not fire on us. The Army lay on this ground all day and draw'd 16 Days flower and the Army was put on half, allowance of provision which the men submitted to with a great deal of cheerfullness.

Tuesday, 31st.—This morning all the boats was sent down the River likewise in the boats the Amunition waggons & all the Artillery excepting four three Pounders and a little Cow horn the wounded & sick went down among which was Capt.

Tuda which was very sick; the Army moved this morning 9 oClock fair weather proceeded on to Newtown which consists of between 20 & 30 houses very well built but very much scattered; halted at the Upper end of the town 6 Miles from where we encamp'd for refreshment by a large Creek which empties it self in the River here & runs about N: W: here the Rifle men was Detached Col. Daytons Regt. & a company from our Regt. up the River to take some boats that was reported was seen in the River we went up the River about 7 Miles saw no Boats nor no sign of any & night coming on we turned about returned one Mile down the River and lay in a Corn field all Night; the Army left the River and went about a N: W: course up the Creek I mentioned about 5 Mile where we encamped, midling good road for the Artillery to day and a very good path.

Wensday, September 1st.—lay very bad last night without any Blanket or Provision but roasted Corn, we Arose about Day break & Destroyed the field of Corn marched of about sunrise down the river one Mile & a half where we destroyed another field of corn, then Struck of a North course thro' the woods till we came on the path of the Army proceeded on and came to where the Army was encamped all Night. after marching about 7 Miles found the rear of the Army Just a moving of the ground kept on marching till we over took the Army about 11 oClock, when each corps fell into their Respective places in their line of March with the Army and went round the head of the Creek proceeded on over mountains, crossed some small branches of the Senaca waters then fell on pretty large Creek which empties into Tyoga Lake runs North course; went down this creek and crossed it 9 times as the Valley was very Narrow; at Dark we arrived within ½ Mile of Katarina town or Cathrines town where we made a halt got our troops in good order as we expected the Enemy was yet in the town for we heard the Dogs bark & saw fires, but we proceeded into the town without any interuption but very dark crossed the creek again to the East side and encampd, pulled down the houses for firewood in what situation the town lay in we could not see; the Soldiers catched 2 or 3 horses a cow or two some Calves & hogs and some trifles of other plunder the troops all encamp'd here excepting Genl. Clintons Brigade who lay about 3 Mile from here in the rear of all the Pack horses—the Army marched 13 Miles to day.

Thursday 2d -This morning rose up and found our Brigade lying in the lower part of the town which consisted of between 30 & 40 houses on each side of the river very well built and on good land and midling compact; we burnt the chief of the

houses last night for firewood the Pack horses began to come up & some of them had lost a great deal of provision & some horses was killed on the Road with fatigue of Yesterdays march this morning a very aged Squaw was found in a Corn field who was not able to get of with Age she was brought in and She told us that the warriors had stayed in the town till Near night before they went away likewise told us that a great many Squaws & Children was over a hill somewhere near Seneca lake 4 or 5 Mile of in consequence of which Col. Butler with a Detachment of 3 or 400 Men and the Cohorn went of about 12 oClock in pursuit of them and returned in the evening with [out] seeing anything of them there was another Squaw found in the woods who pretended she was lame & the Soldier came home to get some others to help fetch her in & when they returned the Squaw had hid away & the could not find her: the old Squaw after She was examined at Hd. Quarters they was going to send her to the Indians but she was so old she could not ride, from her looks and what we could learn she must be I think above 120 years old, Our Indians built a house for her & we Gave her provision & left her. This Day we Spent here in refreshing our Men and getting up our provision but a great deal was lost, likewise Gen. Clintons Brigade came in about 12 oClock this town lies on what the Call Seneca Creek.

Friday 3d. —Marched this morning 8 oClock left the Seneca Creek a little on our left and in about 3 Mile came to the head of the Seneca Lake which is a very pretty Lake they tell me it is 3 Mile wide and about 30 Mile long, we kept on the East side of the Lake & great part of the time had a pretty view of it from the hills and keep near it all the way—marched 12 Mile and encamped about 4 oClock past over 3 brooks to day running into the lake midling large the first was a beautiful brook falling down the hill from rock to rock from great hights the other two was near togather, most part of the land to day was Excellent we passed over; an Indian was seen by our Advanced Guard to day but made his Escape about one Mile in front of our Camp was a house the Indians had Just left & left their kettles on the fire boiling fine Corn & beans which we got but what is most remarkable the corn was all purple—came North course to day—great many large rattlesnakes was killed to day.

Saturday 4th.—Recd. orders last night to march to day 5 oClock without the usual Signals of Guns firing but it Raind last night & a little this morning which prevented our marching till 10 oClock when we Struck tents and marched keeping the Lake Just on our left, marched 13 Miles & encampd on a Small brook at Dark within site of the lake; came near a North course but most Part to the East and last 2 Mile to the

West; Destroyed several Indian houses & Corn fields to day on our march, passed 4 Brooks 3 of which was within 3 Mile of where we Started Extraordinary fine land we came over to day went on Guard to night.

Sunday, 5th.—Had a very Disagreeable guard last night unloading Packs till near 11 oClock. Very fine day but did not march till 10 oClock as we was 2 or 3 Mile in front of the Army & all our Pack horses did not come till this morning marched to Kandaia two or 3 Mile Destroying two houses and 2 corn fields on our March. The Rifle men on entring the town retook one of our Prisoners who was taken at Wyoming last summer who informed us that the Indians left this place Thursday and he thinks there was about 1000 & he heard them say they intended to fight us at the next town. Just after they had taken him they was fired on by an Indian who knocked a Stick out of one [of] their hands with the bullet but he made his escape without receiving a Shot. This town is very well built chiefly sqr and Logs and midling compact got a great deal of Corn & beans here for the Army to eat, we encamped here about 1 oClock & chief of the houses was pulled down for firewood. Came over very good land to day Course North West by North near the lake all the way.

Monday, 6th.—Last night the whole Army Discharged their Pieces. This morning went very early round to see the Situation of the place the houses was chiefly all pulled down for firewood the Appletrees which is a good number & very old was either cut down or killd, likewise the peach trees but there were not many of them; among number of other Curiosities I went to see their burying ground which some of the graves is very curious, one in particular which I believe was some Chief or great man & was buryed in this manner; the body was laid on the surface of the earth in a Shroud or Garment, then a large Casement made very neat with bords something larger than the body & about 4 foot high put over the body as it lay on the earth and the outside & top was painted very curious with great many Coulours, in each end of the Casement was a small hole where the friends of the Deceased or any body might see the corps when they pleased, then over all was built a large shed of bark so as to prevent the rain from coming on the Vault, the chiefs of the [mss. torn] in the manner I described before. The town dont lay quite on the banks of the lake but about ½ Mile from it on a very pretty plain & about 20 houses named Kandaia & a small brook running thro it; Orders came out for a Regt. from every Brigade to go 3 or 4 Mile in front of their Brigades in search of Pack horses and Cattle as there was a great number run of last night from the

firing & got straggled away but I believe Chief of them was found after a long hunt which prevented the Army from marching till between 3 & 3 oClock when we marched 3 Mile and encamped close along the edge of the lake in a Beautiful situation and opposite to us on the West side of the Lake we could perceive a small Indian town but the Name I dont know. This Evening came up 4 or 5 Pack horse Men which lost themselves Yesterday and told us that Yesterday they took the wrong path and went on till near night when they came to a Small Indian town on the Cauga Lake which the Indians had Abandoned, there they found there Mistake & came to us as soon as Possible after burning the houses they got likewise a very fine horse and a great number of Peaches & Apples which they brought to Camp. There was a Express Arrived from Tyoga before we left Kandaia and brought letters and News which Informed us that Congress had passed a resolve to allow the Officers 100 Dollars for each Retained Ration in lieu of 10 which they formerly had; likewise that the soldiers Pay was raised.

Tuesday 7th.—marched this morning 7 oClock thro a very fine level Country as Usual and the same course as formerly about North for near nine Mile when we came near the foot of the lake and outlett which I understand empties into Cauga Lake. here we halted as we expected the Enemy to Attack us and reconoitered the Ground very well before we proceeded but found no enemy there, we had to file off from our left and keep Close on the Banks of the lake Occasioned by a bad Marsh which was on our right likewise to cross the fording of the Outlett which is about 20 Yards wide—but Midling deep & Rapid after we Crossed keep near West Corner along the Beach of the Lake for near a mile, where we found our Colums but soon finding a marsh in our front had again to file off from our left & march again along on the Beach for about ½ Mile when we again got in to our former position in Colums and then waited till the Army had time to Cross and came up when we marched on a little way & came to another marsh in front which prevented our marching any longer in Colums we again filed of to the left and marched along the Beach till we [came] to Butlers building which is two or three houses on the banks of the Lake in a very beautiful Situation here we again formed Colums and marched thro a Corn field near where the Men had orders to pluck Corn as they marched thro which the did; we then proceeded on towards the town near S. W. Course but our Guides being very bad the whole Army Got into the town before we did and was near Dark before we got in & quite Dark before we encamped. This is the Chief town in the Seneca

Nation. it lies about 1½ Mile from the Lake and about a West course. it lies on a pretty level spot but no good Stream of Water near it, only one small Brook running thro it which affords but very little water, there is about 70 or 80 houses in it and built very Compact and the chief of the houses very good. likewise I heard there was 2 or 3 old Block houses in it but I did not see them as it was Dark when we came in and the men began Imediately to pull down the houses for firewood. I believe the Indians had left it several Days as there was not much appearance of their being here lately; on the first entrance of our Brigade a young Child I believe about 3 year old found running about the houses which One of our Officers pickt up and found it to be a White Child but it was so much tand & smoaked that we could hardly Distinguish it from a Indian Child and was Exceeding poor scarcely able to walk it could talk no English noth'g but Indian & I believe but little of that the Officer took great care of it and Cloathed it as it was naked when he found it & could give no Account of itself only said "his mamy was gone" The men got very little plunder The men got very little plunder or anything [in] the town as the Indians had taken everything almost with them the Chief [thing] the got I believe was one or two horses The name of this town is Kanadasago. Marched to day 13 Miles.

Kanadasago Wensday 8th.—This morning came out orders that the men was to remain here all Day & for the Men to Clean their pieces likewise for all the sick lame &c to return to Tyoga properly officered: aft. 10 oClock Major Parr with the Rifle Corps & the Cohoun was going up the lake to a little town called Kushay to Destroy it, I with a number of others went Volunteers and got there about 12 oClock found it about 8 Miles from Camp and the town opposite to where we lay two nights ago, the town consisted of about 15 houses tolerable well built and all together we got here 5 horses and a great number of Potatoes Apples Peaches cucumbers watermelons fowls &c and found a great Quantity of corn here which we went about to Destroy, after burning the houses, but our party being to Small Major Parr sent for a Reinforcement to camp we all lay under a bark hutt to Night or shed—I believe the Indians had left it the same time they left Kanadasago it lies on the Banks of the lake very prettyly situated which is 4 Mile wide here.

Thursday 9th.—Kushay, Last night very hard thunder and lightning and Rain but Cleard up towards morning about 6 oClock the Reinforcement arrived consisting of 200 Men & informed us the Army was going to march this morning the Volunteers Imediately set for camp leaving Major Parr and the rest to Cut the corn, and Just as we got to Kanadasago about

11 oClock the Army was Just a marching of after Destroying all the houses which remained & corn we marched a West course from Kanadasago thro most part [of] a Low swamp encamped about 5 oClock on a very pretty brook after marching 7 Miles; in the evening Major Parr Joined us from Kushay.

Friday, 10th.—Marched this morning 6 oClock each brigade was ordered to leave a small Detachment behind to bring our Straggled horses & cattle, we marched thro a very low swamp chiefly timbered with Maple & beach about 5 Mile when we came to upland pretty good great part of it no trees on but great quantities of Wild Grapes growing, 3 Mile farther we came to a Small lake called Kanandaqua which is I believe about 5 Mile long & one wide runs N: & S: we crossed over the outlett which was about 3 foot Deep & about 20 Yards wide, soon after we came to Kanandaqua town, which I believe the Enemy had Just left as the fire was Yet burning we halted here about an hour & burnt the houses which was about 25 and very Compact & Neatly built but no good water near it then the Lake, we went about one Mile farther to a number of cornfields and encampmed about 4 oClock came 10 Miles to day and about N: W: Course, went on Guard to Night—Hungry bellies and hard Duty now which I think we may call hard times—The Seneca lake I was told by the Surveyor is Just 36 Miles long and 4 Mile wide.

Saturday 11th.—had the provision Guard last night which was very Disagreeable, this morning the troops marched at 7 oClock went back to the town & took another road, I remained on the ground with my guard to further on the stores till 11 oClock when I had leave several Boxes of Amunition behind which I hid, did not overtake the Army till they was encamped at Hanyaye about 5 oClock after marching 14 Miles near West Course Some part of the land to day good and some but Midling Hanyaye is a pretty little Compact town of 6 or 10 houses lying near the end of a Small lake running near N: & S: and about as big as the other Lake at Kanandaqua and plenty of Corn & beans, when the Rifle Men entered the town there was a few Indians Just made their escape left their Packs & Blankets & potatoes Roasting in the fire.

Sunday 12th.—Thunder last Night and Rain and this morning it Raind till 10 oClock when it cleared up and the Army marched at 11 leaving all the heavy Baggage & pack horses excepting a few of the strongest which was took on to Carry spare Amunition & some Provision & tents what was left was stored in the Indian houses & a Capt. & 50 Men left with it; the Army on leaving the town crossed the outlet of the lake which was not very large and then formd their line of March

and proceeded on very good land in general and course N : W by West 5 or six Mile then to the S : of West towards evening and encamped at Dark after marching 11 Miles —To day I heard there was an other town & Corn Destroyed on Kanandaqua lake nearly as big as Kandaqua and 2 or 3 Miles from it ; on this days march a party of the Enemy kept just a head of us as we could Discover their tracks very fresh and the water muddy where they had crossed.

Monday 13th.—March this monring 6 oClock and a very heavy Dew on the Grass and the morning very Cold, in about one Miles marching came to Adjutse town lying near a small Lake a little to the Northward consisting of 10 or 15 Houses ; here we halted made fires & drew 3 Days beef. after a little time fatigue parties was sent out to Collect the Corn in houses to burn ; about 10 oClock we heard a few Guns firing in front, the troops was Imediately formed and marched over the Inlett of the Lake a very bad morass & Creek and a large hill on the opposite side where we found the Indians who was formed on this hill had fired on the Surveyor & his party & had Mortally wounded one of his men ; the Rifle Men Rushed up the hill & the Enemy made their Escape soon as Possible leaving behind them their Packs hatts &c which the Rifle men Got, our Brigade marched up to the top of the hill and formed the line of battle where we halted till the Army would get over. here one of our Men came in wounded who informed us that Lt. Boyd with his party 18 Riflemen & 8 Musquet men of our Regt. who was sent last night to reconoiter the next town was intirely cut to pieces. a little time after Murphy came in who told us a very strait story about it in this manner : Lt. Boyd with his party went on without any Interuption till he got to the town about Day break when he found it Evacuated. he then sent 2 Runners back to inform the Genl. and he retired a little in the woods in sight of the town concealed to try if he could not catch a prisoner. he soon after saw 4 Indians come in to the town a horseback, he sent 5 or 6 Men to take them or kill them the men fired on the Indians killd & Sculped one and wounded another and took a horse saddle & bridle, he then sent of two more Runners to the Army but they soon Returnd to him & informed him they had seen 5 Indians on the road, he then thout proper to return with his party to the Army which he expected to meet very soon, he had not gone far before he fell in with the same Indians which he fired on. they run on before him and he pursued them Slowly & every once in a while he would come in sight of them and fire on them & so they kept on till he came to this hill in front of an camp about ¾ of a Mile where the Indians fired on the Surveyor when he heard our

Drums and thought himself intirely safe but to his great disappointment found a large party of Indians found them behind trees he Imediately formed his men for Action and began a very heavy fire which lasted some time but the Indians whose number was so far superior to him surrounded him and made prisoners or killed the whole excepting a few which came in we found 4 or 5 of our men on the ground Dead & sculped and it is supposed that Lt. Boyd was made prisoner, the Enemy had a number killd as the men that was hid in the bushes saw the Indians carry a number of in blankets—After the Army had got over the Creek we marched on to Cossawauloughly town 7 Miles; our Advance Guard just after the entered the town saw some five Indians we all halted had our Pieces of Artillery drawn in front then Advanced but found nobody in the town. when it was about Dark the 3 Pieces of Artillery was drawn up and fired all together with round shot to scour the woods. This town lies on a Branch of the Chenesee River and consists of about 25 houses very well built but almost new. the houses was Chiefly pulld down for firewood. Course N: W: one or two man of Lt. Boyds party came in to night.

Tuesday 14th.—The whole Army was under arms this morning an hour before Day & remained so till sunrise; about 7 oClock fatigue parties was sent out to Destroy Corn which was there in great Abundance and beans. about 12 oClock we marched crossed over the branch of the Jinasee River and came upon a very beautiful flat of great extent growing up with wild Grass higher in some places than our heads. we marched on this flat 2 Mile and Crossed they Jinesee River which is about as big as the Tyago but very Crooked. left the flats and march'd thro the woods 3 Mile and arrived at Chenesee Town which is the largest we have yet seen; it lies in a Crook of they River on extraordinary good land about 70 houses very compact and very well built and about the same number of out houses in Cornfields &c: on entering the town we found the body of Lt. Boyd and another Rifle Man in a most terrible mangled condition they was both stripped naked and their heads Cut off and the flesh of Lt. Boyds head was intirely taken of and his eyes punched out. the other mans hed was not there. they was stabed I supose in 40 Diferent places in the Body with a spear and great gashes cut in their flesh with knives, and Lt. Boyds Privates was nearly cut of & hanging down, his finger and Toe nails was bruised of and the Dogs had eat part of their Shoulders away likewise a knife was Sticking in Lt. Boyds body They was imediately buried with the honour of war.

Wensday 15th.—The whole Army went out this morning 6

oClock to destroy corn and was out till 12 oClock. there was here the greatest quantity of corn & beans here of any of the towns some of it we husked and threw in the River the rest we Carried to the houses & burnd the whole we totally destroyed. about 10 oClock we Recd. orders to begin our march home which we did leaving the towns in flames. To day there was a white woman & Child came into us but I believe brought no Inteligence of Consequence—Marched over the Chenesee River and encamped after Dark on the Edge of the flats nigh to Cossawauloughly town.

Thursday 16th.—The whole army was out this morning cuting corn which we left as we was going, our brigade crossed the River to cut which we did and I believe there was a great Quantity destroyed and some houses burnt, Marched of about 10 oClock in the following line of March An Advance Guard of 100 Men in front Genl. Clintons brigade following in 4 Columns the other troops marching as usual Genl. Hands brigade fetching up the Rear, 2 Pieces of Artillery in the rear of him & the Rifle Men in the rear of they whole, the Cohoun with the Advance Guard—Capt. Henderson with 60 Men went in front of the Army to bury the Dead and Just as we came up he was a going to bury 14 Bodies in a most terrible mangled Condition they was buryed with the honour of war—Encamped to night at Adjutse.

Friday 17th.—Marched this morning sun rise and a very cold morning with hard frost Arrived at Hanyaye 1 oClock where we encamped found our Garrison all in good order consisting of 300 Men instead [of] 50 which I mentioned Comanded by Capt. Cummings, they was encamped round the house where we had left our stores in, and the camp was abatted in, and round the house the had made a small Fort of Kegs and Bags of Flower and had three Pieces of Artillery in it and the house they had made full of loop holes so as to fight out of it in Case of Necessity and upon the whole I think the was very safe—To day we passed a small Lake 6 Miles from here lying on a Parallel with the rest called Conyradice and about as Big I forgot to mention this Lake on our going we crossed the outlett of it but it was not very large This evening each man in the Army Drew 6 Pound of Flower which come very welcome as we can now sit down and eat a hearty meals Victuals with a Clear conscience, & before on our half allowance we Dare not—

Saturday 18th.—This morning had to kill a great number of our Horses which was not able to carry packs nor even be drove on with the army—Very cold, marched 7 oClock from Hanyaye passed Kanandaqua and waded the outlett of the Lake and encamped a little before Sun down Close on the end of the Lake—

On our March to day 2 or 3 Oneida Indians came to us from Fort Schuyler and brought us the very agreeable News of New York being in our Possession which is generally believed thro' the Army—A Number of our Pack horses which was not able to go any farther we Shot on the road to day.

Sunday 19th.—Marched this morning 8 oClock very much trouble with pack horses had to kill a number on the road, about Dark Arrived at Kanadasago where we encamped. To day express arrived from Tioga who contradicted our late agreeable news but brought papers which Informed us that Spain had Declared war with England—went on Guard to Night.

Monday 20th.—This morning I saw the ruins of an old Stockade Fort very large which the Indians had here last war, likewise I am Informed that there was one at Kanandaqua and one between this and that on a brook—This morning a Detachment under the Command of Col. Smith went up the Kushe & a little above to Destroy some Corn thet was left there. A detachment of York troops and an officer from each of the York Regts. under the Comd. of Col. Gansevort was sent of to Albany by the way of Fort Schuyler I believe to bring on the officers baggage to the Main Army, likewise a large Detachment of 5 or 600 Men under the comand of Col. Butler set of about 1 oClock I believe to Cauga Lake to Destroy their Country.

Col. Gansevorts comand went with Col. Butler, at 4 oClock the Army marched from Kanandasago crossed the outlet of the Lake & encamped after Dark by the side of the Lake—Col. Smith with his Detachment returned this evening.

Tuesday 21st.—a Detachment this morning under the Comand of Col. Deerborn went to Cauga Lake to Destroy some small Settlements there and Corn—The Army marched this morning 7 oClock 2 Miles beyond Kandaie where we encamped about 4 oClock.

Wensday 22d.—Marched this morning 7 oClock had a very bad Defile in front to pass which detaind us a good while encamped a little before Sun down within 9 Miles of Catharines town, very cloudy all Day.

Thursday 23d.—Very Cold last night but a fine clear day, marched about 7 oClock arrived at Catharines town where we Stopd. about one hour to refresh, then proceeded on 3 Miles up the Narrows where we encamped about sunset while we Stayed in the town we buryed the lame Squaw which I mentioned on our going, it is supposed she was Shot by some of our men likewise the Old Squaw that we left here had built or got built a neat little bark hutt where she lived, the General ordered to be left her almost a keg of flower and some meat which was done and I supposed she will live in splendour.

Friday 24th.—Clouday like for rain this morning march'd about 7 oClock up the Seneca Creek very swampy bad road crossed over the Dividing ridge and came on the waters of the Susquehana that is Spring Creek which empties itself into Tyoga a little above Newtown at the mouth of this creek we arrived about 4 oClock where there was a Small Garrison established of about 200 Men who had come up from Tyogo with six days Provision for us, they had erected a Small Battery or Fort Just on the point where the lay with 2 Field Pieces and their Provision; on our coming to the place the Garrison saluted us with thirteen Pieces of Canon which was returned with the same Number from us and we encamped here, and drew each officer & soldier one Jill of Whiskey after a fatigue of near one Month without a drop, likewise we drew full allowance of Beef for the first time.

Saturday 25th.—In consequence of Spain Declaring war against Great Britain and of the late generous Resolution of Congress of raising the Subsistence of Officers & soldiers of the Army. The General ordered a Feu De Joy to be fired by the army this afternoon at 5 oClock and likewise he ordered to be delivered to the officers of each Brigade one of the best oxen there was & 5 Gallons of Spirits: accordingly at 5 oClock the troops was drawn up in a single line with the field Pieces on the Right the Feu De Joy began with 13 discharges of cannon and then a running fire of the Musquitry from the right to the left of the line Intermixed with Field pieces but it did not please the General and he made the musquitry fire again afterwards the officers of each Brigade assembled and Supped together (excepting Genl. Poors) on their ox and five gallons of spirits and spent the evening very agreeable. The officers of our brigade assembled at a large bower made for that purpose Iluminated with 13 pine not fires round and each officer atended with his bread, knife and plate and set on the ground Genl. Hand at the head & Col Procter at the foot as his officers suped with us in this manner we suped very hearty and then went to drinking our spirits, and the following Toasts was given by Genl. Hand—The 13 Sisters and their sponsers—The honorable the American Congress—Genl. Washington & the American Army—The comander in chief of the Western expedition—The Allies of America & the United House of Bourbon—The memory of Lt. Boyd and the Brave soldiers under his command who was unhumanly massacred on the 13th Instant—May the American Congress and the Legislatives of America be endowed with wisdom and be as firm as the Pillars of time—May the Citizens & soldiers of America be Unanimous in support of American Liberty—May Discord & Fraud be

banished from the Shores of America—May the Kingdom of Ireland merit a Stripe in our Standard—An honorable peace or persistant war to the Enemies of America—May the Enemies of America be Metamorphised in Pack horses and sent on a Western Expedition—afterwards there was two or three Indian Dances led down by Genl. Hand and performed by the rest midling well then each officer returned to their Qrs after kicking up a Small Dust of Striking tents &c.

Sunday 26th.—Did not feel very well this morning after my frolick but was ordered on detachment but it raind a little which prevented our going. Col. Dearborns Comand came in to day and brought in two squaws Prisoners and left one Indian and one squaw very sick on the Cauga lake, which they could not fetch along the Destroyed five Indian towns on the Cauga lake midling large and very well built in general and Destroyed a great quantity of Corn.

Monday 27th.—The Detachment that was a going yesterday Paraded this morning 7 oClock under the comand of Col. Cortland and went up the Tyoga 8 Mile and took some Boats with them and loaded them with Corn & pumpkins and sent down to the Army and Destroyed a great Quantity more and then returned a little after Dark—This evening Mr. Lodge the Surveyor came in & told us Col. Butler lay all night within 5 miles of here and would be in tomorrow likewise the Boats arrived here from Tiogo to transport the sick & baggage down.

Tuesday 28th.—This morning all the sick was ordered to go down in Boats to Tyogo, and the Lame to ride down the worst horses. the same Detachment that was up the Tyoga yesterday was ordered up again to day and a very large comand was ordered to go down the Tyoga to Destroy Corn; Just as our Detachment Paraded Col. Butlers Comd. came in and informed us that they had destroyed on the East side of the Cauga Lake three Capital towns and a great number of scattering houses and Destroyed a very great quantity of Corn the houses I am informed was much larger and better built than any we have yet seen, and it was a very old sittled Country as the had great number of Apple and Peach trees which they likewise Cut Down—Our Detachment marched up the Tyogo 5 miles above where we was yesterday and burnt 2 or 3 houses and Destroyed a little Corn on each side of the river a little before night I went up the river about 5 Mile farther but found no Corn and returned where we found them encamped in one of the corn fields but had no tents.

Wednesday 29th.—slept tolerable well rose early loaded two boats with corn which we had with us and set of down the river about 7 oClock arrived where the Camp was about 2

oClock where we found the Army had left in the morning, here we halted about 2 hours collected some horses and killed a number more likewise sent down a Boat which the Army had left. Marched of from there with a Determination to join the army to night, at the time we arrived at Shamung it was Dark however we march'd on thro the Narrows a very Dificult road to pass and arrived at the main Army about 12 oClock at Night which was encamped 3 Mile below Shamong.

Thursday 30th.—Marchd this morning 9 oClock halted within one Mile of Fort Sullivan on the mouth of Tyoga and sent for our Musick & Coulours likewise found the men in a proper line of March then march'd on with Musick playing and Colours flying and encamp'd on the same ground we did before. When our troops passed the Fort the Garrison was paraded and saluted us with 13 Pieces of Cannon regularly fired, afterward the same number was return'd by us, then three Cheers from the Garrison—The officers of each Regt. had a Dinner paraded for them in the garrison where they Imediately repaired and Dined and took a hearty Drink of Grog and went to sleep—since we left this Col Shreve who commanded had a very strong picket fort ma ie here surrounded with very good Abattees and the 4 Block houses for the four Bestions which Comanded each River and all the men was encamped in the Garrison—Just been from Tyoga thirty-five Days and from Tioga 136 Miles.

October 1, Friday.—lay in camp all Day resting and Cleaning our selves.

Saturday 2d.—This Day a Number of officers was sent to Wioming to prepare for the reception of the Army and a Number others went on other buisness.

Sunday 3d.—Orders came out to day for to have all the Stores loaded in boats and ready to march to morrow morning with the Army, at six oClock The Hospital and sick to go down to the river this afternoon this Day a large fatigue Party was turned out to Destroy the fort, which they did effectually by pulling up the pickets and casting them in the river and burning the Abattees.

Monday 4th.—This Day a little rain, Chief part of the Army march'd, only left a sufficient quantity to man the boats marched about 8 oClock crossed over the Tyoga and a little while after Crossed the river to the East side and proceeded on midling good road to Wysaukin when they incamped I went in the boats and got to Wysaukin two hours before the Army and all encamped together; this place was formerly a small settlement but Destroyed by the Enemy.

Tuesday 5th.—The whole of the Army was ordered to go in

Boats this morning and we set of about 9 oClock Down the River, our Regt. bringing up the rear of the Army and a little after Dark encamped on the shore, Our Regt. by themselves the Army Chiefly in front where we lay all Night.

Wensday 6th. -Started midling early this morning but did not overtake the Army or at least Head Quarters but passed a Number of boats encamp'd Just at Dark on a small Improvement where we staid all Night 24 Miles from Wyoming.

Thursday 7th.—Embarked tolerable early this morning passed several small improvements on the river which had been but now Destroyed by the Enemy. Arrived at Wyoming about 5 oClock where we found Chief of the Army encamped, we imediately Disembarked and incamp'd in our proper place -Wyoming before it was Destroyed by the Enemy was a very pretty settlement and very large excellent land it lies on each side of the river and is very long Chief of the inhabitants have left the settlement what few there is here Erected small hutts where they live very uncomfortable I think, the Inhabitants had a very severe battle with the Enemy before they Destroyed but was Defeated by which means the Enemy got Possession of the settlement and Destroyed it the Inhabitants had a number killd which left a great many Widows in the place, since the Battle they have erected a very good Fort and Continental Troops has been stationed at it which has keep it since.

Friday 8th.—A large party was sent on to Easttown to day to repair the roads. I went up to see some of the Inhabitants to day which appeared very strange to me being so long from seeing any of them—

Saturday 9th.—This day we Recd. orders to hold ourselves in readiness to march to morrow morning early, likewise Genl. Sullivan Set of to Eastown leaving the comand of the Army to Genl. Clinton this being my birth day I with a few of our officers had a Sociable Drink of Grog this evening—

Sunday 10th.—The Genl. beat this morning 8 oClock could get no waggons to carry our baggage therefore had to break up our Chests and Carry our baggage on Pack horses The Army did not march till 3 oClock in the Afternoon when the set of for Eastown the Army was very much Detained on Account of getting on the Amunition Waggons and some [of] the General & Field officers had to Carry their baggage as the horses was very weak and the road Exceeding bad up a very long hill good many waggons left behind and the baggage taken out and Put on Pack horses, a little after Dark got on the top of the hill about 4 Mile from Wyoming where we Encamped on very stony ground and the Army very much Scattered.

Monday 11th.—Marched this morning early came to Bullocks which is a house 7 Miles from Wyoming formerly a tavern but the Inhabitants had fled here we found the front of the Army who lay here all Night Just preparing for to march we halted & drew a Gill of Rum Each then marched on to the Edge of the Great swamp 17 Miles from Wyoming where we encamped on tolerable good ground.

Tuesday 12th.—Marched this morning 8 oClock Entered the great swamp which is a very bad road the waggons was sent on at Day break this morning and to halt at Locust hill about the middle of the swamp till the Army came up we arrived at Locust hill about 1 oClock where we found the waggons, here we halted and eat Dinner passed the waggons which come on in they rear. Just as the Army got thro the Swamp which is 12 Miles thro: a very heavy shower of rain come on which wet us very much, marched 3 Miles thro the Swamp and encamped a little before Dark on a pretty little brook 32 Miles from Eastown; a great many horses Died in the Swamp to day and a Great many waggons broken to pieces, and the baggage of the Army did not come up—To Day we met about 50 waggons in the swamp going to Wyoming for what baggage of the Army was left there, about one half was turned to fetch on our baggage the others went on to Wyoming.

Wensday 13th.—Marched this morning 9 oClock those fresh waggons helped on the baggage midling well, in marching about 5 Mile came to Larnards tavern it being the beginning of the settlement of a Christian Country, which appeared to me very strange here, we halted in a field 1½ hours to refresh Then marched on very good roads 9 Mile thro a thin settled country and about 5 oClock arrived at Brinkers Mills where we had a large Store of Provisions for this Army, and here the had a small picketed fort where they had store houses in to keep their provision, and a small Garrison of Militia, as soon as we was encamped I went out to a Country house and got an Elegant Dinner which I was very well pleased with likewise we Drew Provision this evening.

Thursday 14th.—Here we got a few more waggons almost sufficient to carry all they baggage Marched to day 11 oClock thro a middling good settled Country, Crossed the Blue Mountain encamped at Allens tavern 7 Miles from Brinkers Mills about 3 oClock. Here an officer from each Regt. was ordered to attend at Head Qrs. after taking the minds of the officers of their Regts. concerning the high prices of Articles whether they would give it or no, after a Consultation of an hour or two they came to this resolution that they would not Purchase of any tavern keeper any liquor or provision while on the march

to Head Quarters Sickess Excepted—Orders came out for the soldiers & officers to be as Clean as possible to march into Eastown.

Friday 15th.—Marched this morning 8 oClock baggage all in the Center thro a very good road arrived at Eastown about 3 oClock—The Army marched thro the town in ample order and encamped in Diferent places, our brigade encamped up the Laihi about a Mile on very good ground—I was much very pleased to see the resolution of the officers so strictly adhered to, as I did not see a single soul enter a tavern which was a great Disappointment to the Inhabitants, as they had laid in great stores and thought they would have a very fine market for it by this Army—Genl. Sullivan again takes the Comand of they Army.

Saturday 16th.—Lay in Camp all Day nothing material happening.

Sunday 17th.—Lost all my Cloaths last night stole from the Wash woman left me in a Deplorable condition not a second shirt to my Back—The whole Army went to Church to Day and heard a very Elegant Oration from the Revd. Dr. Evans Sutible to the Occasion—likewise Genl. Sullivan and the Western army had the thanks of Congress, went out in the Country to day and got Buckwheat Cakes, Butter, Milk and honey which was a very great rarity indeed

Monday 18th.—To day the Regt. was Mustered for 4 Months and the Day was taken up Chiefly in making Muster rolls &c—Part of my Cloaths was found to day hid in the mountain but two of my best shirts is yet a missing.

Tuesday 19th. Wensday 20th. Thursday 21st.

Friday, 22d.—Went this Day to Bethlehem and saw the Curiosities of that Place and Drank some Excellent wine and returned home a little after Dark and so I believe I may here end my Journal with a belly full of good wine Given under my hand this 22d. Day of October in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy Nine.

E. BEATTY.

Wm. Rogers.

JOURNAL

OF

REV. WILLIAM ROGERS, D. D.,

Chaplain of Gen. Hand's Brigade

IN THE SULLIVAN EXPEDITION.

1779.

[The Rev. William Rogers was Chaplain in the Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment (Col. Samuel Miles) in 1776, and in June, 1778, Brigade Chaplain. His Journal is copied from the Rhode Island Historical Tracts published in 1879.]

JOURNAL OF REV. WILLIAM ROGERS, D. D.

June 15th.—Left Philadelphia.

June 17th.—About 8 o'clock, crossed Easton ferry. Easton is a pretty village, the capital of Northampton county, Pennsylvania. Here I met with a large circle of my military acquaintances of General Poor's and Maxwell's brigades. At Colonel Barber's marquee I was introduced to Mr. Kirkland, a worthy clergyman who for a number of years past has been stationed as a missionary among the Indians. The place of his residence is Stockbridge, Massachusetts. I am glad to hear Mr. Kirkland is to go with us on the secret expedition. Four Stockbridge Indians are at Easton, who are to act as guides; we expect on our march the Oneidas and friendly Tuscaroras to offer us their assistance.

June 18th.—All the troops in town prepared for marching. Between 5 and 6 o'clock, left the village with all the pack horses, stores etc. Halted for breakfast. The army reaching the foot of the Blue Mountains, twelve miles from Easton, encamped for the day. Dr. Kirkland, Dr. Evans and myself passed the mountain at a place called Wind Gap. We rode on seven miles from the camp to Brinker's Mills, now known as Sullivan's stores, upon account of a large house built here and a great quantity of provisions being stored therein for the use of the forces under Major General Sullivan's command. At the store we met with Captain Luke Broadhead, who with Captain Patterson attends at this post. On the road from Easton to Sullivan's stores nothing is to be seen, but hills, stones, trees and brush, excepting here and there a scattered house and a lake near the mountain, half a mile in length and one-fourth of a mile in breadth, wherein abound a variety of fish.

June 19th.—At 7 A. M. the troops reached Sullivan's stores. Halted and draw four days' provisions. Doctors Kirkland, Evans, Hunter and myself rode forward about nine miles to a place called Pokono, lower Smithfield township, and put up for the night at the house of a Mr. Savage, which, exclusive of one, is the last house from Easton to Wyoming, the remainder of the way (thirty odd miles) being uninhabited, except by wild beasts and roving animals. On a mountain between Sullivan's stores and Pokono, we had a fine prospect of

nature's works. We discovered the water gap of the Blue Mountains, and hill upon hill surrounding us. The troops encamped at Learn's tavern, Pokono point. Pokono lies from Easton north, about two points west.

Sunday, June 20th.—Marched this morning in the following order. General Maxwell's brigade in front. Next Colonel Proctor's regiment; then Poor's brigade, afterwards the baggage. Halted at Rum Bridge for the night, six miles from the last inhabited house towards Wyoming. The camp is called Chowder camp, from the commander-in-chief dining this day on chowder made of trout. The artillery soldiers killed two or three rattlesnakes and made, as I understand, a good meal of them. Owing to Pokono mountain and other eminences, found this day's march very fatiguing to the horses belonging to the artillery. Passed a large quantity of pine, poplar and oak timber, also a quantity of the largest laurel; the ground universally covered with brush by the name of ground oak. No preaching to-day on account of the fatigue of the troops.

Monday, June 21, 1779.—This day we marched through the Great Swamp and Bear Swamp. The Great Swamp, which is eleven or twelve miles through, contains what is called in our maps the "shades of death," by reason of its darkness; both swamps contain trees of amazing height, viz., hemlock, birch, pine, sugar maple, ash, locust, etc. The roads in some places are tolerable, but in other places exceedingly bad, by reason of which, and a long though necessary march, three of our wagons and the carriages of two field pieces were broken down. This day we proceeded twenty miles and encamped late in the evening at a spot which the commander named Camp Fatigue. The troops were tired and hungry. The road through the Swamps is entirely new, being fitted for the passage of our wagons by Colonels Courtlandt and Spencer at the instance of the commander-in-chief; the way leading to Wyoming, being before only a blind narrow path. The new road does its projectors great credit and must in a future day be of essential service to the inhabitants of Wyoming and Easton. In the Great Swamp is Locust Hill, where we discovered evident marks of a destroyed Indian village. Tobyhanna and Middle creeks empty into the Tunkhanunk; the Tunkhanunk empties into the head branch of the Lehigh, which, at Easton, empties into the Delaware. The Moosic mountain, through a gap of which we passed in the Great Swamp, is the dividing ridge which separates the Delaware from the Susquehanna.

Tuesday, June 22.—The Army continued at Camp Fatigue until two o'clock, P. M., on account of their great march the preceding day, many of the wagons of the rear guard not gett-

ing in until midnight. A bear and a wolf were seen by a New Hampshire sentinel, and several deer by a scouting party, but none were shot In the forenoon a person arrived who in the month of April last had been taken prisoner near the Minisink by two Tories, two Tuscaroras and seven Delawares; this poor fellow, after being carried through a long tract of country, and experiencing the severest usage in being cruelly tied or bound or otherwise ill treated, had the good fortune when getting within one day's march of Chemung, to make his escape at night when the Indians were asleep; he was obliged, however, to leave his only son and two other boys behind. In relating this circumstance he was greatly affected. For forty days he was almost destitute of provisions, and eighteen or twenty days without seeing a fire. Rattlesnakes and a few small fish were his support till he reached Wyoming. He seemed very sensible of his providential deliverance, and in relating the matter gave God the praise.

Wednesday, June 23.—The troops prepared themselves for Wyoming, from which we were now distant only seven miles. This day we marched with regularity, and at a distance of three miles came to the place where Captain Davis and Lieutenant Jones, with a corporal and four privates were scalped, tomahawked, and speared by the savages, fifteen or twenty in number; two boards are fixed at the spot where Davis and Jones fell, with their names on each, Jones's besmeared with his own blood. In passing this melancholy vale, an universal gloom appeared on the countenances of both officers and men without distinction, and from the eyes of many, as by a sudden impulse, dropt the sympathizing tear. Colonel Proctor, out of respect to the deceased, ordered the music to play the tune of Roslin Castle, the soft and moving notes of which, together with what so forcibly struck the eye, tended greatly to fill our breasts with pity, and to renew our grief for our worthy departed friends and brethren. The words of the celebrated Young, occurred on this occasion to my mind:

> "Life's little stage is a small eminence,
> Inch high above the grave, that home of man
> Where dwells the multitude."

Getting within two miles of Wyoming, we had from a fine eminence an excellent view of the settlement. It is founded on each side of the eastern branch of the Susquehannah, which with the western branch unite at Northumberland, from which place Wilkesbarre, the county town, is distant sixty-five miles. It lies in a beautiful valley, surrounded by very high ground, the people inhabit up and down the banks of the river and very

little back. There were in the settlement last summer a court house, a jail, and many dwelling houses, all of which excepting a few scattered ones were burnt by the savages after the battle of July 3, 1778, which took place near Forty Fort. At present there are a few log houses newly built, a fort, one or two stockaded redoubts and a row of barracks; the settlement consists of six or more small townships. At the battle before spoken of about two hundred and twenty were massacred within the space of an hour and a half, more than one hundred of whom were married men; their widows afterwards had all their property taken from them and several of them with their children were made prisoners. It is said Queen Esther, of the Six Nations, who was with the enemy, scalped and tomahawked with her own hands in cool blood eight or ten persons. The Indian women in general were guilty of the greatest barbarities. Since this dreadful stroke they have visited the settlement several times, each time killing, or rather torturing to death, more or less. Many of their bones continue yet unburied where the main action happened. Wyoming is by Connecticut, styled Westmoreland county, and has for a long time been under the jurisdiction of that state. How the matter will be settled by them and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, must be determined by those who are better acquainted with the dispute than I am.

Thursday, June 24.—Was introduced to Colonel Zebulon Butler, the gentlemen of whom much has been said on account of his persevering conduct in opposing the savages. Had an interview with Mr. Ludwigg, baker-in-chief for the army, who was sent on from Easton to this post, to prepare bread for the troops; owing to his *activity*, a bake-house was built in eleven days and a large quantity of bread was in readiness for delivery on our arrival. An inhabitant showed me an Indian weapon called a death mall. The handle was unwieldly, the ball about the bigness of a three pounder, curiously cut out of a maple knot. The use of this instrument is to knock people on the scull with, when overtaken in a chase. Being Saint John's day, a number of Free-masons met at Colonel Proctor's marquee; at his request (though not one of the fraternity myself) read for them the Rev. Dr. Smith's excellent sermon on Masonry.

Saturday, June 26.—Between ten and eleven o'clock last night there was a small alarm; two Indians were discovered advancing towards some of our sentries. The sentinels fired on them, but the savages escaped. Captain Jehoiakim with two other Stockbridge Indians and five soldiers of Colonel Cilley's

regiment were sent out on a scout. Dined with the officers of artillery.

A rock (fish) which was caught the preceding evening, on the table, which measured two feet nine inches and weighed twenty-seven pounds.

Sunday, June 27.—Agreeably to yesterday's orders, preached at ten o'clock, A. M., near the Fort to General Hand's brigade and Colonel Proctor's regiment; General Sullivan with his suite were present. Captain Jehoiakim returned; he met with no success. This day, with the three preceding, exceedingly sultry.

Monday, June 28, P. M.—News arrived of a family near Carns' Tavern, between this and Easton, being part of them killed and part of them taken prisoners by the savages.

Tuesday, June 29.—Early this morning the account we had yesterday was confirmed by the arrival of Mr. Steel D. C. G. of issues who says that of the family, three women were carried off, and that a son of Dr. Ledlie's was scalped and tomahawked. The few scattered inhabitants were in great distress moving for safety to Sullivan's Stores leaving the principal part of their property behind them. Upwards of thirty boats loaded with provisions arrived this day from Sunbury. Orders came out for the execution of Lawrence Miller and Michael Rosebury, in the following words: "The sentence of death passed upon Lawrence Miller and Michael Rosebury by the court martial, where of Brigadier General Maxwell was president, and approved of by the Commander-in-chief at Easton in the orders of the sixth instant, is directed to be executed upon the said Lawrence Miller and Michael Rosebury, the day after to-morrow in the afternoon, between the hours of two and four o'clock." The orders of the sixth instant referred to, are: "Lawrence Miller and Michael Rosebury, inhabitants of Sussex county, State of New Jersey, being tried by a general court martial, held at Easton, on the third instant, of which Brigadier General Maxwell was president, for enticing soldiers of the American army to desert to the enemy, and engaging their assistance for that purpose, the court are of opinion, they are guilty of the charges exhibited, and do unanimously sentence them to suffer death. The Commander-in-chief approves the sentence of the court, but postpones the execution of it for a few days. He at the same time returns his thanks to Lieutenant McConnell, and the other evidences, for their zeal and address in detecting the offenders. P. M.—Mr. Kirkland accompanied me in paying these two unfortunate men a visit; found them ignorant and stupid. Our endeavors were upon this occasion to open unto them the nature of man's fall, and

the dreadful situation of those who died in a state of impenitency and unbelief.

Wednesday, June 30.—We went to see the prisoners; Miller appeared much softened, distressed, and anxious about his future state; Rosebury said but little; I enlarged particularly at this time on their awful condition by nature and practice, their amazing guilt in the sight of an holy God; the spirituality of the divine law; the necessity of an interest in Jesus Christ; their own inability to obtain salvation, and the great importance of a due preparation for another world.

Thursday, July 1.—Before breakfast visited the convicts; spoke to them on the realities of heaven and hell, and the justice and mercy of God; Miller appeared still more penitent, and freely confessed the sentence of death passed against him to be just. The other excused himself and insisted much on the innocency of his life. Mr. Kirkland and myself waited on the Commander-in-chief, in order to recommend Miller to mercy. His Excellency was so obliging as to inform us that it was his purpose, upon account of Miller's wife and numerous family, his decent behavior on trial, the recommendation of the court and former good character, to pardon him under the gallows, fifteen minutes after the execution of Rosebury; and requested that it might remain a secret with us until it was publicly known. P. M.—At the hour appointed the prisoners were taken under guard to the place of execution, attended by Messrs. Kirkland, Hunter and myself. In walking to the gallows we of course conversed with them on the most serious subjects. Upon arriving there, the military being under arms, and a number of the inhabitants present, it fell to my lot to address the spectators, after which Mr. Kirkland prayed. Rosebury was then turned off; he died to all appearance the same stupid man he was at the first of our visiting him. Poor Miller was much agitated at the sight, expecting every moment the same punishment. He was employed in commending himself to God—upon hearing his pardon from the commander-in-chief read, he was greatly affected. On recovering himself he expressed the utmost thankfulness for his great deliverance. The scene throughout was very affecting.

Friday, July 2, P. M.—An experiment by the General's permission, was made by Colonel Proctor, with a grasshopper on board one of the batteaux, with a view of trying the nature of shot on the water should it be necessary when going up the river. Four rounds of canister and eight of round, were discharged, which fully proved the utility of the plan; it plainly appearing that the enemy's force, consisting of the greatest number of boats, would be hereby totally frustrated in their

design of impeding our progress. The sight was extremely gratifying. Notwithstanding the axletree of the cannon on which the grasshopper was mounted was as wide as the batteau, yet the batteau was not in the least injured by the experiment.

Sunday, July 4.—Ten o'clock. Preached to the brigade and regiment of artillery; being the anniversary of the declaration of American Independence, took notice of the same in my sermon. Text, Psalm 32:10, "But he that trusteth in the Lord, mercy shall encompass him about." The discourse was concluded nearly as follows: Politically as a nation are we exhorted to trust in the Lord. God hath hitherto blessed our arms and smiled on our infant rising states. Recollect, my brethren, the commencement of our bloody contest; pursue in your minds the difficulties we already have had to encounter. Be not ye afraid of the insolent foe. "Remember Jehovah, who is great and terrible, and fight for your brethren, sons and your daughters, your wives and your houses." Provided we fear God and are publicly as well as individually honest; what have we now to alarm us? American exertions have hitherto been crowned with success; let us still under the banners of liberty, and with a Washington for our head, go on from conquering to conquer. Hark! what voice is that which I hear? It is the voice of encouragement; permit me for your animation to repeat it distinctly: "Our fathers trusted and the Lord did deliver them; they cried unto Him and were delivered; they trusted in Him and were not confounded." Even so may it be with us, for the sake of Christ Jesus, who came to give Freedom to the world.

Monday, July 5th.—An Express arrived from Sunbury, announcing the destruction of nine persons out of twelve, by the savages at Munsey, as they were working in a field. Took a view of the remains of Forty Fort. At General Poor's, where a large party dined to-day, two skulls were shown us which were picked up near the field of battle, and with a variety of other human bones had lain unburied for twelve months past. From the appearance of the skulls which were most shockingly gashed and bruised, it is evident that the poor creatures must have suffered amazingly. Towards evening two soldiers reported that they saw four Indians about three-quarters of a mile from General Poor's encampment. Two small parties were sent out to make discoveries.

Wednesday, July 7th.—A soldier of Colonel Shreeve's regiment going out a hunting, after getting about three miles espied an Indian. The Indian being on the opposite side of a deep run fired on him and shot the sleeve of his coat. The

soldier having run a small distance, looking behind, and saw two other savages who had joined the first; he then retreated in haste to the camp and reported the occurrence to the General. In consequence of which three parties were ordered to be in readiness on the ensuing morning to scout different ways.

Thursday, July 8th, A. M.—Generals Hand and Maxwell, Colonels Proctor, Butler and Shreeve, with the number of other gentlemen, agreeably to proposal, rode up to Colonel Courtlandts, where, being joined by him, General Poor, Major Fisk and others, and having the benefit of a proper escort of light infantry, we proceeded up the river four miles further to take a view of the noted place where the battle was fought July 3, 1778, between Colonel Butler, with his Tories and the savages on one side, five hundred in number, and our Colonel Butler, on the other with three hundred of the inhabitants, who had formed themselves into militia companies, having nothing but bad muskets without bayonets. Our people, sallying out of Forty Fort, proceeded to Wintermute's Fort, where the enemy forming their left and extending their right quite to a swamp, were prepared to receive the defenders of their country. Our Colonel Butler, having judiciously drawn up his men in line of battle to oppose the barbarians, a severe firing ensued; six or seven rounds were in a few moments discharged on both sides, when the enemy's centre, fallen a few paces back and apart of their right filing off, our people supposing that they had intention of surrounding them, instantly got confused and notwithstanding the spirited exertions of their Colonel, a retreat took place and ended in a general rout, which gave rise to a most horrid scene of butchery. Out of our party only one hundred escaped; among these was Colonel Butler. From many circumstances it appeared Wintermute's Fort proved treacherous, old Mr. Wintermute with all his sons and about twenty-five others who composed the garrison, having on the enemy's approach delivered up the fort, without the least opposition, the major part of whom immediately joined the enemy and took up arms against their friends. Moreover it was alleged that they corresponded with the enemy many months before. The place where the battle was fought may with propriety be called "a place of skulls," as the bodies of the slain were not buried, their bones were scattered in every direction all around; a great number of which for a few days past having been picked up, were decently interred by our people. We passed a grave where seventy-five skeletons were buried; also a spot where fourteen wretched creatures, who having surrendered upon being promised mercy, were nevertheless made immediately to sit down in a ring, and after the savages had

worked themselves up to the extreme of fury in their usual manner, by dancing, singing, halloaing, etc., they proceeded deliberately to tomahawk the poor fellows one after another. Fifteen surrendered and composed the ring. Upon the Indians beginning their work of cruelty, one of them providentially escaped, who reported the matter to Colonel Butler, who upon his return to Wyoming, went to the spot and found the bones of the fourteen lying as human bodies in an exact circle. It is remarkable, that on this spot grows a kind of grass different from all other grass around it. The bones of seven or eight other persons were found nearly consumed, they having been burned to death. Colonel Butler related the following occurrence. On a small island in the Susquehannah below the field of action, Giles Slocum, having reached thus far in safety, concealed himself in the bushes, where he was witness to the meeting of John and Henry Pensell, brothers. John was a Tory and Henry was a whig. Henry, having lost his gun, upon seeing his brother John, fell upon his knees and begged him to spare his life; upon which John called him a damned rebel. John then went deliberately to a log, got on the same, and began to load his piece, while Henry was upon his knees imploring him as a brother not to kill him. "I will," said he, "go with you an serve you as long as I live, if you will spare my life." John loaded his gun. Henry continued, "You won't kill your brother, will you?" "Yes," replied the monster, "I will as soon as look at you, you are a damned rebel." He then shot him and afterwards went up and struck him four or five times with a tomahawk and scalped him. Immediately after one of the enemy coming to him said, "What have you been doing, have you killed your brother?" "Yes," said he "for he was a damned rebel." The other replied, "I have a great mind to serve you in the same manner." They went off together. In the evening, Slocum made his escape. Slocum is a man of reputation, and his word was never disputed in the neighborhood where he is known. The family of the Pensells came from lower Smithfield on the Delaware, twenty miles above Easton. Henry's widow and seven children are still at Wyoming, in very low circumstances. From the best intelligence collected between seventy and eighty of the butchering foe were killed. Colonel Denison, retreated to Forty Fort that night, next day capitulated. The savages, notwithstanding the capitulation, plundered the inhabitants of everything that came in their way; sparing neither woman nor child. Good God! who, after such repeated instances of cruelty, can ever be totally reconciled to that government which divesting itself of the feelings of humanity, has influenced the savage tribes

to kill and wretchedly to torture to death, persons of each sex and of every age -the prattling infant, the blooming maid and persons of venerable years, have alike fallen victims to its vindictive rage. On the road to Wintermute's fort, we took notice of very high Timothy grass. The earth in general is very rich, the whole settlement from its appearance is capable of producing the finest wheat, and every other kind of grain.

Friday, July 9th.—Upwards of fifty boats arrived from Sunbury, loaded with stores and guarded by the Eleventh Pennsylvania regiment, commanded by Colonel Hubley. The small boats, being unloaded, set off again under the directions of Captain Cummings, to proceed down the Susquehannah for further necessaries.

Saturday, July 10th. -Early this morning General Hand with his aid-de-camp, escorted by a company of light horse, set out for Harris's ferry, one hundred and thirty miles distant, in order to hurry on provisions, the detention of which, owing to the unaccountable neglect of those who have the superintendence of the same, has occasioned the army to continue at this post for such a length of time, and bids fair, without the spirited exertions of some superior officer, to prevent in a great measure our accomplishing the desirable end in view. Colonel Dayton, returning from New Jersey, brought with him several newspapers, the perusal of which was a great refreshment after such a long political drouth. Colonel Read's regiment of General Poor's Brigade marched to Sullivan's Stores, with a view of mending the roads and escorting the wagons which are to come on from thence and Easton. An experiment was made towards evening on board of a batteau, by discharging several shells from a five and one half inch howitzer. It appeared that great benefit may be derived there from, without the least injury befalling the batteau. One of the shells was thrown nine hundred yards, and upon it bursting exhibited to the spectators a pleasing sight.

Sunday, July 11th.—Raining all day, which prevented the chaplains from officiating. A letter was received by express from General Clinton, dated head of Lake Otsego, announcing that twenty-five Oneida warriors had joined him, and that the hostile Indians were collecting together in their own country where they meant to oppose us; also that a detachment of three hundred had been sent out to distress and harass our army as much as possible on the march.

Monday, July 12th.—In consequence of the above intelligence, one hundred and fifty men with a field piece were ordered to reinforce Colonel Read.

Tuesday, July 13th.—A letter was received at headquarters

the preceding evening from General Hand, requesting that the large batteaux might be sent down the river, as the boats there were not sufficient. They were accordingly sent away this morning under the direction of Major Conway, with a detachment of infantry and Captain Rice, of the artillery, with two field pieces and an howitzer.

Wednesday, July 14th.—Last night thirty-three of the German regiment deserted under the plea of their time being out. They went off properly armed with drum and fife. Their route being discovered by a friendly Indian, who was dispatched for the purpose, a detachment of fifty soldiers on horseback were ordered to pursue them.

Friday, July 16th.—News arrived of the detachment having taken all the deserters except four or five.

Saturday, July 17th.—We learnt that the Indians had been committing some outrages on the western branches of the Susquehannah.

Sunday, July 18th.—A scouting party, consisting of a few soldiers and the four Stockbridge Indians, returned. They proceeded as far as Wyoming, discovered many tracks, but saw none of the enemy.

Monday, July 19th.—Colonel Cowperthwaite arrived from Philadelphia. On his way he inspected the provisions at Sullivan's Stores. If those on the way from Sunbury should not turn out better, of which he was fearful, our expedition must be attended with many inconveniences. Mr. Bond also got in with a number of horses for the army. Likewise a party with twenty-nine of the German deserters, four being yet missing.

Tuesday, July 20th.—Accounts are received of the enemy's plundering New Haven, burning Fairfield and committing many other outrages in Connecticut.

Wednesday, July 21st.—This morning an express arrived with the following glorious intelligence from the main army. That on Thursday night last, General Wayne with part of his light infantry, surprised and took the whole of the garrison of Stony Point, with all their stores, mortars, howitzers, tents, baggage, etc., without the loss of more than four or five privates. The garrison consisting of English, Scotch, and new levies, with two or three companies of grenadiers, besides artillery, in the whole about six hundred men. In the evening a number of wagons from Easton arrived loaded with stores, also an express who had a letter from Colonel Stroud to some militia captain dated this morning, two o'clock, informing that a number of Indians were at Minisink plundering and murdering the inhabitants; the colonel writes to the captain for assistance, as he expected they would in the course of the day be

at or near his house, as they were bending their course that way.

Saturday, July 24th.—General Hand arrived with one hundred and twelve loaded boats. On the river they appeared beautiful as they approached the village in proper divisions. Those with field pieces on board discharged several rounds for joy, which in the surrounding woods produced a pleasing echo. The Commander-in-Chief in public orders returned his cordial thanks to General Hand, Major Conway, Captains Rice and Porter, and others for their great exertions in thus bringing forward the stores of the army with such expedition. Also expressed his grateful acknowledgements to Commissary General Steele for his attention and activity in the business. The troops were directed to be in readiness to march on Wednesday morning next. The deserters from the German regiment, having been tried by a general court martial whereof General Poor was President, having been found guilty, were sentenced as follows, viz.: five to be shot, two corporals to be reduced to the ranks, and the remaining twenty-two to run the gauntlet through General Maxwell's and General Hand's brigades and the regiment of artillery; the respective punishments to take place on Monday next at four P M.

Sunday, July 25th.—No preaching, it being a very rainy day. P. M.—Visited the criminals. The whole appeared attentive to what was said, but very ignorant of those things which appertain to religion. In the orders issued this day is laid down the line of march for the army from this place to Tioga. General Hand's brigade, which is to be considered as the light corps, is to move in three columns and keep something less than a mile in advance of the main body. General Maxwell will advance by his left, then General Poor by his right, the flank guard on the right to consist of a field officer and two hundred men in two divisions, the flank guard on the left to consist of a captain and sixty men in two divisions. The pack horses and cattle to follow in the rear of General Poor's brigade. The rear guard will consist of a regiment complete, taken alternately from Maxwell's and Poor's brigades. Those of Colonel Proctor's regiment who are not required with the artillery in the boats are to march in the rear of Maxwell's brigade and form on his right. The main army will keep as nearly abreast of the boats as possible; the horns in the boats must be frequently sounded to give notice of their situation. A captain and sixty men will advance a mile in front of the boats on the west side of the river to scour the country and give notice of ambuscades. In case of their being attacked by a superior force they are to retreat across the river, for which purpose four light boats will

keep ahead of the fleet, nearly abreast of the party, to transport them across the river in case of necessity; in these boats there will be a trusty officer and twelve armed soldiers who, are to be answerable for their conduct. Colonel Proctor will take part with his pieces of artillery, which will be fixed in the boats and have the direction of the whole fleet, he will take such officers and men with him as he shall find necessary. When a warm firing commences against the light party on the west side of the river the armed boats will immediately proceed to the place to cover the party by their fire.

Should a firing begin with the main army, Colonel Proctor will wait for orders; he is also directed to establish signals to notify the fleet how to conduct in case of attack or other emergencies. The brigadiers must see that a covered wagon be filled with ammunition and put into proper boats for their respective brigades.

Monday, July 26th.—Visited the criminals, found them greatly dejected on account of their approaching dissolution; orders were issued that by reason of the unsettled state of the weather their execution be postponed until to morrow. P. M., 5 o'clock. Read a Philadelphia paper giving a particular account of the enemy's burning Norwalk, the Saw Pitts, etc.

Tuesday, July 27th.—Visited the convicts twice; in discussing with them upon a future state they appeared much affected and very penitent—represented their situation to General Sullivan, who told me that in consequence of a petition received from them he had ordered a board of general officers to sit. On the issuing of this day's orders the following sentence was read with pleasure by myself and the other chaplains: "The Commander-in-Chief having received a petition from the prisoners of the German battalion now under sentence, manifesting their consciousness of the crimes for which they have been condemned, and promising in case of pardon to distinguish themselves in future as brave and obedient soldiers, which petition being laid before a board of general officers in hopes that an act of lenity may have a proper effect on their future conduct as well as that of others, they have unanimously advised a pardon of all the offenders without discrimination. The General, wishing to extend mercy where it can be done without injury to the public service, has accordingly consented to pardon each and every one of the offenders tried and sentenced by a general court martial, whereof Brigadier General Poor was president, and directs that they be immediately released and restored to their duty. Lest this unparallelled act of lenity should be abused, and any soldier take the same unjustifiable measures hereafter, the Commander-in-Chief abso-

lutely declares he will not in future pardon a deserter, or one who, though his time be expired, shall quit his corps without a proper discharge from his commanding officer." Instantly after the above was made known to the criminals, I called in to see them, and found them calm, composed and thankful; agreeably to the above order the whole twenty-nine were dismissed the main guard and joined their regiment.

Wednesday, July 28th.—News arrived of a large body of Indians having drawn about one hundred and forty of our militia stationed on the Delaware, at a place called Lackawack, above the Minisink, into an ambuscade, only eighteen or twenty of the party escaping, all the rest fell a prey to savage barbarity. This unfortunate affair happened on the 22d instant. Two or three field officers, with several captains, lieutenants and ensigns were among the missing. Colonel Read arrived from Sullivan's Stores with his detachment and ninety loaded wagons. P. M.—Walked to the park of artillery, on my way down saw a note from Shawnee directed to Dr. Ellmore, requesting his attendance on a man who, a few miles distant from this place, was shot both in his side and thigh by some Indians or painted Tories, but had the good fortune to get safe to his family; one he knew to be a white man, an acquaintance of his, who many months ago had joined the enemy.

> "Ah why will kings forget that they are men,
> And men that they are brethren—why delight
> In human sacrifice? Why burst the ties
> Of nature that should knit their souls together
> In one soft bond of unity and love."

Thursday, July 29th.—Agreeably to previous determination, the bodies of Captain Davis and Lieutenant Jones were removed from the place of their interment to the proper burying ground. The brotherhood met at five o'clock, and marching by the General's marquee, had the pleasure of his company. Colonels Proctor's and Hubley's regiments, with drums, fifes and the band of music, accompanied them. Reaching the graves, an exceedingly heavy shower of rain prevented the delivery of a discourse designed for the occasion, however, a short prayer was made, the bodies were interred in Masonic form, and three volleys of small arms fired. This evening General Sullivan received a letter giving a more favorable account of the Lackawack battle, making the killed and missing between forty and fifty. Orders were this day given for everything to be gotten in readiness for the marching of the army on Saturday morning.

Friday, July 30th.—A letter was received by the General,

dated yesterday at Northumberland, seven o'clock A. M., from Colonel Cook, informing him that the day before the enemy made themselves masters of Freeland's Fort upon terms of capitulation, viz.: "The men to remain prisoners of war, and they with the fort to be plundered by the Indians, the women to go free." The number of the enemy before the fort were two hundred and fifty, one-third of them were British troops, under the command of Captain McDonald, with a *corps de reserve* of one hundred men. At Northumberland, which is only twenty miles distant from the fort, there were only one hundred and fifty men to make a stand for the protection of the women and children, it being impossible to get them off; when the express came away they expected to be attacked every hour; the enemy had collected all the cattle and abundance of plunder of every kind. In an action after the capitulation, Captain Hawkins Boon and fourteen volunteers were killed and scalped and a few wounded.

Saturday, July 31st.—This morning every department of the army was very busy in preparing for a movement. About one o'clock P. M. the whole marched from Wyoming agreeably to the orders of the 25th. The fleet, under the command of Colonel Proctor, consisting of one hundred and twenty boats, appeared most beautifully on the river; in passing the fort there was a mutual salute which gave universal satisfaction. The country we came through to-day, though generally a wilderness, affords a pleasing prospect of great improvement in a future day; we passed several plantations, no houses of any kind standing, being all burnt by the enemy; from the road we occasionally saw the river, which excited agreeable sensations. Crossing Lackawanick creek, which is in breadth about sixty yards and fordable all times of the year; it empties into the Susquehannah; encamped for the night near the same on a beautiful plain at Lackawanick, having marched from Wilkesbarre ten miles, and reaching the plain between the hours of five and six. Our course this day N. N. E. The light corps, which agreeably to general orders were to march in three columns, were by General Hand arranged as follows:—Eleventh Pennsylvania regiment and Captain Spalding's independent company advanced by platoons from the centre of a line formed by them, and constituted a column to proceed on the main road. The German regiment and Captain Schott's independent corps from the right of the said regiment, formed a column and marched on the right of the Eleventh, having their right flank covered by one-third of the light infantry of the Eleventh and Schott's riflemen in Indian file. Two-thirds of the light infantry of the Eleventh

and Captain Spalding's riflemen marched in Indian file on the left flank, and answer the purpose of a third column; each column and flanking party had proportioned to their strength respectively a small party advanced in front, the same to be observed if possible until our arrival at Tioga.

Sunday, August 1st.—The preceding night very rainy and at times uncommonly heavy, felt very cold and uncomfortable, which may be attributed in a great measure to sleeping on the ground and getting a great deal wet. General Hand this morning issued directions to be strictly observed by the light corps under his command in case of being attacked on the march, concluding with the following expressive language: "The Brigadier begs leave to assure the light troops that experience has taught him that maintaining a good countenance and a little perseverance, which from their known valor, he has every reason to expect will ensure success against the kind of enemy they have to oppose, and that turning their backs, let them be pressed ever so closely, will end in their utter ruin." Between the hours of two and three P. M. the fleet arrived, which, owing to many unforeseen difficulties, could not reach the Lackawanick sooner; two boats, one loaded with ammunition, the other with provisions, were sunk; the ammunition and provisions were saved. At three o'clock P. M. our line of march recommenced, which, as we had all our horses and cattle collected, must have exhibited a grand spectacle had there been any disposed to take a view of the whole. The army being obliged to proceed in Indian file, and the pack horses only, judged to be about two thousand in number, must have formed, according to the opinion of many of the officers, a line of at least six miles. This day we marched seven miles, and arriving about dusk at Quialutimunck, we pitched our tents for the night, contiguous to several fine springs on a considerably level spot surrounded by mountains and close by the river. Our course this day principally N. The road we marched over was exceedingly bad; we passed two places called the Narrows, previous to our reaching the first (which are one mile in length); a very great curiosity presented itself to view, viz., a cascade or falling spring. The water descended in great abundance and amazingly rapid down a rock, interspersed with chasms, about eighty feet high; the ear was agreeably stricken by the constant sound created by the descending water; the distance between the first and second Narrows is three miles, which are one and a half miles long. The riding was much better than at the first Narrows, which was very stony and in several places so sloping as to have rendered it unsafe to keep on horseback. The soil of this country in general is loose and rich, abounding

in trees of almost every kind, which, together with the high and thick brush, rendered our journeying rather tedious. In casting my eyes upon hills and mountains, some of which were imagined to be two, three and four hundred feet in height, my thoughts were agreeably led from nature's works to contemplate on nature's God. May it be my constant wish and aim to devote myself to the service of Him whose wisdom, power and goodness shine so conspicuous amidst all created objects. The fleet generally kept abreast of us, and our course being mostly on the water's edge, we had frequently the opportunity of exchanging words. They all arrived timely without any detriment at Quialutimunck. At Quialutimunck there was a few years ago an Indian town. The pasture ground at this encampment is very excellent, consisting of the highest Timothy grass I ever saw.

Monday, August 2d.—Orders were this day issued for a continuance on the present ground, by reason of many of the pack horses not arriving till this morning. Colonel Cilley's regiment being in the rear to protect and bring on everything, did not arrive till two hours after sunrise; he gave an account of his having had a very tedious night; several horses gave out, the packs kept continually giving way and a considerable number of flour kegs burst, and the flour was lost. These with other reasons induced the General to prevent a movement until to-morrow morning. This being the anniversary of my nativity, grant, O God, that as my moments fly apace, I may by the assistance of thy Holy Spirit double my diligence to make my calling and election sure.

Tuesday, August 3rd.—The light troops began their march at six o'clock in the morning, the main body at seven. The major part of the way we met with trifling difficulties; we had to encounter a few bad places, such as swamps, steep hills and thickets; however in comparison with Sunday's march, it deserves the appellation of excellent. On an exceedingly high spot we had the pleasure of viewing many adjacent mountains; in two or three places for a considerable way the woods were open, the earth in general fine, trees stately and of various sorts; among the rest are interspersed the sugar maple and birch. We crossed several beautiful purling streams or creeks, viz.: Buttermilk Run, Tunkhunnunk, and a few smaller ones. Buttermilk Run, about forty yards below where we crossed it, falls off a rock or rocks fifty feet in height, which goes by the name of Buttermilk Falls; so called on acount of the water in its rapid descent appearing as white as the whitest buttermilk. Tunkhannunk is a beautiful creek eight poles in breadth.

The place where we crossed it, about three-quarters of a mile from the Susquehannah, into which it empties, was very rapid. The path along which we came and on each side of it as far as we could see, wild grass had grown in abundance. Some places, owing to the herbage, emitted a most fragrant smell, and we frequently had the pleasure of viewing flowers of various hues. Hazelnuts were ripening for a long tract of country in amazing quantities, and beyond a doubt nature has been equally kind in causing these wilds to abound with other things delicious to the taste. Several deer were seen, both by the officers and men; one came running close by us; none dared to fire, it being contrary to orders. Two privates in the right column, having each shot a fawn were put under guard as it occasioned a small alarm, and might if not prevented be attended with bad consequences. The country all along abounds with snakes, particularly the rattlesnake and blacksnake. At two o'clock P. M., we arrived at Tunkhunnunk, and encamped on the banks of the Susquehannah, about a mile from where we crossed the creek of the same name. The fleet got up between the hours of three and four. This day we marched twelve miles, course N. N. W.

Wednesday, August 4th.—The light troops marched at five o'clock in the morning, and the main body at six. Soon after we set out we entered upon the third place since we left Wyoming called the Narrows, a mile and a half in length, a very bad, stony passage. These Narrows or defiles are on the west bounded by the river, which upon that account when the water is very high cannot well be travelled over. On the east they are bounded by exceedingly lofty and seemingly impassable mountains. Getting clear of this defile we had to rise a monstrous hill, very steep, with a narrow pathway, for in case a horse should miss his step he must fall at least one hundred and fifty feet; the spectacle was horrid. Having surmounted this difficulty we had the pleasure of marching through a good deal of open wood, though one or two disagreeable swamps opposed us in our passage; in fine, many of yesterday's observations are applicable to this. Eight miles from Tunkhunnunk is a delightful creek called Masshappen or Massappe, in breadth seven rods; we crossed it near its mouth. The wilderness thereabouts goes by its name. For two miles after we passed this creek we marched over a fine level tract, and then entered upon another defile not near so tedious as the former. Arriving at a place called Black Walnut Bottom, our tents were pitched for the night on the river bank. The main body encamped on a tract formerly improved by one Vanderlip; the light troops farther on, where one Williamson held a planta-

tion. A creek, viz., Machapendaarre, ran between the two encampments. Our march this day was thirteen miles. Our course in general, northwest. At the bottom of the steep hill was an excellent stream of water. On this, as well as on the preceding days, we had several flying reports concerning the enemy though no real discoveries were made. Towards evening our fisherman Hansell returned from his flanking manœuvre and introduced himself with a good string of fish, on which having refreshed ourselves we retired soldier like to our hard beds and devoted the night to invigorating sleep. "A contented mind and a good conscience will make a man happy in all conditions."

> "Hail universal Lord! be bounteous still
> To give us only good; and if the night
> Have gathered ought of evil or concealed
> Disperse it, as now light dispels the dark."

Thursday, August 5th.—By reason of the boats not arriving till late this morning the light troops did not march till half past eight o'clock, the main body their usual time after. We soon entered another defile or narrows three-quarters of a mile in length, bounded as the other defiles, though the mountains on the east appeared rather more perpendicular and lofty. Leaving the narrows we ascended a steep but short hill and travelled over a considerable open part of the country, the land in some places very indifferent, in others rich and fit for meadow. About two miles from Black Walnut Bottom, we crossed a small run or creek named Tuscaroge, took a particular view of the two places where the enemy last fall attacked Colonel Hartley's regiment on its return from Tioga. Both of them were as favorable for action as the regiment could have wished. We passed by a skull of one of our men who was then killed, hanging on a small tree. After we left this height, having marched over a low and swampy piece of ground we came to Wyalusing mountain. The ascent was gradual, at the top we had a pleasing view of the Susquehannah; its form is rather more than semi-circular, flowing around a large tract of wilderness called the Horse Shoe, which every one who sees it will confess to be rightly named.

From the top of the mountain the plains of Wyalusing settlement are also visible, the descent of the mountain is not nearly so gradual as the ascent. The mountain is two miles over; on reaching the foot we entered a thicket containing the largest trees my eyes ever beheld of the sycamore or button wood kind, being in circumference, take one with another, between twenty and thirty feet, and in diameter between nine and twelve feet.

Notwithstanding these trees, the bottom is called Sugar Bottom, on account of the Sugar Maple. Along this bottom there grows plenty of a root called sweet Sicily, of a similar taste with anise-seed and very useful. On the mountain and in the bottom we saw several spots where the Indians had encamped; fresh Indian tracks were discovered and one of their canoes was taken up by Mr. Lodge, also, by some of our soldiers, a raft with a pair of moccasons. An engagement was expected throughout the day, but granting that the enemy had a fair view of us, of which we had not the least doubt, they suffered us to pass unmolested, notwithstanding the many advantageous posts they might have occupied in annoying us. From the foot of the mountain to Wyalusing, the distance is one and a half miles. Wyalusing, which we reached in good season, consists of about one thousand acres of clear land amazingly fertile and containing beds of extraordinary fine English grass. Since the present contest the town, which was inhabited by Moravian Indians, has been partly destroyed by our people and partly by the Indians. It contains upwards of eighty good square log houses and a fine ornamented Moravian church in the centre with a bell. The minister resided in the town, there was also a tavern and other public buildings; all of which without exception were demolished or rafted down the Susquehannah. No sign of even the smallest hut was left standing. These Indians moved off with their families towards the Ohio. On this fine open plain, like a bed of down, the main army encamped The light troops marched a mile further on, contiguous to an excellent spring, the place abounding with good pasture and distant from the river about half a mile where we made our fires and took up our abode for the night. This day's march was nine miles, course north, 80° west, or northwest by west. Wyalusing plains are exactly fifty miles from Wyoming, agreeably to the actual survey of Mr. Lodge. The country hereabouts is excellent for hunting.

Friday, August 6th.—This day the army halted, a party of thirty men from the light corps with a commissioned officer were sent out on a scout and returned without making any discoveries. Towards evening I rode to headquarters, where information had been received of four hundred and fifty British troops from Canada having joined the Indians, also a great body of savages from that quarter having been implored so to do by Colonel Brant, a devoted servant of the man who bears the title of the "Defender of the Faith." May the Lord give him that faith which worketh by love. Visited Colonel Proctor on board the "Adventure," and felt happy in finding all the fleet safely arrived and moored along the shore of Wyalusing plains.

The evening rainy, which continued almost the whole night. Through the country the nights and mornings are generally foggy; when we were in Wyoming, and since we left it I scarcely remember seeing any clear sunshine until considerably late in the day.

Saturday, August 7th.—By reason of the rain the army continued at Wyalusing. We hear that Indians had been doing mischief on the west branch of the Susquehannah near Northumberland. Nothing new occurred among us except that one or two scouting parties were sent out who returned without making any discoveries. Wyalusing belonged to one Job Childeway an Indian, a friend of our cause. Indian Job died last winter. Many handsome things are spoken of him; which make his manners to be

"By strangers honored, and by strangers mourned."

Sunday, August 8th.—The light troops marched at five o'clock in the morning and the main body at six. We crossed Wyalusing creek, a fine stream, where it is eighty feet wide in batteaux. Having soon afterwards ascended a long and high mountain, which consisted of a good deal of miserable but some rich land, we found our march tolerably agreeably as the woods were not as thick as common. The descent of the mountain was very rough and steep. We then passed along a short defile, leaving which our course was for a considerable distance along the banks of the river through a gloomy thicket. Having waded through the creek and descended another steep place, we entered upon another defile rather longer and more tedious than the former one. After this we soon arrived at Standing Stone Flats, distant from Wyalusing ten miles. Here is plenty of good land, fit for meadow and for raising wheat and other grain. It was formerly settled by a few families, some of whom have since been so villainous as to join the savages. Just upon entering these flats, I saw the stone from which they take their name. It is upon the opposite shore, on the cap of the water with which it is usually surrounded. Its height is twenty feet. Its breadth fourteen feet. Its thickness two and a half feet. At the back of it is a large rock forming more than a semi-circle upon which it is supposed a considerable tenement might be erected. Passing then through another thicket, we came to a third defile, the worst narrow Passage, on account of stone and roughness, which we have met with since we left Wyoming. Surmounting this difficulty and passing over a tract of exceedingly fine bottom, we arrived at Weesauking or Rush Meadow Creek, a stream both narrow and shallow. Not far from this, on the banks of the Susque-

hannah, we encamped for the night. The ground was level and very good, but we could find no spring water. Distance to-day thirteen and a half miles, our course northwest. Captain Bush having gathered a few wild gooseberries, gave me one to taste; they are exactly similar to the tame kind. I plucked some wild pinks, and saw wild tulips, and also plenty of crab apples. Across the river, and upon an island, we had the pleasure of viewing a large flock of wild ducks; contrary to orders to fire, or we might have had an excellent supper. This country abounds also in turkeys, which, in their flight near us make us often wish for a repeal of the general orders. General Sullivan being ill, took passage on board the fleet, which arrived at Standing Stone Flat, where the main body of the army tarried during the night. On this day's march we saw one or two places where the savages had lately encamped, also an Indian paddle floating down the river, and a canoe lying on the beach. A scouting party which had gone forward many miles, returning informed us that they had seen three tracks of Indians, and a spot where they had lately set down. They were undoubtedly spying our progress though as yet we have met with no impediment from them.

Monday, August 9th.—The main army not reaching Weesauking till ten o'clock, A. M., the light troops did not leave it until one-quarter of an hour afterwards. Considering our advanced position, we were under some expectation of a visit from our tawney neighbors. However, we passed the night without being disturbed. Soon after we set out, we were a little obstructed by a swamp. Afterwards, as usual, our time was employed in rising and descending mountains; sometimes marching by the river, but mostly at a considerable distance from it. The land was without exception rich; but none of the timber, though of various kinds, by any means nigh as large as that which may be seen between Wyoming and Easton. Between four and five miles from Weesauking we came to a hill called Break-neck Hill. It is an exceeding narrow and side long path along a very high mountain, about a quarter of a mile long, with scarcely room for man and horse to walk in, and in case of a misstep nothing seemingly could preserve from instant death, as the fall must be at least one hundred and eighty feet perpendicular down rocks into the river. We got safe over this shocking passage. The army marched with orders to stop one mile ahead of the first plains of Shesecunnunk, opposite to which on the other shore had been an Indian settlement, consisting of a few houses. They were destroyed last fall by Colonel Hartley's detachment. Owing to the mistake of the guides or some other cause the first plains were

passed. It was then judged proper to proceed through the woods to the upper plains of Shesecunnunk, which we reached at five o'clock, P. M. Near these plains and on them, we plainly discovered many fresh tracks of the enemy; and we doubt not of their having been here but a short time before our arrival. March of the light troops to-day from Weesauking Upper Plains eleven miles. Our general course north by northwest. On this as well as on some of the preceding days, we saw several of the bows on which the Indians dry the scalps they take. Two or three canoes were taken up opposite our encamping ground. This day's march was very fatiguing and several of the men gave out. A good deal of the ground we passed over was covered with pea vines. May apples were also plenty.

Tuesday, August 10th.—Captain Gifford who commanded the detachment of the army on the west side of the river, gave us a little history of his march and observations, differing not much from that of the army on the east side. The fleet arrived between eight and nine o'clock this morning after a tedious passage from Weesauking. Yesterday about four o'clock, P. M., they burned an Indian town on the west bank of the river, and containing about twenty-eight wigwams. One of the boats was sunk on the passage; but a party being sent down for the purpose, saved all the flour but two barrels. By this day's general orders the quantum of rations was diminished; several reasons made manifest the propriety of this measure. General Sullivan, with the brigadiers, and a regiment from each brigade who went out to reconnoitre, returned without making discovery of any savages.

Wednesday, August 11th.—The light troops marched from upper Shesecunk at half past seven, the main body at eight o'clock, A. M. Proceeding about one mile and a half we arrived at a fording place on the Susquehannah, unknown to any of our guides, but found out on the preceding day by the general officers. The troops pursuant to orders, taking off their overalls and tying them about their necks, crossed in platoons under cover of the fleet, each soldier grasping the hand of his comrade next to him for support. The current being strong and the water for a considerable distance coming up to the middle of the men, some considerable difficulties were encountered, but notwithstanding every impediment the whole body got over without suffering any peculiar disadvantage General Hand in order to animate his brigade, dismounted and marched through on foot at the head of his soldiers. Such an army crossing a river with so much regularity at a place so rapid and in width three hundred and thirty yards,

affords the spectator a pleasing sight, and must have struck our enemies with awe. I must doubt whether the army of Alexander the Great encountered as many difficulties with as much good humor as ours has evinced. The river being forded we entered upon what is properly called the Indian country, or that part of the wilderness claimed by the six nations, the boundary on the west side is the Tawandee Creek, emptying into the Susquehannah, about three miles above Weesauking. The army being formed as usual we proceeded sometimes in single files, and then in double, through a thicket till we entered those beautiful plains where the Tioga branch unites itself with the main river. On this level spot stood Queen Esther's palace, burned by Colonel Hartley last fall. Over those plains the army marched towards the mouth of the Tioga, in order of battle, the light troops being joined by two three-pounders from the regiment of artillery. The view of this was grand beyond description, as the ground for a great circuit was level and the grass high and green. Drums were beating, fifes playing, colors flying. Getting to the mouth of the Tioga, we found it in width one hundred and forty-two yards, and the water much deeper than had been imagined. Verdant plains in our rear, the flowing Susquehannah on our right. Ourselves in the Tioga or Cayuga stream, with a fine neck of land in our front and mountains surrounding the whole, afforded pleasant reflections though separated from friends and in an enemy's country. Surely a soil like this is worth contending for. Possessing ourselves of the north side of the Tioga, and passing through a swampy piece of ground we entered upon other plains, pleasing to the eye, though not so grand as those on the south. Here the main body encamped; the light troops proceeded farther on, one column on the banks of the Susquehannah, and another on those of the Tioga banks. The land in general very fine. Having advanced a mile and better, our tents were pitched from river to river, judged to be two hundred yards. Just below our encampment we took a view of the Indians' carrying place, thirteen yards across, so called from their carrying or dragging their canoes from river to river to save themselves the trouble of paddling round the neck.

On the west side of the Tioga is a most beautiful tract of level and fine country, terminated by a mountain. On this tract an Indian town formerly stood; it was destroyed by themselves. This day we marched five miles, course due north. Saw Captain Jehoiakim, who with four men had come thus far forward the day before. He picked up one or two horses that had been left behind by the savages. Captain Jehoiakim's three Stockbridge Indians left us at Wyoming.

Thursday, August 12th.—Rode to the other encampment. The scouting party which went out the evening before with Captain Cummins, returned about three o'clock, P. M. The accounts brought by them of Chemung and the seeming security of the Indians there as well as of some white persons, together with their fields of corn, etc., induced the General after holding a council to determine to surprise the village if possible. Accordingly between nine and ten o'clock at night, the major part of the army marched with the utmost silence for the place with the Commander-in-Chief, his family consisting of Generals Poor, Hand and others. General Maxwell being unwell, tarried behind. To have been of the party myself was my fervent desire, but I could not petition for it to be granted, after being requested by General Hand to stay and take charge of our family baggage and stores, which, among such domestics as we are blessed with, was the necessary duty of some one. Captain Cummins's party brought in with them two fresh scalps lately taken by the Indians, the crowns of each only cut out. One, from the thinness of the skin, must have been an infant's. In this day's general orders appeared in substance the following: "As the army will soon be called upon to march against an enemy whose savage barbarity to our fellow citizens, has rendered them proper subjects of our resentment, the General assures them that though their number should even be equal, which he is sensible cannot be the case, yet it is his firm opinion they cannot withstand the bravery and discipline of the troops he has the honor to command. Nevertheless it ought to be remembered that they are a secret, desultory and rapid foe, seizing every advantage and availing thesmelves of every defeat on our part. Should we be so inattentive to our own safety as to give way before them, they become the most dangerous and most destructive enemy that can possibly be conceived. They follow the unhappy fugitives with all the cruel and unrelenting hate of prevailing cowards, and are not satisfied with slaughter until they have totally destroyed their opponents. It therefore becomes every officer and soldier to resolve never to fly before such an enemy, but determine either to conquer or perish, which will ever insure success. Should they thus determine and thus act, nothing but an uncommon frown of Providence can prevent us from obtaining that which will insure peace and security to our frontiers, and afford lasting honor to all concerned.

Friday, August 13th.—That part of our army which marched for Chemung the evening before returned at dusk. The particulars relative to this enterprise as collected from several friends, particularly Major Edwards, are as following: Owing

to many inconveniences attending a march by night in a wilderness, they did not arrive at Chemung till after daylight; nevertheless the morning being very foggy, favored their undertaking. Having surrounded the town, to their great sorrow they found it abandoned. Its situation was beautiful, being on the banks of the Tioga branch. The houses in general were good, some built of logs, others of hewed slabs, in numbers, upwards of thirty with a council house. The whole was immediately set fire to, and the place totally destroyed. The infantry then moved on towards another Indian village called Newtown, distant from Chemung seven or eight miles, in pursuit of the savages, who with their cattle were supposed to have taken that route. Proceeding about one mile, they came to the place where the savages had passed the night, but being apprized of our approach they made their escape, leaving behind their blankets, fires burning and dogs asleep by them. General Hand having by Major Edwards, requested General Sullivan to allow him to go on to Newtown, General Sullivan consented, provided General Hand would engage to return next morning to Tioga. General Hand then determined instantly to push forward. Captain Bush's infantry being on the right flank, and the advance party but a little in front, the light corps thus moving forward soon came to a very high hill or rather ridge, which ran along on their right. The Indians, who had fixed themselves there for the purpose, immediately discharged a very sharp volley upon our advanced party, which wounded Captain Franklin, their guide, Adjutant Hinton, and a few others, killed a sergeant and some privates. The 11th Pennsylvania regiment hereupon, in a moment, pushed up the hill with an astonishing rapidity. The savages as they were advancing gave them another well directed fire, but seeing the determined spirit of our troops, suddenly fled. The light corps pursued them some distance and were pushing for Newtown, but General Sullivan arriving, thought it best for them to return in order to destroy their fields of corn which were very fine indeed and supposed to be in the whole nearly a hundred acres. From the quantity of corn and potatoes stored there Chemung was judged to be designated for a magazine to supply their future wants. As General Poor's brigade were destroying an upper field they were fired upon by the Indians. He had one man killed and two or three more wounded. The whole business of laying waste their ground and burning their villages was completed before one o'clock, P. M., the detachment having marched, going and returning, above thirty miles. The 11th Pennsylvania regiment had six killed, viz., one sergeant, one drummer and four pri-

vates. Two officers badly wounded, viz., Captain Carberry and Adjutant Huston. Slightly wounded six privates. The main army had one man killed and a few wounded. The dead bodies were brought to camp on horses, and all the wounded got in safe. Several Indian curiosities were picked up by the soldiery and some of the officers, such as painted scalps, etc. Tarried for my own part in my quarters all day and felt very lonesome.

Saturday, August 14th.—Attended to the grave the bodies of the six killed of Hubley's regiment. They were all as decently as possible interred together. Pronounced a funeral oration and went to prayer; the regiment very solemn and attentive. The scene was exceedingly affecting. Informed by Mr. Kilpatrick of the enemy's leaving Northumberland county, after ruining all the settlements on the West Branch.

Sunday, August 15th.—The forenoon being very cloudy, this, together with parading the troops, and cooking, prevented preaching to the respective brigades. Early in the afternoon as a number of gentlemen were sitting with General Hand, we heard the discharge of several guns across the Tioga, and immediately afterwards the Indian scalp warhoop. Upon our repairing to the banks several savages were by different persons discovered retreating along the mountains, taking with them four or five horses. A detachment from the light troops in the upper and two Jersey regiments from the lower encampments went in pursuit of them. But agreeably to the old adage it was similar to looking for needles in a hay stack. Their foot steps were plainly seen but their persons were invisible. They killed and scalped one of our men, a lad employed as a driver; his body was brought over soon afterwards. One of our soldiers was wounded and a bullock was shot. The Indians are enemies fruitful in stratagem, secret in their designs, and capable of taking every advantage which the situation of the ground or our own inattention may give them. I forgot to mention the supposed loss of the enemy in the battle on Friday. A jacket of one of them was picked up bloody and shot through. Also a hat. One or two were seen to fall and afterwards to be carried off by the others. From these circumstances it is imagined that they had seven or eight killed and wounded.

Monday, August 16th.—This morning agreeably to orders of the 14th, nine hundred picked men, with a suitable number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers under the command of Generals Poor and Hand marched off the ground in order to proceed upon the main branch, to meet the troops and boats, which, under the command of General Clinton, were

to leave Lake Otsego, on the 9th instant The detachment took with it eight days' provisions. The light troops being much reduced by draughts from them upon account of this expedition, were by reason of our advanced and dangerous situation joined by two pieces of artillery from the park under the command of Captains Craig and Emes. Visited the sick and wounded in the general hospital. By this day's orders the soldiery were positively forbidden to go out of the lines of the encampment under any pretext whatever. A captain and fifty men were posted on the west side of the Cayuga, to guard the horses and cattle and secure the camp. The troops were forbidden to imitate the Indian whoop, as also to discharge their guns wantonly. A single gun is to be considered as an alarm. P. M.—An express arrived, also a person from Philadelphia. The person from Philadelphia, mentioned that Count d'Estaing had obtained a victory over the British fleet off the Island of St. Vincent's. By letter from General Clinton to General Sullivan, the latter was informed that the 16th of August (this day), he should leave Onohocassage, about sixty miles up the river from Tioga. The block houses, (which were directed to be built a little in the rear of the infantry encampment, for the security of the peninsula, and where a garrison with the flying hospital on the army's marching from this are to be left, are going on with a good deal of rapidity), were this evening called by the name of Fort Sullivan, out of respect to the illustrious character who with his army first took possession of this post on behalf of the United States.

Tuesday, August 17th.—Last night the light corps were several times alarmed by the sentries. Twice I got up. Small parties were sent out by Colonel Hubley to reconnoitre the environs of the camp, and returned each time with an account of the sentries mistaking either horses or some other moving objects for Indians. Two guns were discharged by the party on the west side of the Cayuga, and one by the advanced front guard of infantry. In the country of so lurking an enemy, we cannot but expect frequent mistakes of this kind. P. M.—Six soldiers of the German regiment having obtained leave to go a small distance to search for some of their missing horses, were, between two and three hundred yards from our advanced sentries, fired upon by about twelve secreted savages. They returned the fire; four got into camp safe. A party being sent out by Colonel Hubley, met one returning to the regiment shot through the arm and all the bones above his elbow shattered. I went immediately to see him, and found the poor fellow, though full of pain, very patient; the sixth was killed by three or four balls through the body and head, and scalped. His body

was found and brought in. He formerly lived in Fifth street, near Market street, Philadelphia. His name was Philip Helter, by trade a biscuit baker.

Wednesday, August 18th.—Very early this morning by reason of yesterday's occurrence, several small parties with certain directions were sent out different ways under enterprising officers to bring in if possible or kill some of the dastardly cruel lurking foe. Last night a sentry discharged his musket at an imaginary Indian which caused the infantry to appear under arms; got up myself, soon retired again to my tent and slept very sound till sunrise. At eleven o'clock, A. M., preached a sermon at our encampment in commemoration of the death of Captain Davis and Lieutenant Jones, vide observations of Thursday, July 29th. Present, General Sullivan and family; General Maxwell and family; the 11th Pennsylvania regiment, artillery; members of Lodge No. 19, with many other gentlemen of the army. A short time after sermon attended to the grave the body of Philip Helter, addressed the soldiery and went to prayer; the day being very sultry, was, after so much preaching a good deal overcome. The parties sent out in the morning returned without doing anything material. This night one gun was fired which occasioned a small alarm.

Thursday, August 19th.—Parties, as yesterday, sent out; returned towards evening in *eodem modo*. This night a musket discharged at some fancied enemy. Rainy all night.

Friday, August 20th.—Early this morning, arrived Lieutenant Boyd, of the rifle corps with a letter from General Clinton to General Sullivan. Lieutenant Boyd informs us that their army and our detachment met the day before at ten o'clock A. M., eight miles this side of Chenango. The same evening Owegy, an Indian village twenty miles from hence was by the army laid in ashes. Lieutenant Boyd left them at Owegy, eleven o'clock, P. M., they resolving to be here the next, viz., this day. However, the day being throughout very stormy, without doubt prevented their proceeding. Lieutenant Boyd spent the day with Major Sproat, and purposes tarrying with us till General Clinton gets in. General Clinton's troops had met with no opposition on their march, when Mr. Boyd came away. They burnt every house they came across, without exception, and destroyed all the corn and grain.

Saturday, August 21st.—No new occurrence.

Sunday, August 22nd.—This morning arrived General Clinton with his army and our detachment. The majority of General Clinton's troops came down in batteaux, in number, two hundred and seven, and they of the small kind; upon

their passing by the light corps encampment they were saluted by the discharge of thirteen rounds from two six pounders. As our detachment with Colonel William Butler s command marched through, they were received by the remaining part of General Hand's brigade under arms and welcomed by the band of music and drums and fifes, playing alternately. At twelve o'clock rode to the lower camp, and to my great satisfaction saw Mr. Gano; found him hearty and well. The provisions brought by General Clinton, did not as to quantity turn out so much as we expected, owing to their necessary consumption of the same at Lake Otsego, where they were obliged to continue idle about a month as we were unprepared to meet them sooner at Tioga. The consequences which must result may be easily supposed. The first grand design of the expedition must in a great measure prevail (fail). No preaching to-day by reason of the troops arriving and preparations making for speedy departure. With General Clinton came only two of the Oneidas.

Monday, August 23rd, A. M.—Visited the sick and wounded. Dined at home, Colonel Butler and other gentlemen being with us. P. M., spent with Dr. Gano at General Clinton's Marquee. About five o'clock in General Poor's brigade, a soldier flashing his gun, it went off, and at a considerable distance shot an officer, as he was standing at a tent door; he instantly expired; upon calling to look at the body, was informed that he was a married man, his wife and five children residing in New Hampshire; a sad misfortune. By this day's orders the 4th Pennsylvania regiment and Rifle Corps are annexed to General Hand's brigade. Two hundred and fifty men properly officered, exclusive of boatmen to be left as a garrison at this place, Colonel Shreve appointed to command. Myself ordered to officiate as chaplain to the garrison at Wyoming. This is in consequence of the dispersed state of the 3rd Pennsylvania brigade and the majority of those who are together, being attached to the light corps, whose duty, after they leave Tioga, will be such as to render my presence unnecessary, as no opportunity for preaching can possibly occur. These considerations caused me to comply without much hesitation.

Tuesday, August 24th.—This day nothing material occurred except the universal hurry throughout the whole in preparing for a march. Accordingly, P. M., tents were struck, horses loaded, and every movement necessary for the new movement took place. Owing to the numbers of the pack horses being lost or otherwise missing, General Clinton's brigade was poorly supplied.

Wednesday, August 25th.—The troops which were this fore-

noon to march agreeably to yesterday's directions, were by reason of their not being properly equipped, ordered to hold themselves in perfect readiness to proceed at all events. At eleven o'clock arrived three Oneidas, one a Lieutenant commissioned by Congress; upon their advancing to the infantry encampment a sentry presented his firelock; the Oneidas clubbed theirs and ventured in by making signs of good faith. Upon their marching through the several brigades many officers and soldiers, laboring under the same belief with the sentry, particularly as they were escorted by a guard, gathered around them; they informed us that one of their young warriors was lately killed in Canada, by the British, and that a number of their tribe had since gone to revenge his death. P. M.—Heavy rain. In the evening an express arrived; intelligence by him received that Colonel Broadhead, from Fort Pitt, had marched with a number of troops and friendly Indians with an intention of forming a junction with General Sullivan, near Genesee. He also brought several newspapers, which announced the victory obtained by the French fleet over the British off Grenada, and that Island, together with Tobago, was in possession of our allies.

Thursday, August 26th.—Early this morning rode to the lower encampment; they appeared in great hurry and confusion; soon returned to my quarters. Late in the forenoon the whole, exclusive of the garrison, marched. Many articles went up the Tioga in boats; as they set out under great and divers inconveniences, their return must be so sudden as will in all probability prevent effecting much. Twenty-seven days provisions only, Artillery passing through an uncultivated country, etc. However ardent my wishes are, yet my fears more than counterbalance. The Rifle and Light Corps moving off with the sound of the horn, appeared highly pleasing, the main body following in their rear about one mile, added a peculiar grace. Would to God they were better supplied. Captain Bush, Dr. Kinnersley and myself erected our living abode within the lines of Fort Sullivan, proposing to spend our time as comfortably as possible together, until some of the boats set off for Wyoming. The command of the garrison being committed to so vigilant and worthy an officer as Colonel Shreve, affords much confidence and good humor in all those who are to continue with him, although their sufferings may be great and duty must be hard. Captain Wool has charge of the two garrison six pounders. Colonel Dubois and Lieutenant Colonel Reignier commanded the flanking division on the right of the army. Colonel Ogden and Lieutenant-Colonel Willett, that on the left.

Friday, August 27th.—The Army yesterday moved but three miles; marched again this morning about seven o'clock. The great parade and regularity which is observed, must unavoidably in the end, letting alone all other obstacles, greatly defeat the purpose of the expedition, considering the coyness and subtility of the Indians. The garrison at Fort Sullivan is very short of provisions, the salted beef much tainted. Divers cattle which since our arrival at this post have strayed away, were this day discovered by a scouting party sent out by the commandant. The party could bring none in, as they were apparently as wild as deer. The past night very cold, this morning, till late, exceedingly foggy; and from about eleven o'clock, A. M., till four P. M., very sultry.

Saturday, August 28th.—A party which was directed to search after strayed horses and cattle, early this morning drove into the fort twenty-four of the latter. A great blessing indeed, as there are in the garrison about twelve hundred souls, men, women and children included, and previous to the twenty-four cattle being drove in, but five were left and those but poor. About dusk, sixty boats, most of them having many of the garrison on board, set off for Wyoming for provisions and other necessaries; took passage myself with Captain Bush, on board the "Adventure," where were fixed as conveniently as circumstances would permit Captain Carberry and Adjutant Huston, who owing to their wounds and much pain were exceedingly uneasy; spent a very disagreeable night, as I had to sit or stand in a cramped posture.

Draught of Part of Schohara, Part of the West Branch of Delaware & Part of Susquehana Rivers, With Col. William Butlers Line of March from Schoharg to Unundilla Tunahunta & Ononaughaguga Indian Towns from the 2d to the 16th Day of October 1778

Referance to the Draught Going to Ononaughguga	Returning from Ononaughguga to
A Fort Defiance from thence to	I Tunahunta first Days March to
B Henry Mattises first Days March to	F Scotch Settelment Second Do to
C Isaac Sawyers Second Do to	K Encampment in the woods third Do to
D Wills Mill third Do to	L Lost Encampment fourth Do to
E Encampment in the woods fourth Do to	C Isaac Sawers fifth Do to
F Scotch Settelment fifth Do to	B Henry Mattises Sixth Do to
G Encampment by Tent Creek Sixth Do to	A Fort Defiance Seventh Do
H Ononaughguga town Seventh Do	

N B Schoharg is taken from Actual Survay the others only from sight & Information the Double Dotted Lines are waggon Roads & the Single Lines paths

LETTER

OF

CAPTAIN WILLIAM GRAY,

OF THE

FOURTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT,

With a Map of the Sullivan Expedition.

[The letter of Captain William Gray, accompanying a draft of the line of Colonel William Butler's march, October 2d to 16th, 1778, in the possession of the New York Historical Society, is given in the Records of the Sullivan Expedition, published by the State of New York.]

CAPT. WILLIAM GRAY'S LETTER.

SCHOHARA OCT 28th 1778

SR.

I Recd yours of the 20th Inst & understand the Contents & have Accordingly Sent you a Draught of Part of Schoara, Part of the west Branch of Delaware & Part of Susquehana which is all that I Can Collect. I shewed your Leter to Col Butler who has Promised to Let me Have Leave & men to Asist me to Survay the Roads you mentioned If possible, which I Doubt not but it will. If so I shall write to you as soon as I begin I had Neither pencil or Indian Ink to shade the Hills which are Very Numerous as there is nothing Else after you Quite the waggon Road, till you Can Reach Unendilla the Road or path from thence Ononaughquaga is much Better as it gos all the way along the River.

As to my finding out the Varyation at this place I imagine that it will be very Difficult as sun is not to be scene for at least one hour after he Rises & an hour before he sets However I will try my Best

I shall now give you an Acct. of our March & Expedition to the Indian towns as well as I Can. We Marched from Fort Defiance on friday 2d ult with a Party of men Consisting of the 4th Pennsy., a Regt. Part of the Rifel Chore & some Malitia in Number about 260—Officers Included. along the Line you see Marked on the Draught, without anything worthy Notice till we Came to Unendilla which we found Evacuated, from thence we Marched Down the River Susquehana for Ononaughquaga the Chief Indian town where we thought to Start a Party of Savages & torys By Surprise, but we Happened Unluckily to be Discovered by Some Scouting Savages who made the best of their way & as they knew the path Better than we Did & had Got the start So far we Could not Come up with them though our Scouting Party traveled all Night, to no purpose, we Got to Ononaughquaga on Thursday the 8th Ult. About 10 oClock at Night which we found Evacuated Also in the Greatest Disorder Every thing Seemed as if the had fled in the Greates Haste. Next Morning we set the town (which Consisted of About 30 or forty good Houses in) in flames Destroying therein

Great Quantitys of Household Furniture & Indian Corn; After the Burning of the town two men of our party went out to Sarch for some Horses that were Lost, & not minding to take their Arms with them were fired on from a thicket by some Lurking Indians who wounded one of them (that is Since Dead of the wound) on which Col. Butler ordered Capt Parr with a party of Rifel Men to Go in Sarch of them but they Could not Come up with them though they Marched five or six miles Down the River Seting fier to a very Large Indian Council house in their Return. the same Day About 2. o. Clock we marched from Ononaughquaga up the River too auother Town Called Cunahunta (burning Some Indian Houses & Corn on the Road) from thence we Marched Next morning Early Leaving it in flames, but that Night & the Day Raining so terrably that it Rendred Every small Run both Difficualt & Dangerous in Crossing but when we Came to the River below Unendilla (as Pr Draught) it was Dreadful to see so Large a stream to the Mens Breasts & very Rappid & Rising at the Rate of one Inch P Minet, but by the Pressing Desire of the men to Get over & the Deligence of the officers with their owne & the Pack Horses they were all Got over Safe which if we had been but one houre Longer we Could not have Crossed & God only knows what would have been the Dreadfull Consequences

We Marched that Evening up the East side of the River as far as the Scotch Settlement burning all as we went along that Could be of any use to the Enimy. We Could not March thence on Sunday by Reason of the Great Rains on Munday we Marched burning some Tory Houses before we Set out & Encamped in the wood that Night. Marched Early Next Morning but when we Came to Delaware we Could not Cross it but was obliged to March up the N. W. Side of the River & the Pilot not Knowing the Road & Night Coming on we Lost our Road about five or six miles & had to March over two very Large Hills Before we Could Get to the River again However the Party Got Home on Saterday the 16th. Ult in Good spirits After a march of Near 300 Miles in Such Terrable Weather Almost bairfooted & Naked, we suffered a good Deal for want of Bread as we had not any of that very usefull Articles for four Days. you Doubtles May see a more Particular Acct of this at Head Quarters but I have Endeavored to Give it as True as I Could. Present My Best Compliments to Capt Scull & the Rest of the Party & Let them See this. &

I am Sr. your

very Hul. Servt.

WM. GRAY

P. S. If you see Col. Stewart Shew him this my Compliments to him & I Desire that he may Leave My Accts. weth you as I hope to see you My self soon

To

ROBERT ERSKINE
Head Quarters

faverd by
ye
Revd Dr Jones On public Service

JOURNAL

OF

LIEUT. WILLIAM McDOWELL,

OF THE

FIRST PENN'A REGIMENT,

In the Southern Campaign.

1781-1782.

[The following journal of Lieut. William McDowell, of the First Penn'a Regiment of the Line, copied from the original in possession of John McDowell Davidson, Esq., of Delavan, Illinois, is of more than ordinary interest and value, as it furnishes many facts concerning the Southern campaign, not given by other diaries of the Revolution.]

LIEUT. McDOWELL'S JOURNAL.

Yorktown [Penn'a] 26th May, 1781.—This day we left York at 9 o'clock in the morning with about Eight Hundred Effective men under the command of Gen. Wayne - and encamped 11 miles on the road to Frederick Town.

27th.—The Gen'l beat at sun rise and took the line of march and halted near Peter Little's Town; it being 14 miles.

28th.—The troops took up the line of march at sun rise. Marched through Tawney Town & halted near Pipe Creek; being about 14 miles.

29th.—The troops took up the line of march at 3 o'clock in the morning, & encamped on the N. W. Side of Manochacy; 15 miles.

30th.—This day continued on the ground, the soldiers washed themselves & scoured up their arms & accoutrements. At 7 o'clock they were reviewed by Gen'l Wayne.

31st.—Took up the line of march at sun rise, passed through Frederick Town, Maryland, where there were a number of British Officers prisoners of war who took a view of us as we passed through the Town. We made a very respectable appearance. We crossed the Potomack at Nowland's Ferry, were obliged to cross in bad boats, one unfortunately sunk loaded with artillery & a few men in which one sergeant and three men of our Reg't were drownded.—Encamped on this side of the river, a number of us dined at the Tavern, or Ordinary, as the Virginians call it, the night proved bad & we could not pitch our tents. 18 miles.

June 1st.—Continued on our ground until 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Moved 5 miles towards Leesburg.

2nd.—Continued on the ground until evening, it being very wet and disagreeable.

3rd.—Took up the line of march at 10 o'clock A. M. passed through Leesburgh which is but a very small Town and not built regular. We encamped at Goose Creek; being 15 miles.

4th.—Marched at six o'clock in the morning, had orders from Gen'l Wayne to leave our heavy baggage at this place, Mr. Coxe's Mills,& the sick of the Line under the care of a Surgeon; marched through a low country, roads being very bad in consequence of the rains we had a few days before, & encamped at the Red House. 10 miles, Prince William County.

5th.—A wet morning. Cleared up about 10 o'clock A. M. Marched at one o'clock P. M., proceeded 12 miles toward Rapahanock, where we lay out without any kind of shelter. 12 miles.

6th.—Marched at 6 o'clock A. M. 9 miles, Farquar County.

7th.—Continued on our ground in consequence of a heavy rain.

8th.—Took up the line of march at sun rise, reached the North Branch of Rapahanock at 10 o'clock, the Troops waded the river and proceeded 25 miles. Culpeper County.

9th.—Took up the line of march at six o'clock A. M., crossed the South Branch of Rapahanock and proceeded 5 miles into the country—the country very poor & buildings very small. 14 miles.

10th.—Took up the line of march at 5 o'clock in the morning & joined the Marquises's Troops this day and passed a body of Militia of Virginia about 1800 men. We had a very severe march of 23 miles this day. Orange County.

11th.—Marched at 4 o'clock and encamped at 10 A. M.; 10 miles.

12th —Took up the line of march at 6 o'clock A. M. Marched through a thicket of Pine woods, nothing but a foot path through which we got with great difficulty, especially our Artillery. At last we arrived at the main road leading to Fredericksburgh which I long looked for, and encamped 5 miles from where we entered the road. Louisa County, 14 miles.

13th.—Continued on this ground in order to refresh ourselves which we had great need of.

14th.—Took up the line of march at 5 A. M. Marched through poor country the water being very scarce; this day see a number of negroes the greatest part of them being naked. 12 miles.

15th.—Took up the line of march at sun rise, a great scarcity of water this day & a very fatiguing march. Refreshed ourselves in an orchard with Col. Robinson, the Marquis, & Genl Wayne, took a bite with us. 14 miles, Hanover County.

16th.—Took up the line of march at Day brake, made a short day's march of six miles, being much fatigued. This day built a fine brush Hutt; 6 miles.

17th.—Took up the line of march at 3 o'clock in the morning. Marched through the best country we have seen in this State and encamped at Dandridge's, being 20 miles.

18th.—A very fine morning. This day the enemy advanced on us. Our tents were struck. All the Continental Troops marched in order to surprise a party of Tarleton's Horse. We continued the march till daylight, but on our arrival found they had gone some hours. 13 miles.

19th.—Lay on our arms till 1 o'clock. Retired into the country 4 miles where we lay destitute of refreshments, bedding or covering. 4 miles. Henrico County.

20th.—Marched at 6 o'clock; three miles, and were reviewed by the Gen'l. Lay on our arms all night. 3 miles.

21st.—Arrived at Col. Simm's Mills. Marched at 12 o'clock A. M.; 8 miles, and lay at Burrell's Ordinary, destitute of every necessary of life. 8 miles.

22nd.—Marched at 2 o'lock through a well inhabited country, though I can give no acc't of the people as I have not been in the inside a house but one or two Ordinarys. They sometimes come to the roadside in order to take a view of us as we pass the road, but a person can scarcely discern any part of their face, but their nose and eyes, as they have themselves muffled with linnen in order to prevent the sun from burning their fair faces. I mean the female sex. At the same time they will have a number of blacks all naked around them, nothing to cover their nakedness. This day we passed through Richmond twenty four hours after the enemy evacuated it, a number of horses being destroyed by them, they also destroyed a quantity of tobacco which they threw into the street and set on fire. The town is built close on James River under a bank. We encamped two miles on the South side of the town, about 6 o'clock P. M. 20 miles.

23d.—Took up the line of march at 2 o'clock in the morning, halted at 8 for refreshment, where we had an alarm; our light horse brought intelligence the enemy was within one mile of us, the army immediately formed for action. A universal joy prevailed, that certain success was before us; we lay on our arms 10 hours, hourly waiting for action. Our intelligence on the whole march was exceeding bad—But to our mortification, turned out a false alarm. At 6 we moved our position for conveniency of encampment. A very heavy rain came on at 12 o-'clock at night. 15 miles.

24th.—Continued on this ground in order to dry our clothes which had got wet the night before, and the men to furbish their arms, &c. This day one of our soldiers belonging to the 4th Penn'a Regt was taken deserting to the enemy. At 3 o'clock, P. M., he was tried and sentenced to be shot, which punishment was inflicted on him at retreat beat. At the same time we received orders to strike our tents, which we did and march at dark in order to surprise Tarleton's Horse, but as he always has good intelligence, retired. 12 miles, [Charles] City County.

25th.—Lay by this day, at day brake took up our line of march in order to overtake Col. Jones's Horse who had the

rear guard with a great number of cattle, plundering, as he was making his way to Jamestown. Left one negro man with the small pox laying on the road side in order to prevent the Virginia Militia from pursuing them, which the enemy frequently did; left numbers in that condition starving and helpless. 12 miles.

26th.—At six o'clock in the morning we were informed that a covering party of horse were but a small distance before us—Gen'l Wayne immediately ordered the front Platoons of each Battalion to turn out immediately which orders being complied with being four Platoons & Major McPherson's party of legionary Horse, we pursued them for 5 or 6 miles in full speed, at last we came within a short distance of them. Maj'r Hamilton had the command of a party of infantry from our line, about forty. Capt. Ogden's company of Jersey Troops were ordered to mount behind them same number of Dragoons, and pursued them and soon overtook them. We had a skirmish with their Horse and Infantry in whch we took a number of their Horse and Cattle & killed 40 of their Infantry; our loss was very inconsiderable—Maj'r McPherson's horse threw him in the field of action, but fortunately made his escape. I expected they would attack our small party of infantry which was posted on a small eminence to cover our light Dragoons.

27th.—This day we lay at Bird's Ordinary.

28th.—Made some movements for advantage of ground.

29th.—Manuvered considerable in consequence of bad intelligence.

30th.—Greatly fatigued, Lay by the greatest part of this day. Our tents came to us this evening.

1st. July.—Marched at day brake, 8 miles, to York River, for the troops to wash and refresh themselves, where Doctor Downing of the 6th Regt Penn'a., was unfortunately drowned. That evening we struck tents at dark and marched to our former ground, 8 miles.

2d.—Marched down to Bird's Ordinary: returned again that night to our old ground. 8 miles.

3d.—Marched at sunrise to Mr. Old Fields; manouvers retrogate and many. The troops almost worn out. Very hot weather.

4th.—A wet morning. Cleared up at 10 o'clock. This day we had a Fude of Joy in celebration of our Independance. After that Gen'l Wayne performed some new manouvers, in which we fired. Had the thanks of the Marquis. The Fude of Joy was with a running fire from right to left of the army.

5th.—Took up the line of march at one o'clock, on our way to Williamsburgh, which I longed much to see. Proceded as

far as Chickahominy church, where we lay on our arms till sunrise.—6 miles.

6th.—At sun rise we took up the line of march for James Town, at which place the enemy lay encamped. The first battalion of our line were detached with a small party of riflemen, which brought on a scattering fire in front, & on the flank of our battallion, that continued for two or three hours with the Yagers. Our battallion was then ordered to form collum and advance, when we had intelligence of the 2d and 3d battallions, with one of the Infantry, hove in sight of us, we then display'd to right and left, the third battallion on our right and the 2d on our left, being then formed brought on a general action; our advance was regular, and at a charge till we came within 80 yards of the whole army, they being regularly formed standing at one yard's distance from each other, their light Infantry being in front of our battallion. We advanced under a very heavy fire of grape shot at which distance we opened our musquetry, but being overpowered were obliged to retreat with precipitation, and in bad order for at least one mile, where we formed and retired in good order. Happy for us, the enemy did not press us at this critical moment, or our troops would have unevitably been cut off. We retired to Chickahominy Church about 8 miles where a number of the officers' wounds were dressed, and all the privates who were wounded,—it being at this time about 10 o'clock at night.

A list of the wounded officers of our Line—Capt. Crosby, Artillery.

Officers of Infantry. Capt Doyle, 6th Penna. Regt. Capt Van Lear 9th Penn'a Regt. Capt Finney, 6th Penn'a Regt. Capt Stake, 1st Penna Regt. Capt M'Clellan, 1st Penna Regt Capt Montgomery, 7th Penn'a Regt. Lieut. Herbert, 6th Do. taken prisoner. Lieut. Piercy, 2d Penn'a Regt. Lieut Feltman, 1st Penn'a Regt. Lieut White, 1st Penn'a Regt. The number of killed, wounded, taken prisoners—Sergts, rank and file, being 97.

7th.—We remained on our ground at Chickahominy Church untill the wounded were dressed and sent off to the Hospitable.

8th.—The enemy came out about four miles, we lay on our arms ready for their approach, but they retired.

9th.—Continued on the same ground for refreshment.

10th.—Marched at 2 o'clock P. M., to Holt's Iron Works, 4 miles.

11th.—I received orders from Genl Wayne to proceed to Hanover Court House with a party of men, and four wagons to press spirits for the army. I went about twenty miles that

evening to a gentleman's house, who was exceeding kind and treated me well. 20 miles.

12th.—The next day proceeded on my journey, and arrived at the Court House about 10 o'clock at night, but to my mortification there was no spirits there. Remained that night there. 20 miles.

13th.—The next day the gentleman of the house set out with me in quest of the spirits; went 9 miles where we got one wagon load, left the wagon and a guard with orders to meet me at the Court House, and proceeded on with the other three, went about 9 miles furder, where we remained all night. 18 miles.

14th.—I collected enough to load the three and proceeded towards camp, when I came to the Court House the Gen'l had sent an express informing me the army had marched and would meet me at Richmond. Night coming on, I remained with a poor man who was exceeding kind. 30 miles.

15th.—I proceeded to meet the army with all expedition possible, came to Richmond about 12 o'clock. While I was refreshing myself, Lieut. Campbell came to town and informed that the army was about 14 miles from there, that an Incorporation had taken place and that himself and me with some more was to go home. This gave me fresh spirits, and we took the other bottle of wine on the news of leaving the Ancient Dominion, which few of us were fond of. Proceeded on to the army, waited on Gen'l Wayne who thanked me for my vigilance, and ordered me to deliver the spirits to the Commissary, and take his receipt for the same, which was 708 gallons. 28 miles.

16th.—This day was employed in crossing the James River, and taking leave of our brother officers who were to remain with the army. I then steered for Penn'a once more, and arrived in Little York the first of August, during which time I took no account of the occurrences which happened, although many worth notice. However when we arrived here a report was that Cornwallis intended to visit Baltimore. Gen'l Irvine would not let any of us go home until the certainty was known. After this ordered a court martial to sit in Carlisle, Col'l Wm. Butler to preside. The Court met agreeable to orders and tryd thirteen prisoners in thirteen hours. The whole of the members of the Court dined with the Gen'l that day the court adjourned, the next day with Col. Butler; then Maj'r Moore and I set out for Conogig where we spent two weeks very agreeable.

Then went to Little York where we were a week, then received orders from Gen., St Clair to repair to Philadelphia, where we lay some time at the 100 Acres.

Oct. 4th, 1781.—Philadelphia.—We were ordered on board of

vessels to carry us to Cristeen Bridge; went on board and dropt down the river a small distance, and dropt ancre, then went on shore and spent the evening very agreeably in town, then went on board.

5th.—Then hoisted sail; this night was something stormy, waves ran high, our small vessel tossed about, and I took sick.

6th.—This morning we hove in sight of the mouth of Cristeen Creek, the wind falling, with difficulty got within two miles of the Bridge.

7th.—Landed and marched to the Bridge where our waggons were ready to carry our baggage to the Head of Elk that day. 12 miles.

8th.—Remained this day for Craft to carry us to Baltimore.

9th.—Being disapointed remained this day.

10th.—Our disappointment continued.

11th.—About 2 o'clock went on board and dropt down the Creek.

12th.—Hoisted sail, the winds contrary and the channel difficult, were obliged to cast ancre at dark.

13th.—This morning the wind appeared to favour us for some time, but a storm arose which separated our small Fleet, we were obliged to put into harbour, and had near been lost. Some were drove almost on shore, & some no acc't of for three weeks. After this storm we had a fair wind and arrived at Baltimore.

14th.—Remained in Baltimore this day.

15th.—Hoisted sail about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, a storm arose when opposite Black Point; were obliged to cast ancre.

16th.—A fair and pleasant Breeze, & made great way.

17th.—The wind not so fair; this day one of our soldiers died which we cast overboard. At night came to ancre, lest we should go foul of the French Fleet.

18th.—Came in sight of some of the fleet run up to York.

19th.—We landed at 12 o'clock. At one o'clock this day Maj'r Hamilton with a detachment marched into town and took possession of the Batteries, and hoisted the American Flag—The British Army marched out and grounded their arms in front of our Line. Our whole army drew up for them to march through. The French Army on their right and the Americans on their left. The British Prisoners appeared to be much in liquor. After they grounded their arms, they returned to town again.

20th.—This day the Prisoners remained in town. I took a walk to see the town and works which were something strong. Their officers appeared a good deal cast down on the occation.

HEAD QUARTERS NEAR YORK, October 20th, 1781.

The General congratulates the Army upon the glorious event of yesterday. The generous proofs which his most Christian Majesty has given of his attachment to the cause of America must force conviction in the minds of the most deceived among the enemy, relatively to the Decisive good consequences of the Alliance, and inspire every citizen of these States with sentiments of the most unalterable gratitude;—His Fleet the most numerous and powerful that ever appeared in these seas, commanded by an Admiral whose fortune and talents ensure great events;—An army of the most admirable composition, both in officers and men, are the pledge of his friendship to the United States, and their co-operation has secured us the present signal success.

The General upon this occasion intreats his Excellency, Count De Rochambeau to accept of his most grateful acknowledgements for his counsels and assistance at all times. He presents his warmest thanks to the Generals, Baron De Viominel, Chevalier Chastellux, Marques De St Simons & Count De Viominel and to Brigadier Gen'l De Choisey (who had a separate command;) for the illustrious manner in which they have advanced the interest of the common cause. He requests the Count De Rochambeau will be pleased to communicate to the army under his immediate command the high sense he entertains of the distinguished merits of the officers & soldiers of every Corps, and that he will present in his name to the Regiments of Agenores and Deauxpoints the pieces of Brass Ordnance captured by them, as a testimony of their gallantry in storming the enemy's Redoubts on the night of the 14th instant, when officers and men so universally vied with each other in the exercise of every soldierly virtue.

The General's thanks to each individual of merit would comprehend the whole army; but he thinks himself bound, however, by affection, Duty and Gratitude to express his obligations to Major Generals Lincoln, La Fayette and Steuben, for their dispositions in the trenches.

To Gen'l Duportail and Col. Carney, for the vigour and knowledge which were conspicuous in their conduct of the attacks; & to Genl. Knox, and Col. Aberville for their great care, attention, and fatigue, in bringing forward the artillery and stores, and for their judicious and spirited management of them in the Paralells, he requests the gentlemen above mentioned to Communicate his thanks to the officers and soldiers of their respective commands.

Ingratitude, which the General hopes never to be guilty of,

would be conspicuous in him, was he to omit thanking, in the warmest terms, His Excellency Governor Nelson, for the aid he has derived from him and from the Militia under his command, to whose activity, emulation and courage, such applause is due. The greatness of the acquisition will be an ample compensation for the hardships and hazards which they encountered with so much patriotism and firmness.

In order to diffuse the great joy through every breast, the General orders those men belonging to the army who may now be in confinement, shall be pardoned, released and join their respective Corps.

Divine service is to be performed in the several Brigades or Divisions. The Commander in Chief earnestly recommends it that the troops not on duty should universally attend with that seriousness of deportment and gratitude of heart which the recognition of such reiterated and astonishing interposition of Providence demands of us.

21st.—This afternoon the prisoners marched out of town, under the care of three divisions of Militia. We had orders to hold ourselves in readiness to march at the shortest notice.

22nd.—This day His Excellency ordered that every officer in the American Army which was here, to receive £20 worth of clothing out of the stores, the Dollar at 6 shilling.

23d.—Remained here, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, & 30th 31st, Nov. 1st, 2nd.

3d. Nov.—My boy deserted with one of the soldiers and stole two jackets and two pair of britches from me.

4th Nov.—This day I had partys searching for them but could not find them.

5th.—This day our line marched and the Maryland regiment, past Cheese Cake Church and Burrell's Mills, and encamped within half a mile of said mill. 10 miles.

6th.—This day the troops took up the line of march at sun rise, and encamped near Bird's Ordinary. 19 miles.

7th.—Marched this morning at daylight, and encamped at Kent Court House. 14 miles.

8th.—Took up the line of march at sun rise and passed Savage's Farm, and encamped within half a mile of Bottom's Bridge. 16 miles.

9th.—Took up the line of march at daylight, and encamped on the heights at Richmond. 14 miles.

10th.—This day the Maryland regiment crossed James River.

11th.—This day the Artillery crossed, it being very rainy and disagreeable.

12th.—This day the Q. M. Gen'l & Military stores crossed.

13th.—This morning one of the Penn'a Battalions crossed with their baggage.

14th.—This day the last of the troops and baggage crossed, and encamped one mile on this side of the river.

15th.—This day the troops took up the line of march at 10 o'clock and encamped near Osburn's ware Houses. 15 miles.

16th.—Marched at daylight, passed Ware Church, and encamped near Appamatuck River. 10 miles.

17th.—This morning Capt. Marshall and I crossed the Appimatuck to Petersburgh before the troops, to provide stores for the mess, which we did, viz. 60 lb sugar, 2 lb tea, 30 lbs coffee, 2 lbs pepper, 6 lb chocolate, and sundry other articles before the troops were all over. A wet day. 1 mile.

18th.—This day we remained on our ground for the troops to wash.

19th.—Took up the line of march at sunrise: were joined by Col. White with about 200 horse, one half in front, the other in rear of the troops. Passed Dunwiddy Court House and Stony Creek; encamped half a mile over the bridge. 19 miles.

20th.—Took up the line of march at sunrise;—(a very heavy frost); crossed Notoway River, Levis Joanse's Bridge, and encamped on L. Joanse's Farm, Brunswick County. 14 miles.

21st.—Marched this morning at sunrise, and crossed two small bridges. Encamped on Erl Edmison's farm, being 15 miles. Yesterday morning Ensign Beaty and Capt. Mentzer of the Maryland line fought a duel, the latter was shot through the head and died immediately & was buried on the ground they fought on.

22nd.—The troops took up the line of march at sunrise. Crossed Mayherrin Creek on a bad bridge, and encamped near Mitchell's Ordinary, Mechlingburg County. 16 miles.

23d.—Took up the line of march at sunrise, passed through a very bad country. Encamped at Henry Miller's, on Sir Payton Skipper's farms. 12 miles.

24th.—Took up the line of march at sunrise; by the left crossed Allen Creek, which was within half a mile of the ground we left this morning. At about 11 o'clock A. M., arrived at the Rowenoak River, our troops immediately crossed with their baggage. N. B. This was at Taylor's Ferry. 10 miles.

25th.—A very rainy and disagreeable day. This place abounds with deer and wild turkey & ——.

26th.—A very clear sunshiny day; we employ it in drying our cloaths which had got wet the day before.

27th.—This morning I went out to hunt, but killed nothing but one squirrel.

28th.—Last night, and this morning it rained very hard, which prevented us from marching this day.

29th.—Took up the line of march at sunrise passed through a fine level country. Roads very sloppy; marched 10 miles into N. Carolina, and encamped near Williams Borrough. This town is composed with a Church, one Tavern, one Smith Shop, and six small log houses. 10 miles.

30th.—This morning Lieut. Reeves was left on command with the sick. The troops took up the line of march at the usual time and encamped at Harrisburgh, which is two Elligant Buildings and some warehouses. Granwell County. 12 miles.

1st December.—Took up the line of march, it being exceeding bad marching in consequence of the last night's rain. Passed through a fine country and encamped at Genl Person's a very large farm. He holds eighty-five thousand acres of land in one tract, and with all this possession he has not the comforts of life, lives very poor and it is reported that his mother while alive was obliged to lay on a bed of straw on acc't of his contracted hart. 13 miles.

2nd.—The troops took up the line of march this morning at sunrise, passed through a fine wood country. Roads very bad in consequence of the last night's rain. Encamped near Pain's Ordinary. Kaswell County. 16 miles.

3rd.—Marched this morning at sunrise. Passed Kaswell Court House, very hilly and sloppy. This evening I went on guard. 10 miles.

4th.—This morning marched at sunrise; the country very hilly, crossed Hill & County line Creek. This day there came on a heavy snow which lasted during the day. Capt. Bartholomew of the 5th Regt Penn'a unfortunately got his leg broke by a fall of his horse. 18 miles.

5th.—This day we lay still to give our soldiers rest, and wait for the waggons which fell behind on acc't of the bad roads which the snow had made.

6th.—We remained on the same, as some of the waggons were still behind. The snow still continued to cover the face of the earth.

7th.--Took up the line of march at sunrise. This morning we left our heavy baggage under command of Maj'r Moore who was to come on as he could; we were obliged to ford the Haw River the cold and the snow laying on the ground. Encamped on the bank of said river. 16 miles.

The number of miles which I travel'd whilst I kept this book is 1384.

Guilford County, Decr 8th 1781.

This morning at daylight the troops took up the line of march. Passed through a very fine country for land—(no pine)--and encamped at Guilford Court House. 20 miles.

N. B.—This was the ground that the action was fought, between General Greene and Lord Cornwallace; there was a number of buts of muskets laying on the ground which the enemy had broke.

9th.—This day we remained on the ground in expectation of getting cloathes wash'd but the weather turned out to be very wet and disagreeable. This place is called the Irish Settlement.

10th.—We received orders to remain this morning to wash our cloaths. This day very windy and disagreeably cold.

11th.—This morning the troops took up the line of march. Passed through a very fine country, settled by Quakers, who have tolerably good plantations, and crossed two branches of Deep Creek, and encamped near Barney Idle's. 15 miles.

12th.—The troops took up the line of march this morning at the usual time, passed through a country settled by Germans, who have very good plantations, and a small quantity of meadow, which is seldom to be seen in this part of the country.—Some pines this day.—Left Moravian Town, eight miles on our right. Encamped on a hill near Mr. M'Cray's in Roan County. 16 Miles.

13th.—This morning at sunrise the troops took up the line of march, passed through a fine country, crossed the Yadkin River in boats. The baggage forded the river, and encamped a mile on this side. 13 miles.

14th.—The troops took up the line of march at sunrise, passed through Salsbury, which is a fine little town, two or three elligant houses, and encamped within a half a mile of the town. Here I met with Christian Stake who was going to Penn'a. I employed this evening in writing letters by firelight for fear of missing the opportunity. 7 miles.

15th.—The troops took up the line of march at sunrise, passed through a very fine country for land. Encamped at Mr. Taylor's, Roan County. 12 miles.

16th.—Marched at the usual time. Crossed Caddle Creek, & Mr. Fifer's Ordinary; passed through a very fine country & encamped at Rocky Run, Mecklenburgh County, 14 miles. N. B. Within half a mile of our encampment there was an Indian Town of about eighty in number. Their principal town is some distance; these are Cutapis & they hold fifteen miles square of a very fine country; no pines here.

17th.—This day remained on the ground in consequence of a heavy rain.

18th.—This morning a great frost. The troops took up the line of march at the usual time. Crossed Mullet Creek, marched through Charlotte Town and encamped within half a mile of the town. There are but three tolerable houses in this town & about a dozen of small ordinary buildings. 13 miles.

19th.—The troops took up the line of march at the usual hour & crossed M'Coppen's Creek and several other small runs, & encamped this side of Clem's Branch; we see very few houses this day. 15 miles.

20th.—The troops took up the line of march at the usual time; passed through a fine level country, and encamped at Twelve Mile Creek,—Indian land—now in South Carolina, Camden District.—This creek being very high occasioned by a remarkable heavy rain which fell yesterday, we were obliged to fall trees for the troops to cross on. 10 miles.

21st.—The troops took up the line of march at 12 o'clock, A. M. Crossed the Twelve Mile Creek and passed through a fine country and encamped at Waxaw Creek. At this place were seventeen British officers on parole. A warm day. 7 miles.

22nd.—This morning at daylight the troops took up the line of march. Crossed Waxaw Creek, Cane Creek, Camp Creek, Gill's Creek & Bear Creek and encamped on the south side of s'd Creek, Maj'r Barkley's farm. Camden District, 10 miles.

23rd.—This morning took up the line of march at sunrise, passed through a piney and what they call a black jack country. A fine level road. See a number of waggons destroyed, and a number of buts of muskets, and encamped one mile on the south side of the Flat Rock. This is the ground where a number of our soldiers were cut to pieces by Tarlton on the retreat of Gen'l Gates. Marched through a great part of the long leaf't pine. N. B. This place called the Flat Rock, is about three acres of a rock flat & solid. Camden District, 20 miles.

24th.—The troops took up the line of march at the usual time.—This day very disagreeable marching. Rainy and very sloppy. Encamped within two miles of Camden, on the ground where Gen'l Greene had almost experienced a surprise. 16 miles.

25th.—A very dull Christmas indeed; had nothing to make us comfortable. We remained on this ground, being much fatigued and cloaths all dirty.—A warm day.

26th.—The troops took up the line of march at sunrise, marched through Camden, a small town and destroyed by the enemy.—They had it fortified, and was one of their capital posts.—Crossed the Wateree, a middling large river, about two

miles on the south side of Camden, & encamped in a pine woods & some black jack. 5 miles.

27th.—This morning took up the line of march at sunrise, passed through a very disagreeable pine swamp, about two miles long & half leg deep, with water & mud. Encamped near one Mr. Reynold's, lately from Penn'a—a tenant of Col. Carshaws.—10 miles.

28th.—Took up the line of march at sunrise, very level road.—All long leaft pine.—This day had a very fatiguing march, being very warm;—see three or four good houses.—Encamped within a half a mile of Congaree River. 23 miles.

29th.—This morning at sunrise we crossed the Congaree River, & encamped on the south side of Col. Thompson's, a gentleman who lives in great affluance. 5 miles.

30th.—This morning at sunrise the troops took up the line of march and encamped in a German settlement. These like the greater part of this country, all Torys.—A very warm day.—Orangeburgh District, 13 miles.

31st.—The troops marched at the usual time; passed through a German settlement; crossed a number of swamps. Passed Orangeburgh Town; this place the enemy burnt except one house & the Gaol.—There are a number of horse and foot doing duty in this place to keep the Torys in order. 13 miles.

1st January 1782.—The troops took up the line of march this morning at sunrise. We were obliged to cross a number of very disagreeable swamps; no bridges could be made, and we were obliged to wade them knee deep.—Any quantity of pine this day, our encampment surrounded with swamps.—20 miles.

2nd.—Took up the line of march at the usual time; passed through a low swampy piny country for about seventeen miles. Encamped within three miles of the Edisto River. 15 miles.

3d.—Took up the line of march at nine o'clock. Crossed the Edisto River on two elligant saw mills, each of them had four saws, & as they saw the boards they raft them down the river to Charlestown. The river runs very rapid.—This whole day's march was exceedingly disagreeable, on account of swamps, our artillery and waggons could scarcely go along.—This day we met the Virginians returning home whose times were expired.—10 miles.

4th.—A very heavy dew and fogg. The troops took up the line of march at the usual time.—Nothing but one continual swamp.—Joined Gen'l Greene's army this morning at eleven o'clock.—Encamped in the woods at Round O. 5 miles.

5th.—An exceeding heavy dew; then cleared away, and was very warm, so warm that I could not bare my coat.

6th.—The water here is very bad no springs—nothing but ponds and swamps. This obliged us to sink wells.

7th.—Capt'n Kirkwood informed me he was going to Penn'a-I employed this day in writing home to my friends.

8th.—The weather still continued warm, I remained close in camp. Now our living was entirely on poor beef and rice.

9th.—This morning our brigade took up the line of march at eight o'clock, the roads exceeding good and straight. See a number of elligant houses, a small distance from the road and fine avenews leading to them, and large rice plantations. Marched through Jacksonsburgh, a small town, two or three tolerable good houses. Encamped within a quarter of a mile of s'd place. 13 miles.

10th.—This morning I mounted the Governor's Guard.—Being an entire stranger, and no person to introduce me to him or family, I was neglected by him at dinner time, but Mr. Foshaw an inhabitant of the place invited me to dine with him, which I did. In the evening about sunset, Governor Rutledge sent for me and appologised for the neglect. I spent the afternoon very agreeably, drinking wine and smoking segars.

11th.—This day I employ'd, after I was relieved, in fixing my tent & digging a well.—This morning at the Governor's table I eat bread made of rice, which was the first I ever eat, it was made thin like buckwheat cakes, some in round balls and fry'd in a pan with some fat.

12th.—This morning received orders to hold ourselves in readiness to march at the shortest notice. In the evening we struck our tents, and loaded our baggage. Crossed the Paw Paw River; marched all night, and in the morning one hour before daylight, we arrived within half a mile of Stono Ferry, Col. Lawrence's Infantry in front of us, who were to surprise a party of the enemy on John's Island, about four hundred foot & sixty horse. Our plan fell through;—Daylight appearing, and a number of the infantry could not get over the marsh. This was very hard to cross, as it was near middle deep of mud, and the tide making fast, some of them stuck fast untill they were assisted. Those who got over were up to their shoulders in water on their return. Our Brigade was to support the infantry. 22 miles.

13th.—As soon as daylight appeared, the infantry & our brigade retired about one mile and a half from Stono Ferry, & lay upon our arms all day. The weather now cold and disagreeable, and no tents or baggage. In the evening the other part of the army joined us.

14th.—This day we built a brush hutt to shelter us from the cold. About eleven o'clock two of our six pounders were or-

dered to the publick landing, about one mile from Stono, to drive a Row Galley of the enemys away, which lay in a narrow pass to prevent our troops to go on the Island. They fired a dozen of shots, three of which struck her, but the metal was too light to do her much harm. They evacuated the Island. A party of our troops at low water went on it and got some small articles which they in their hurry could not take off.

15th.—This day's orders—no officer or soldier to leave camp on any account. We were informed the enemy were out in force this day; in consequence of which we were marched two miles towards Charlestown, and returned a little of the way towards the Borrough. 8 miles.

16th.—This morning the whole army, took up the line of march at sunrise, and encamped in the woods near Mr. Frazer's Farm, about four miles from the Borrough. Continues cold. 10 miles.

17th.—This day I got a horse and went to the baggage to get a clean shirt. Dined with Col. Craig, who was there lame, and returned to our camp in the pine woods.

18th.—I took a walk out of the camp with a gun to kill some wild ducks which were verry plenty; but rain came on, I returned to camp without any.

19th.—Gen'l Greene was down reconoitring the enemy; went within one mile of Charlestown with a small party of horse. The enemy fired cannon exceeding hard for some time, but to no purpose.

20th.—This day Governor Burk of North Carolina arrived to headquarters who made his escape from James' Island; was paroled there.—The field officers of the army were called together to inquire into his conduct, whether he was justifiable or no—what they did was kept a secret.

21st.—This morning verry cool; remained still in this situation, without our baggage.

22nd.—This morning a large white frost. Took a walk about four miles into the country, and see Negroes working in a Rice Mill.

23d.—Remained close in camp, smoking over a pine fire. Our baggage came to us this evening.

25th.—This morning we took up the line of march, and encamped about one mile from our former ground.—Just when we had our tents pitcht, orders came for our battalion to march immediately for Jacksonburgh, to guard the governor and Assembly which was sitting there. We got there about dark, pitcht our tents. Here our battalion remained on this duty until the seventh day of March, when we were ordered to join the main army as the Assembly was done sitting. Whilst

we were here, a difference happened between Governor Matthews who was appointed while we remained on this duty, and the officers of our Battalion. The difference was this, after the Assembly was done sitting they made a Dinner in the House they sat in, and this was the House the officer of the Guard remained in. The Dinner was ready, all the Assembly & the Governor sat down, and no attention paid to the officers who was in the house with them, altho on duty.—The officer could take it in no other light than an insult; and as such we all resented it. After this we had invitations from the Governor to come to eat with him, but none would go near him. I was so unfortunate as to be left on this guard when the Battalion marched; was sent for to make the matter up; I refused and would not go. Two days after I had to wait on the Governor to know how the guard was to be supply'd with provisions; the matter was then talked over, and all satisfaction necessary. I then went to his table as formerly, the officer was L't Thornberry.—This is all remarkable that happened from the 24th of January 1782 until the 8th of March 1782.

9th March 1782.—Whilst at dinner with the Governor the Relief came to me. I was relieved and joined the main army. 5 miles.

10th.—Remained on the ground this day, and visited the officers of my acquaintance.

11th.—Busy about settling the Incorporation which was to take place.

12th.—The Incorporation took place. I wrote home by Capt. Wilkins. The officers who went home were Col Craig, Major Alexander, Capt Wilkins, Doct Magaw, Capt Claypoole, Capt Seely, L't Ball, L't Stricker, L't Thornberry, L't Gilgrece, L't Dickson.

13th.—Employed in coppying a Journal.

14th.—Do Do.

15th.—About 3 o clock I was warned for guard; the troops were to manouver this afternoon, I was on the parade; whilst I was there a detachment was ordered out. I was the first for command. Major Moore commanded the detachment. We marched at sunset, through mud and water, twelve miles, to Mr. M'Quen's. 12 miles.

16th.—Joined Col. Lawrence about one mile from Bacon's Bridge. At eight o'clock at night, marched back to said bridge. 8 miles.

17th.—At half past four in the morning, took up the line of march; the Legionary Infantry in front, the two companys of Delaware next & our detachment, the cavalry composed of Col. Washington's and Lee's in our rear; Passed through Dorches-

ter, a small town irregularly built, consisting of one church and about a dozen of houses, the church and other houses destroyed by the enemy whilst they kept garrison there. Passed over two bridges; between these was an old British fort on a commanding sight. Went down within six miles of the centre house, where the main army of the British lay; took post at a meeting house; lay there for sometime, then returned back as far as the widow Izard's a lady of the first fortune & taste in these parts. This lady for the honor of St. Patrick gave the soldiers a gill of spirits. We then returned to Bacon Bridge. 12 miles.

18th.—Removed to new ground and built an elegant hutt; my feet hurt so much with my boots, that I could not walk.

19th.—Remained here this day. I borrowed a pair of slippers from Major Moore to walk about in, as I was destitute of baggage save what I had on me.

20th.—Still continued on the ground.

21st.—This day expected the enemy.—Maj'r Moore and three or four us paid a visit to Mr Izard one of the delegates of Congress from this state, and supt there this night.

22d.—Still continued on this ground, without anything to eat but rice; on this we have lived for three days, except last night's supper.

23d.—Remained in this situation until eight o'clock in the evening, when Maj'r Moore, Capt. Patterson Capt. Marshall, L't Moore and myself, was sitting down to our usual dish, a large plate of rice and a little salt, when Col Lawrence and Mr. Izard came to us. We invited them to patake of our repast. They expressed a sorrow for our situation; they went home, Mr. Izard sent us a quarter of vennison and a flitch of bacon, which afforded all the officers of our detachment a supper. We then went to bed.

24th.—The remains of Mr. Izard's present afforded us all a breakfast, and no expectation of any more.

25th.—We were ordered to march, although hungry; & to add to our misfortune came on a verry heavy rain, which wet us sufficiently. We marched to Dorchester and got into the empty houses.—We all dined with Col. Lawrence, and got plenty of wine and grogg. 3 miles.

26th.—We quartered in an eligant house, but our landlady was in Charlestown, and no appearance of anything, to eat.

27th.—Continued in this situation.

28th—We got a little beef and rice and a little grogg this day.

29th.—A remarkable change of weather. Snowed verry fast for some time, then cleared up cold.

30th.—Still continued cold. Received orders to march, to

join the army at headquarters. These orders were countermanded, we marched a quite different route at three o'clock in the afternoon. Continued our march untill eleven o'clock, when we halted and made fires to warm ourselves and dry our feet, and give the cavalry time to cross the river. We then took up the line of march and crossed the Strawberry River; by this time daylight appeared. A remarkable frost. St. John's Parish, 20 miles.

31st.—Remained here until one o'clock to draw and cook provisions. Whilst we remained here Doct'r Botton, an inhabitant, invited all the officers of the detachment to dine with him. We cheerfully accepted of the invitation. Dined upon an excellent wild turkey, and had plenty of wine & grogg. The Doct'r begged that if ever we came the road again, we would let him know a few hours before, and he would provide for us. We then marched to Goose creek Bridge, & lay in the woods. 9 miles.

April 1st, 1782.—The weather still continued verry cold. Marched at eight o'clock to Mr. Thomas's Farm, an eligant situation, where Maj'r Moore had some dinner provided. We all took a bite and a drink of grogg. 8 miles.

2nd.—Marched at eight o'clock in the morning, and crossed Gairing's Bridge, & Wapatoo Bridge, where grows a large quantity of Cabbige Trees; made a short halt, then took up the line of march to Hadril's Point on the N. East side of Charlestown, where it was supposed the enemy were out. After dark, intelligence came to us the enemy were returned. We then faced to the right about, and crossed Wapatoo Bridge, where we lay under an old tree. 24 miles.

3d.—Took up the line of march at eight o'clock; crossed Gairing's Bridge, took the lower road next Charlestown, it being something nearer; made a short halt, then an express came from Gen'l Greene for us to return immediately, lest we should be cut off before assistance could be given. We then made a D march to a branch of Cooper River; crossed at Bonneau's Ferry, then took up the line of march and came to Strawberry River, where our old friend the Doctor had a supper provided for us. We supt with him, and then crossed the river. After we crossed some of the soldiers began to plunder the negroes; one of the Legion Infantry fired & shot one of the soldiers of our regiment. 20 miles.

4th.—Marched at eight o'clock, and made a halt. We were ordered not to let the soldiers cook, we were to march immediately. Here we lay in the woods without anything to eat or drink, and would not be allowed to cook. In this situation we remained untill four o'clock, when Col. Lawrence had din'd

and fill'd himself with wine. We then took up the line of march and came to Bacon's Bridge, where we lay all night without anything to shelter us from the dew. It was so late we could not provide anything for our comfort,—so much for Col. Lawrence's wild goose chase. N. B. Ever since the 15th of March I never slept a night with my cloaths of. 22 miles.

5th.—Buried the soldier who was wounded on the night of the third instant. Remained here this day.

6th.—Received orders for Maj'r Moore's detachment to join the army at head quarters. Joined about three o'clock. Dined with Maj'r Moore. 4 miles.

7th & 8th.—Employ'd in coppying my journal. Whilst I was on this detachment a difference happened between Gen'l Greene and some of our officers about a Capt. detachment which was ordered out, but in which the Capt. was allowed to choose the subaltrens who was to go with him on this duty. Lieut. Marshall was the officer whose tower it was for command, and was warned; after he went to the Grand Parade, Captain Wilmot, made choice of another. This appeared to be a reflection on the officer who was warned; he would not leave the Parade until he see an order from the Gen'l for this irregular manner of proceeding; which was presented to him. He then came home, his feelings injured much, whereuppon the majority of the officers of our line wrote him [General Greene] the following letter:—

Camp, March 28th, 1782.

Sir;

When the subjects of a State conceive their rights infring'd on, they readily suppose it arrises from some mistake in the Executive part of the Government; or that the Governor means to adopt a mode of governing altogether new, and what the subjects have hitherto been unacquainted with; to determine which it is natural for the good subjects as men who have a sense of subordination knowing it to be the basis on which the privileges and happiness of the people so much depend, and more particularly in an army to inquire, and modestly ask an explanation.

In the situation of injured subjects, do the Captains and Subaltrens of the Penn'a line review themselves when they reflect on the circumstances attending the formation of Capt. Wilmot's detachment.

We do therefore beg the Gen'l will inform us whether it was his intention that Capt. Wilmot's command should be formed on the principals it was, or whether by mistake. Should it prove the latter, we shall be happy and have not a doubt but

that Gen'l Greene's sense of equity and honour will lead him to do justice to the feelings of a body of injured officers.

For the purpose of better explaining the points wherein we conceive ourselves agrieved, we inclose a coppy of the order.

We have the honour to be with respect, your obedient and verry humble servants.

Gen'l Greene's Answer.

Head Quarters, 29th March, 1782.

Gentlemen:

The constitution of our army and that of civil government are uppon different principals, the object of one so different from the other, that what might be essential to military operations in the formation of an army, would be found too simple for the various interests and different claims under civil government. The business of an army is to cover the country and anoy the enemy, that of civil government to protect and secure the rights of individuals;—therefore to argue from analogy of the rights of men under those different governments, is confounding things that have no relation, and reasoning upon principals that never can be admitted in an army. It is necessary both to the success of an army that the movements should be simple and secret. If the constitution of an army is not uppon this principal, it can answer the designs of Government; and to form an army uppon any plan which must defeat the great object of it, will burthen the community with a great expence without utillity. I am always as tender of the feelings of officers as possible, but if they go into refinements and urge injuries, which have no foundation but from improper modes of reasoning, I cannot sacrifice the public good and the reputation of the army at large, to accomodate military operations to their way of thinking. You are to consider yourselves as officers of the Continental Army, bound by its laws and governed by military maxims. You are under military not civil government. If you feel any injury it must be as officers of the line of the army and not those of any particular State. But if you will give yourselves the trouble to read military authors, and consider the practice of other armies, and reflect without prejudise uppon the nature and design of detachments, you cannot but be convinced your greavances are imaginary. When detachments are made, it is for some particular purpose, to make it, therefore, in a manner, not perfectly calculated to answer the design, would both sacrifice the publick good & by degrees the reputation of the army. There are more things to be taken into consideration in making a detachment, than merely the military abilities of the officer

commanding, or his rank in the Line of the army;—there is a knowledge of the country, the people and other local circumstances which are verry material considerations to be attended to, to give success to an enterprise. A man of an inferior capacity, with a knowledge of those things would be able to execute a command much better with these than a man of superior capacity without them. I have ever made it a rule and I find it well warranted by the best military writers, as well from the reason & nature of the thing, to detach such men and officers as I may think requisite for the service to be performed.

Nothing short of this can give success to an enterprize. I hope, therefore, you will consider this explanation satisfactory. You may be assured I have the strongest disposition to oblige & do justice to the merit & service of every officer, but must confine myself to such maxims of military government as are necessary to do justice to the publick and the army at large.

I am, Gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant,

NATHL. GREENE.

Answer to Gen'l Greene's letter.

Camp, 3d April, 1782.

Sir:

That civil and military governments differ, we grant. But that they are both constituted on principles of Justice is a circumstance in itself too evident to admit of a doubt.—Therefore to quote civil government, & deduce from thence that a subject tho' not of the State we had a right to ask redress of grievances and not deemed unreasonable,—for that military subjects have not a claim to Justice altho' the government is supposed to hold it in its verry principals is a matter that we have never yet been acquainted with.—From what circumstances the Gen'l judges when he supposes us to have taken up the matter as officers of the army, and not of the Continental Army, we are at a loss to know;—And can only answer that it is not in our power to account for the feelings and ideas of any body but ourselves. But offer to explain why it should affect us particularly, as there was an officer of our line sent by regular detail with the detachment to the Grand Parade, and was dismissed from thence by Captain Wilmot who produced an order vesting him [Captain Wilmot] with power to approve of or reject such officer as he might think proper.—If theGen'l will reflect a moment on the circumstances, he must naturally conclude, (unless he supposes us void of every delicate sensation) that we have cause of a complaint. We conclude with observing that altho' the answer to our address was not so sat-

isfactory as we could have expected we are induced from the peculiar situation of the army, and our zeal for the publick good, to decline any further steps on the occasion.

———

9th April 1782.—This day a scarcity of provisions in camp. This was a Field Day with the enemy, a regular discharge of cannon and small arms about ten o'clock, which continued until twelve.

10th.—Cloudy and windy, and threatens rain. In the evening a verry heavy rain, which almost drownded us in our tent.

11th.—Still continued wet and disagreeably cold for the season.

12th.—This morning cleared up cold.

13th.—A verry heavy dew, and cold. This morning at nine o'clock the army fired blank cartridges; the first was a discharge of four pieces of artillery, then the small arms by platoons from right to left, then four pieces of artillery; the next fire was by divisions from right to left of the line, then four pieces of artillery, then by a battalion from right to left. The north Carolinians and Marylanders made verry bad fire; it resembled a running fire more than anything I can compare it to.—Our troops fired exceeding well it was all like one gun.

14th April 1782.—This day a small party of the enemy's cavalry came to Dorchester and took Lieut. Carrington prisoner, one of Col Lee's officers, who was reconoitring. This night, the soldiers slept with their cloaths on, & lay on their arms.

15th.—Employ'd in manouvering the troops.—This day Gen'l St. Clair, Capt'n Keen, Capt'n Jackson went from camp for Penn'a.

16th.—This morning Capt'n Orendaff, of the Maryland Line, solicited a command to go on the British lines and obtain'd it.

Gen'l Greene moved his quarters to the house where Gen'l St. Clair had quarters. Verry fine weather.

17th.—The weather still continues pleasant and warm.

18th.—This day we drew up a remonstrance to send to the Assembly of Penn'a in behalf of the officers and soldiers of that Line, setting forth the fraudulent manner in which we were settled with, and one-third of our Depreciation paid in bills scarce worth one-sixth of their nominal value, and in many instances not one-eighth. This was signed by all the Field & other officers of the line, and sent to Philadelphia.

19th.—This morning four of the soldiers of our Battalion deserted with their arms, & took a quantity of ammunition, and two from a detachment which was on the lines, and some from the Maryland Line and North Carolina, in all nine, and went to the enemy.

20th.—A great uneasiness with the Maryland Line, in regard of Certificates, which their State wanted to give them for the depreciation of their pay; they would by no means take them. This morning a party of the enemies cavalry came to our advance picquet guard, the guard fired on them, they went back again, one of their men deserted with his horse & accutriments. This afternoon an officer and 24 men deserted from James' Island with their arms and accutriments, and came to our camp; these were refugees, what the people in this part of the country call scofes. A number of sergts. confined on suspision of raising a mutiny.

21st.—This day a party of the enemys Black Cavalry came to Dorchester, a party of our horse fell in with them and made a charge & killed their black Captain and wounded some of their men; one of ours was killed, and one wounded, and some a missing.—This day I was on guard in a swamp, amongst owles and musquetoes.

22nd.—This afternoon, at three o'clock, Sergt Goznel was executed for encouraging and offering to head the mutaniers, & six other sergts. of our Line was sent to Penna as they were suspected to be in the plot, but no proof could be made against them. Yesterday Lieut Feltman of our Regt & Lieut Cunningham of the 3d resigned.

23d.—This morning Lieut. Feltman and L't. Cunningham went from camp, for Penn'a. I wrote a letter to my Father by Capt. Campbell. This day the Court Marshall sat to try the rest of the mutaniers.

24th.—This morning Gen'l Greene came very early to camp and informed us the enemy were out. We made the men fall in, examined their arms and amunition, then stacked arms on the parade; after some time we had orders to strike tents and load the baggage. In this situation we remained until three o'clock, when we had orders to pitch them again.

25th April.—This morning I went on the right flank, Picquet Guard, where there was no shelter for me in case of rain, which it threatened much. I built a good shade and covered it with bark. This day we got a milk cow, with a calf, for our mess, which was better than the poor beef and rice.

26th.—This day still threatens rain.

27th.—This morning I went a fishing in the Ashley River, but caught nothing.

28th.—This day continued warm and cloudy.—In the evening came a heavy thunder shower and continued raining the greater part of the night.

29th.—This morning somewhat wet; cleared up about twelve o'clock, & soon clouded up again. Now something cool to what it was.

30th.—This morning something wet. I mounted guard; it cleared up about 10 o'clock, & about 2 there came on a heavy thunder shower which wet me sufficiently; then clear'd up and had a pleasant night.

1st May 1782.—This evening, something extraordinary for this army, the officers drew a quart of rum, & the soldiers a gill, to celibrate the American S t. May poles were erected

2nd.—This day we were reinforced by a party of Militia from this State, Horse, and Infantry, consisting of about six hundred, and encampd on our right flank.

3d.—This morning one of Capt Boude's men deserted. This afternoon four Hessian deserters came to us.

4th.—This morning one of Capt Steel's company deserted, one of the eighteen months' men which was drafted to our regiment. This morning I went on guard.

5th.—This morning six of the second Batalion deserted—A lamentable circumstance indeed that desertion is like to continue in our army;—but what can we expect in their situation, without cloaths and pay for two years. Every person must allow there is still virtue in the army when we have any left. This evening two of the British deserted to our army—and confirmed the report of eight hundred troops sailing for some of the Islands.

6th.—This day I dined with Col. Mentges, where Gen'l Gist and all the field officers were there.

7th.—This morning I went on general fatigue to build a house for the provost, after all the prisoners had run away. This afternoon the North Carolina Brigade manoevered with blank cartridges and fired amazingly bad.

8th.—This morning we moved our tents a little in front to change our ground and make the camp clean.

9th.—This day one of our soldiers which deserted some time ago deserted back again, with a new suit of cloaths.

10th.—A very heavy rain with thunder and wind, which began at one o'clock at night and continued until twelve o'clock this day. In the midst of this rain I mounted the Governor's Guard, which was five miles from camp, & was very wet when I got there. I lived exceeding well.

11th.—This afternoon there was orders for a command to be in readiness to march the next morning at sunrise; the command consisted of one Major, three capt'ns & 100 men.

12th.—The command marchd at sunrise, & joined Col Lawrence and his detachment. This evening at ten o'clock, the whole returned to camp with 5 prisoners which they took near the Quarter House.

13th.—This morning I employ'd in making a bowery to keep the scorching heat of the sun from my tent.

14th. May.—This morning five British deserters came to us.

15th.—This morning I went on Gen'l Greene's Guard. Whilst on this guard I received two letters, one from Mr. King, dated Jan'y 21st, 1782. The other from my brother Alexa'r, dated 24th Jan'y, 1782.

16th.—This afternoon I employ'd in writing to Mr. King and brother Alex'r, but was disappointed, the person who was to carry them went two days before his trist with me.

17th.—This evening a small party of the enemy came to our advance picquet and fired on the sentry.

18th.—This morning so cool that it was disagreeable to us; numbers of the officers wore their great coats.

19th.—This day continued cool and cloudy.

20th.—This morning I mounted the advance guard of the army which was at Bacon Bridge. In the morning two flags went down to the enemies lines. About two o'clock Cap'n Skully, aid to Genl Lestly, came to my guard with a flag; was desirous to see Gen'l Greene. I had to send to the Field Officer of the Day & from that to the Gen'l, as he informed me his business was of consequence to both armys. While he remained with me, we had a good deal of conversation. He hop'd that matters were on a fare footing for peace; he hop'd that we would soon have the pleasure of drinking a glass of wine and taking each other by the hand in peacable terms. He then asked me to take a drink of porter with him, after this I indulg'd him to go to Mr. Izard's to refresh himself untill the Gen'l would come. Immediately after there came a second flag, a young lady & her brother to see some of their friends. I detained this one also. About sunset the Gen'l came, and remained at my out sentinal, with Capt'n Skully, untill eight o'clock at night; then dismissed the flag.

21st.—Fine agreeable weather. I had to go to manoever this afternoon, notwithstanding I came off guard.

22nd.—This morning I had to sit on Court Marshall, to try a soldier which denied his enlistment.

23d.—Capt'n Davis & I received a note from Gen'l Greene to dine with him this day, which we answered.

24th.—This day I mounted the Advance Guard, and received one flag.

25th.—I employ'd this day in writing letters, one to Mr. King, one to brother John, & one to brother Alex'r,—and enclosed them in a few lines to Mr. Pattk Allison. The afternoon in opening a comp'y book. This day ends the year since I began to keep a Journal.—I now sum up the number of miles

which I traveled during this time, which is 1891 miles, exclusive of a marching about camp, on guards, and from them.

26th.—This evening came orders for a Lieut., Sergt., Corp'l, and fourteen men to parade on the Grand parade the next morning at sunrise.

27th.—This morning I was ordered for this command, and had not fifteen minutes to prepare for it. This command was to go to the Congaree River to guard cloathing to the army, for the Torys was verry troublesome. I went to Mr. Summers and dined with him, 8 miles; then went on and remained with a poor widow that night in the midst of the Tory settlement. 25 miles.

28th.—Went on the next morning, loaded with sickness and distracted with the tooth-ake, & halted at Mr. Dunkland's, where the lady made me a good dish of tea. I got some better of the sickness, but the tooth-ake was more violent. I went on my journey, & on the road I kill'd a alligator seven feet long. Came to the widdow Thompson's. 25 miles.

29th.—This morning my face was swelled very much, and the pain still worse to bare. I went on through the desolate country, not a house for twenty miles. I came to Col. Thompson's, whilst they were at tea. I drank two dishes, and then went to Gen'l Hugar's, where the cloathing was. 27 miles.

30th.—I got the waggons loaded, and after breakfast I return'd to Col [Thompson's] where I had to remain untill I sent four miles for provision & forage. I took dinner and evening tea, then proceeded on. 7 miles.

31st.—Still distracted with the tooth-ake. Went 24 miles.

1st June, 1782.—This day Col. Thompson & Col. Dart, with seven waggons came to me and took protection of my G'd through the Tory country. I was now almost dead with the pain, want of sleep, and could take no nourishment but the little milk or tea, without eating anything. 20 miles.

2nd.—Left Mr. Dunkland's who was verry kind to me and came to old Summerse's. 25 miles.

3d.—This morning the swelling broke, but still painfull. I came to camp. 8 miles.

4th.—This morning sick and my face painfull.

5th.—The pain now abated a little.

6th.—This morning I took a vomitt which almost killed me.

7th.—This day came in a number of deserters. I continued sick.

8th.—This day cloudy & threatened rain. I now got somewhat better.

9th.—A very wet day and still threatens more.

10th.—Still wet and worse.

11th.—Wet, wet, & wet.

13th.—A very wet spell indeed.

14th.—This day clear'd up. I mounted Genl Greene's Guard where I had the pleasure of seeing a coppy of the treaty between Genl. Marion and the Torys.

15th.—This day a detachment was order'd out to consist of 100 men fit for Light Infantry, properly officer'd, to join the Horse & Infantry on the lines, the whole to be commanded by Genl. Gist.

16th.—Last night a small party of the enemy came out and fired on the sentries of our advance guards which alarmed the camp. We rose out of our beds and paraded our men. We were two hours under arms before we dismissed the men—which was half after twelve o'clock.—This day the Infantry left.

17th.—This day I mounted guard. I received a note from Genl. Greene to dine with him to-morrow.

18th.—A wet morning. This disappointed me of waiting on the Gen'l. This day we had the report of Savanna being evacuated on the 15th of this instant.

19th.—This day wet and show'ry.

20th.—This day I mounted guard; a fine day but verry warm.

21st.—An exceeding hot day.

22d.—This day we drew shoes for every man; some shirts, Overalls, & some hats; & some shirts for the men & stockings [or stocks] This day the officers drew some articles of cloathing, amounting to five pounds sterling each. The articles which I got was, 1 piece of black silk patron for britches, 7 yds. cource linnen, 1 pair of shoes, 1 pen knife, 1 spoon ½ oz. of thread, one pocket handkerchief. This is the way we pay for things deliver'd to us. If they would give us our pay we would purchase one-third cheaper.

23d.—This day I mounted guard.

24th.—This day warm. Col. Lee's Legion verry dissatisfied about an order which Genl. Greene issued some time ago allowing Col. Lawrence to have the commmand of the Legion Infantry. In consequence of this order Major Prudalf and all the Capt'ns of the Coar gave their resignations to Genl. Greene, which he accepted of.

25th.—Still warm and show'ry.

26th.—This evening a soldier of our Line had to run the Gauntloope for breaking a store at Georgetown, and another received 100 lashes.

27th.—This day I mounted guard.

28th.—This day I went a fishing in the Ashley River, at Bakon Bridge, but caught nothing; a hot day.

29th.—This day I went to the Light Infantry to try to procure some articles from Charles Town.

30th.—A warm spell of weather.

July 1, 1782.—An exceeding warm day indeed.

2nd.—This day I mounted guard and was almost eat up with the musquitoes.

3d.—A most extrordinary storm of wind and rain. This day I din'd with Lt. Col Mentgis & Major Moore. This day there was an order for Fude Joy to be fired to-morrow at five o'clock, the whole army to be drawn up in one line and to salute the Genl; then thirteen cannon to be fired from the park of artillery, in celebration of our Independence, & twenty-one for the yong Doffin of France, then a running fire of small arms from right to left of the army; this to be repeated; Three rounds; then march past the Genl. and salute him. The whole of the Capt'ns & subaltrons to dine at Head Qrs. The Field Officers and Genl. din'd with the Govr.

4th.—The orders of yesterday was comply'd with, the fore part of the day in firing, the afterpart in dining and drinking wine.

5th.—This day we made a Brigade dinner and all the officers of our Line dined together in camp, & invited the Field Officers and a number of our acquaintances to dine with us. We had 52 dishes, & drank thirteen toasts; spent the evening verry happy.

6th.—This morning I mounted guard. About eight o'clock in the evening came up a thunder shower, which continued for six hours as severe as I ever experienced in my life (for thunder and rain,) & I without any shelter.

7th.—This morning the troops took up the line of march at sunrise and marched 7 miles. This is the first march for the army since the 22d of March. Now encamped at Ashley Hill, within eight miles of the Quarter House.

8th.—This day employ'd in building hutts to shelter ourselves from the weather.

9th.—This day I received three letters from Penn'a—One from Lieut. Crawford, dated at Christmas, one from brother Nathan dated 31st December '81, & one from James Irvine dated Jany 3d, 1782. This day twelve lbs of tobacco was issued to each company.

10th.—This day I mounted guard in a fine shady grove on the plantation of Mr. Middleton, a member of Congress, and one of the finest I have seen.

11th.—This day verry warm. This day the enemy evacuated Savannah in Georgia.

12th.—This day the 2d Battalion of our Line was muster'd & inspected, for the months of April, May, June.

13th.—This day our Battalion was inspected.

14th.—This day I mounted guard.

15th.—This morning at five o'clock Lieut. McCullough of the 5th Penn'a Regt died at the Flying Hospital.

16th.—This evening at 7 o'clock he was bury'd with the honors of war, and I commanded the party consisting of one sergt, one corporal, & 24 privates.

17th.—This day I mounted guard near Mrs. Middleton's & she was kind enough to send me a bottle of port wine which I divided amongst the sick of the company I commanded. N. B. This day is the fifth day without rice.

18th.—This day somewhat cool after the severe rain last evening. This day we buried a soldier of our Batt'n. This day the officers each drew a quart of rum & the soldiers a gill.

19th.—This day remarkably cold for the season, & cloudy.

20th.—This day I mounted guard, somewhat warm.

21st.—This day warm, a report prevailing of the enemys having their heavy cannon on board.

22d.—This day very warm. At 5 o'clock a shower.

23d.—This day warm indeed.

24th.—This day nothing to eat but rice without salt or beef.

25th.—This day I mounted guard at Head Quarters. This afternoon a little beef.

26th.—Warm and showry.

27th.—Warm, warm, &c., &c.

28th.—This afternoon the whole army ordered to march at 7 o'clock. March'd agreeable to the orders. I was ordered on command to forward the boats to Ashley Ferry within 3 miles of the Quarter House. I arrived at the Ferry at one o'clock in the morning (6 miles from this place). I put four of the boats on waggons, the other three remained in the river. Here we remained to refresh and draw provisions.

29th.—Remain'd on this ground untill 6 o'clock in the afternoon, and had nothing to live on but corn & water mellons; then marched to camp, arrived here at eight o'clock. I then mounted guard with a hungry belly. 12 miles.

30th.—This morning nothing to eat, untill we had to kill one of our cows which we bought in Virginia. Now we are paying for ten thousand guineas which the State has given to Genl. Greene.

31st.—This day a small supply of beef, but no salt yet.

August 1st. 1782.—This day without beef untill one o'clock, but no salt; very warm.

2nd.—This day I mounted guard. This day 9 Scofes came

from James's Island, & 2 Hessians from the Q'r House, which says they are very sickly in town, and has not two reliefs.

3d.—This day verry warm; our men verry sickly and some dying.

4th.—This afternoon came on a Herrican, and verry sharp thunder, the house at Head Quarters was struck, and three of the servants a little hurt with the lightning.

5th.—This day showr'y and warm.

6th.—This day the enemy evacuated the Quarter House.

7th.—This day the troops drew a gill of rum, each officer a quart.

8th.—Twelve deserters came to us, 6 of them was Militia & the rest British. I mounted guard. Excessive warm. One of the soldiers of our Battalion was shot by the Waggon Master's Clark, who died in half an hour. One serg't and one man died this day with sickness.

9th.—This day ninety-two degrees by the Thermometer.—By reports an evacuation of Charles Town will soon take place. Agreeable news indeed to think of going to the North'rd.

10th.—Refugees, Scofes of all ranks and denominations, are coming out of Charles Town to make their peace with the State, & Hessions & British deserters.

Sunday 11th.—Sunday, This day we have acc't by a flag that they are to evacuate New York and all the posts in America.

Monday 12th.—Monday, This day cool and agreeable. The officers drew each a quart of rum and the soldiers a gill.

Tuesday 13th.—Fine cool day as I ever felt for this season of the year.

Wednesday 14th.—Still continues cool. This day I mounted guard and was much troubled with Scofes comming from Town to lay hold of the Govr's proclamation. Near three hundred came to the Gov'r, and a great number sent to Georgetown.

Thursday 15th.—This day cool. The Govr's proclamation is over this day. Genl Wayne & Col Posey with the Virginia Regt, which was at Georgia came to camp this day. The D——t quantity of Scofes I ever saw in my life.

Friday 16th.—Somewhat warm this day. Gen'l Wayne arrested Capt Dier who was Forage Master.

Saturday 17th.—This day the Court Martial sat. Major Hambleton was President—Gen'l Wayne took his Quarters at Drayton Hall, aboutfive miles in front, & took the Virginian Regt to guard hm.

Sunday 18th.—This day I mounted guard.

Monday 19th.—This day pleasant and not very warm.

Tuesday 20th.—Pleasant but somewhat warm.

Wednesday 21st.—This day I got a Regimental coat cut out. A fine shower.

Thursday 22d.—This day I took a vomit to prevent sickness, as it is a sickly time.

Friday 23d.—I mounted guard. This afternoon Capt'n Bird of the Maryland Line was buried with the honors of war.

Saturday 24th.—Dutton of Capt'n Davis's company died.—A warm day.—Capt'n Boude and I went & drank punch with Col. Posey.

Sunday 25th.—This day I dined with Gen'l Greene by invitation. This day Mrs. Greene went to Lewa Island for her health. Received a letter from Lt. Crawford.

Monday 26th.—Warm and disagreeable.

Tuesday 27th.—This day I wrote a letter to brother John, for Maryland.

Wednesday 28th.—This day I wrote two letters, one to my Father, the other to Lt. Crawford.

Thursday 29th.—This day we have an acc't of a scrimish which Col. Lawrence had with some of the enemy at Cumber, wherein Col. Lawrence was killed & Capt'n Smith of the Artillery wounded, and a Howitzer taken from them. I mounted guard this day.

Friday 30th.—We are under some little apprehension of the enemy's coming from Charles Town to pay us a visit since the arrival of the fleet. A cool fine day. We are dayly experiencing instances of mortality amongst us, soldiers dying fast.

Saturday 31st.—Cool and pleasant for the season.

Sunday, 1st. September.—The officers drew a quart and the soldiers a gill of rum. Two dragoons deserted and brought four horses, and one Hessian with his arms, who says the enemy will leave Town the fifteenth of the month.

Monday 2d.—Wet and cool, twelve deserters came out to gether this day.

Tuesday 3d.—This day came to us a Sergt. which informs us all the heavy cannon is aboard and that they are only waiting for their Foraging party to come in.

Wednesday 4th.—I mounted guard this day.

Thursday 5th.—This day I dined with Major Moore.

Friday 6th.—Two buryings from our Battalion this day. Warm days & cool nights.

Saturday 7th.—Two men died in our Battalion this day. Two commands went out this morning, one to Georgetown, the other under command of Lt. Adams, all Saylors, to man a Row Gally which Gen'l Gist took at Curabee, with two six pounders, beef and rice on board.

Sunday 8th.—Deserters comes in dayly. Three hundred and

seventy sick in General Hospital out of this small army, and better than half of the men sick in camp. We are scarcely able to relieve our guards.

Monday 9th.—This day I mounted guard, we got some sugar and coffy.

Tuesday 10th.—Warm and showry.

Wednesday 11th.—A court Marshall to try Capt. Powell of the Maryland Line.

Thursday 12th.—Cool and wet. I had to relieve Lt. Butler who took sick on guard.

Friday 13th.—Cool. Four deserters came in this day with their horses and acutriments.

Saturday 14th.—Still cool. Three deserters came in this day without their arms.

Sunday 15th.—Six deserters this day, & one woman from the enemy.

Monday 16th.—This day I mounted guard.

Tuesday 17th.—This day we drew cloathing for our men.

Wednesday 18th.—This day warm.

Thursday 19th.—This day two men and three women (and four horses) with their bedding and furnature from John's Island.

Friday 20th.—This day I mounted guard. The officers drew a quart of rum and the soldiers a gill.

Saturday 21st.—Gen'l Greene exceedingly sick. Gen'l Wayne getting better. Warm.

Sunday 22d.—Warm. No news amongst us this day. I wrote a letter to Capt'n McClellan.

Monday 23d.—Warm; sickly.

Tuesday 24th.—Warm; this day I din'd with the Adjt. Genl. Doct. McDowell took sick.

Wednesday 25th.—I wrote a letter to Uncle Jas. Maxwell.

Thursday 26th.—This day I mounted guard. This day died the Emiable Mrs. Izard, the most hospitable, the most generous, this country could afford.

Friday 27th.—This day a deserter came in with his horse and acutriments.—Majr. Moore bought them for fifteen guineas.

Saturday 28th.—This morning came in seven deserters with their horses & acutriments. They say that the Loyalists have imbarked, & all the valuable horses, & the officers' baggage. Capt Zeigler went on command at two o'clock.—A Major's command went out at ten o'clock at night.

Sunday 29th.—Two deserters came in this day & informed us that Gen'l Lessly had gave garrison orders for the Loyalists to go on board for St Augusteen. This morning I took the fever.

Monday 30th.—This day I took a vomit and was very sick.

Tuesday 1st October.—I had the fever all this day.

Wednesday 2d.—I took the Bark all this day.

Thursday 3d.—I had the fever this day, & very sick all night.

Friday 4th.—I again take the Bark. This day Lt. Story of the 4th Regt of Artillery died.

Saturday 5th.—Sergt. Welch of our company died, & Lt. Story and him were both buried this afternoon. This day the officers drew a quart and the soldiers a gill of rum.

Sunday 6th.—This day I got some better; still continue at the Bark.—Gen'l Wayne relapses again.

Monday 7th.—This day 5 deserters came to us. A wet cool day. I still continued to get better.

Tuesday 8th.—A wet day and disagreeable. The officers drew a quart & the soldiers a gill of rum this day.

Wednesday 9th.—Cool and agreeable.

Thursday 10th.—This morning a small frost. I received a letter from brother John, dated 20th May 1782.

Friday 11th.—I rode out to see Lt. Butler who was sick in the country.

Saturday 12th.—A remarkable circumstance for this part of the country,—no news.

Sunday 13th.—Two deserters this day, which say the refugees are all on board, and fell down to the five fathom hole; they are bound for St. Augusteen.

Monday 14th.—The officers drew a quart & the soldiers a gill of rum.—I received a letter from brother Andrew, dated Carlisle July 21, 1782.

Tuesday 15th.—Cool and pleasant. This day came to camp 400 of the North Carolina troops enlisted, for 18 months, & brought with them 150 British prisoners for exchange.—I received a letter from brother Andrew dated Carlisle 6 Septr.

Wednesday 16th.—Cool, pleasant weather, with frost.

Thursday 17th.—I wrote a letter to brother Andrew.

Friday 18th.—A very severe frost.

Saturday 19th.—Two deserters came in this morning. Very cold; a severe white frost. I had a spell of the ague & fever. Two Hessian deserters & a woman came to us this afternoon.

Sunday 20th.—I mounted guard & unfortunately took very sick, & was obliged to send to camp for relief. Mrs. Middleton hear'g of my illness open'd her heart and sent me half a glass of wine and a litte soup. I sent it back to her with my compliments that I could not take it. I received a letter from Lt. John Holliday. I was relieved at sunset and came home.

Monday 21st.—I took a vomit; after this I was something better. This is the tenth day without rice; sweet potatoes & beans in place of it.

Total number of miles in No 1 & No 2, 2071 miles carried to No 3.

No 3.

No. of miles brought from No 1. & No. 2, 2071.

19th of October we built a chimney to our tent.

Tuesday, 22d October, 1782.—This day I had a violent fever and pain in my head & bones.

Wednesday 23d.—I take Bark while the fever is off.

Thursday 24th.—Four deserters came in this day. I had no fever this day, but weak.

Friday 25th.—Four Hessian deserters this morning. No fever A very warm day. Not one single mouthfull of meat in camp.

Saturday 26th.—A little beef this day.—Very warm.—Two deserters, which say the Halifax Fleet has arrived.

Sunday 27th.—A Corporal and six deserters with their horses & acutriments came in this morning, one of them deserted from our line in May last.—Cloudy morning, and threatens rain, which is much wanted at this time. Not a single mouthful of beef in camp this day.

Monday 28th.—Fine cool morning. The officers got a little beef, but the soldiers not a mouthful;—poor times indeed.

Tuesday 29th.—Cool & cloudy.—No beef this day.—Gen'l Greene ordered an officer and sixteen men from each Brigade to impress provisions where they could find it.

Wednesday 30th.—No beef yet, nor any expectation of it. This day another incorporation of Regiments is on foot. I have some expectation of being one of the Retiring officers, which pleases me very well.

Thursday 31st.—Beef came into camp this afternoon at 5 o'clock. A wet night.

Friday, 1st November, 1782.—This day I got a horse saddle from Doct'r McDowell to carry me home.

Saturday 2d.—This day I collected the number of deaths from our Line since the first of July untill this day, which amounts to 106 soldiers. This day all the officers of our Brigade got a pair of boots, each pair six dollars. The orders about the Incorporation came out.

Sunday 3d.—This day the Field Officers were busy about settling the arrangement.

Monday 4th.—This day the officers and non-commissioned officers were fixed to companys. A command of ours killed three negroes and took two prisoners.

Tuesday 5th.—This day wet.—The officers drew a quart of rum & the soldiers a gill. Gen'l Greene still obstinate about letting us Retiring officers go home before the 18 months men.

Wednesday 6th.—This day everything in confusion untill the men were fixt to companys.

Thursday 7th.—This day the companys were formed except the Light Infantry.—formed this afternoon. I din'd at the Hospital on wild turkey.

Friday 8th.—This day Gen'l Greene has granted us a waggon to carry our baggage & forage for our horses untill we leave camp and promis'd to do everything in his power to make us comfortable.

Saturday 9th.—This day we got a waggon to carry our baggage.

Sunday 10th.—This day we settled our accts. with the Clothier, and the trifling articles which I received amounted to £7—15—3 sterling.

Monday 11th.—This day each Retiring officer waited on Gen'l Greene and received three Half Joes.

Tuesday 12th.—This day we left camp, crossed Bacon Bridge and lay at Capt'n Stevenson's.—A violent fever this afternoon. 20 miles.

Wednesday 13th.—I was very bad with the fever all this day. We went to Martin's Tavern. 18 miles.

Thursday 14th.—Tolerable well this morning; halted at the Eutaw Spring, a remarkable place in this part of the country. Two capital actions have been fought here—the last was Gen'l Greene and drove the British. We went to Lawrence's Ferry. 27 miles.

Friday 15th.—Crossed the Ferry; here we met with a misfortune, broke the tongue of our waggon; went from that to Dority Ritchison's, a —— cross woman. 15 miles.

Saturday 16th.—Went to Capt'n Shingleton's on the High hills of Santee. 14 miles.

Sunday 17th.—Went to Wheeler's Tavern. 16 miles.

Monday 18th.—A wet day; went to Camden. 16 miles.

Tuesday 19th.—Went to Col. Rugely's. 13 miles.

Wednesday 20th.—Went through wild wilderness, and came to Danl. Usher's. 30 miles.

Thursday 21st.—Went to Mr. Steward's. 25 miles.

Friday 22d.—Went to Capt. Fifer's. 22 miles.

Saturday 23d.—Went from Fifer's to Salsbury. 20 miles.

Sunday 24th.—Remained in Salsbury this day to refresh.

Monday 25th.—Went from Salsbury, crossed the Yadkin River went to Leatherman's. 25 miles.

Tuesday 26th.—From Leatherman's to Salem, a Moravian Town in North Carolina. 12 miles.

Wednesday 27th.—From Salem to Carmichal's ford. 24 miles.

Thursday 28th.—Crossed the Dan River; came to Mr. Lemmon's. 22 miles.

Friday 29th.—Crossed Mattrimony Creek & Smith's River,

Caskade Creek & Sandy River. Now in Virginia, Pitsilvania County, and remained at Mr. Ashton's. 24 miles.

Saturday 30th.—From Mr. Ashton's to Mr. Corbin's. 21 miles.

Sunday, Decr. 1st, 1782.—From Corbin's to Patonsburgh. Here I had to take a vomit which almost killed me. 8 miles.

Monday 2d.—Remained here this day, and was very sick and weak.

Tuesday 3d.—Now in Hallifax County; went to Bannister s Bridge. 9 miles.

Wednesday 4th.—Went from Bannister's Bridge, and forded the Stanton River at Cole's or Farqes' Ferry. 18 miles.

Thursday 5th.—Charlott County, from Cole's Ferry to Little Roenoak Bridge, a small creek. 22 miles.

Friday 6th.—Prince Edward County, from Roenoak to Righ'ts Ordnary. 25 miles.

Saturday 7th.—Cumberland County, from Right's to Mr. Gentrie's. 20 miles.

Sunday 8th.—Poutann County. From Mr. Gentrie's to Cumberland Old Court House. 8 miles.

Monday 9th.—Went from the Court House to Col. James', where we were well treated. 8 miles.

Tuesday 10th.—Crossed the James' River at Carter's Ferry, now in Louesa County. Went to Hunter's Ordnary. 18 miles.

Wednesday 11th.—A wet day. Went to Col. Boydell's Ordnary. 22 miles.

Thursday 12th.—Orange County. Went to James Taylor's, where the doors were shut against us. Capt'n Davis forced them open, & a pretty piece of work ensued. Went to his brothers, and was well treated. 18 miles.

Friday 13th.—Crossed the Rapidan River, & came to the place called the Dutch Cooper's. 20 miles.

Saturday 14th.—Fauqiere County. Went from the Dutch Cooper's; crossed the Rappahannock at Norman's Ford; went to Morgan's Ordnary. 16 miles.

Sunday 15th.—From Morgan's Ordnary to the Red House. 24 miles.

Monday 16th.—Prince William County. A very snowy day. Went to Moore's Ordnary. 12 miles.

Tuesday 17th.—From Moore's to Leesburgh, where I remained with Mr. Beard all night. 12 miles.

Wednesday 18th.—Loudon County. Went from Leesburgh to Nowlin's Ferry, on the Potoemack River. Here we had to cut the ice half across the river and ford it. Now in Maryland. 16 miles.

Thursday 19th.—Frederick County. Went to Frederick

Town. Here I took very sick. I took out my baggage and remained this day. 10 miles.

Friday 20th.—From Frederick Town to Hagerstown. 26 miles.

Saturday 21st.—From Hagerstown home. 22 miles.

The number of miles which I have traveld since the 26th of May 1781 is 2755 miles.

ORDERS, LIGHT INFANTRY, JULY 14TH, 1779.

The troops will march to-morrow at twelve o'clock, and move by the right, making a short halt at the Creek or run next, on this side Clement's—Every officer and non-commissioned officer will remain with, and be accountable for every man in their Platoons.—No soldier to be permitted to quit the ranks on any pretence whatever, until a general halt is made; and then, to be attended by one of the officers of the Platoon.

When the van of the troops in the rear of Hill, Lt. Col. Febiger will form his regiment into a solid column, of a half Platoon in front as fast as they come up. Col. Meggs will form next in Col. Febiger's rear, and Major Hull in rear of Meggs, who will form the right column.

Col. Butler will form a column on the left of Febiger's, and Major Murphy in his rear, every officer and soldier is then to fix a piece of white paper in the most conspicuous part of his hat, or cap, to distinguish him from the enemy.

At the word march, Lieut. Col. Fleury will take charge of one hundred and fifty determined and picked men, properly officered, with their arms unloaded, and placing their whole dependence on the bayonet, will move about twenty paces in the front, of the right column by the rout No. 1, and enter the sally port No. six; he is to detach an officer and twenty men a little in front, whose business it will be to secure the sentries and remove the abatis and other obstructions for the column to pass through. The column will follow close in the rear with shouldered muskets, under Col. Febiger, with Genl. Wayne in person.

When the works are forced, and not before, the victorious troops, will give the watchword, "The Fort's our own," with repeated and loud voice, and drive the enemy from their works and guns, which will favor the pass of the whole.

Should the enemy refuse to surrender or attempt to make their escape by water or otherwise, vigorous means must be used to force them to the former, and to prevent their attempting the latter.

Col. Butler will move by the rout No. 2. preceded by one hundred men with unloaded arms, and fixed bayonets, under

the command of Major Stewart, who will observe a distance of twenty yards in front of the column, which will immediately follow under the command of Col. Butler with shouldered muskets and enter the sally port, cov'd.—The officer commanding the above named one hundred men, will also detach a proper officer and twenty men a little in front to remove the obstructions, as soon as they gain the works. They are also to give the watchword which will prevent confusion and mistakes.

Major Murphy will follow Col. Butler to the first figure 3, where he will divide a little to the right, and left, and wait the attack on the right, which will be his signal to begin, and keep up a perpetual and galling fire and endeavour to enter between, and possess the works, A, A.

If any soldier presumes to take his musket from his shoulder, or attempt to fire or begin the battle till ordered by his proper officers he shall be instantly put to death by the officer next him—For the cowardice and mis-conduct of one man is not to put the whole in danger or disorder with impunity.

After the troops begin to advance to the works, the strictest silence must be observed, and the greatest attention paid to the commands of the officers. As soon as the lines are carried, the officers of the artillery with their commands will take possession of the cannon, and to the end that the shipping may be secured and the post at Verplanck's Point annoyed, so as to facilitate the attack on that quarter.

The General has the fullest confidence in the bravery and fortitude of the Corps he has the happiness to command.

The distinguished honour conferred on every officer and soldier who have been drafted into this corps by His Excellency General Washington, the credit of the State they belong to, their own reputation, will be such powerful motives for each man to distinguish himself, that the General has not the least doubt of a glorious victory, and further he solemnly engages to reward the first man who enters the works with 500 dollars and immediate promotion, to the second 400 dollars, to the third 300 dollars, to the fourth 200 dollars, and to the fifth 100 dollars, and represent the conduct of every officer and soldier who distinguishes himself on this occasion in the most favourable point of view to his Excellency who always receives the greatest pleasure in rewarding merit.

But should there be any soldier so lost to every sense of honour as to attempt to retreat one single foot, or shrink from the face of danger, the officer next him is to put him to immediate death that he may no longer disgrace the name of a soldier, or the corps or State to which he belongs.

As General Wayne is determined to share the danger of the

night, so he wishes to participate in the glory of the day, in common with his fellow soldiers.

ANT'Y WAYNE, B. G.

Names of the Officers taken the 16th day of July in the morning at Stony Point.

No.	Names.	Rank.	Regts.
1.	Henry Johnston,	Lt. Col.	17th.
2.	John Darby,	Captn.	17th.
3.	———Robison, America,	Lt.	17th.
4.	Robert Clayton,	Captn.	17th.
5.	Wm. Tiffin, R. Artillery,	Captn.	——
6.	Wm. Armstrong,	Lieut.	17th.
7.	Isaac Cary,	Do.	17th.
8.	Wm. T. Williams,	Do.	17th.
9.	Wm. Simpson,	Do.	17th,
10.	Wm. Jno. Mawhood,	Do.	17th.
11.	Jno. Waymor,	Do.	17th.
12.	R. Duncanon,	Do.	17th.
13.	Wm. Naire,	Do.	17th.
14.	John Jno. Ross,	Do.	17th.
15.	John Grant,	Do.	17th.
16.	Wm. H. Homdon,		R. Artillery.
17.	Wm. Marshall,	Lieut.	63d.
18.	Fredk. P. Robison,	Ensign,	17th.
19.	Henry Hamilton,	Lieut.	17th.
20.	Wm. Huggiford,	Lt. L. Amer'n.	
21.	Richard Steward,	Lieut. Do.	
22.	Richard Auchmutry,	Serg't.	17th.
23.	Isaac Easton,	Conductor.	
24.	Patk. Commings, wounded,	Lieut.	17th.
25.	Andw. McClain,	Do.	17th.
26.	John Horn,	Sergt.	17th.
2	Officers killed.		

The wounded and surgeons sent to New York.

July 16th., 1779.
Head Quarters, Stony Point.

General Wayne returns his warmest thanks to the officers and soldiers for their coolness and intrepidity in the storm on

the evening of the 15th. instant. The perfect execution of orders and the superior punctuality attributed on the occasion, reflects the highest honor on the troops engaged.

The spare arms, accoutrements, tents and military stores, are immediately to be collected and deposited in a convenient place, in charge of a proper guard.

The commanding officer of Artillery will attend to the execution of the orders so far as they respect military stores. Ensign Bullard of Major Hull's detachment to collect and secure the tents, &c., &c.

At evening gun firing, the troops are to parade and lines man'd.

The commanding officers of regiments will point out the disposition, 200 rank and file properly officered to compose the necessary guards for the night.

A detail will be delivered by Major McCormick who will attend the field officer of the day in forming the arrangement.

July 16th., 1779.

Head Quarters New Windsor, or West Point.

The Commander in Chief, is happy to congratulate the army on the success of our arms under the command of Brigadier General Wayne, who last night with Corps of Light Infantry stormed and took the enemy's post at Stony Point with the whole garrison, cannon and stores, with very inconsiderable loss on our side.

The General has not yet received the particulars of the affair but he has the satisfaction to learn that the officers and soldiers in general gloriously distinguished themselves in the attack. He requests the Brigadier, and his whole Corps, to accept his warmest thanks for the good conduct and singular bravery manifested on the occasion.

July 17th., 1779.

Head Quarters, Light Infantry, Stony Point.

The General desires the officers immediately to use all possible means to get the men shaved, and made clean as circumstances will admit and hold themselves in readiness to parade in a moments warning.

The plunder of the fort, (except the Ordnance, Military Stores, Entrenching Tools, Tents, and Marquees, which will be paid for by the publick) to be collected together on the Flag Bastion at three o'clock, and there exposed to sale, for ready money, or to be paid in ten days, for the benefit of the brave soldiers who fought for it. Ensign Bullard will take an inventory of, and keep an account of, the whole.

A return of the killed and wounded and taken in the assault at Stony Point the 16th. day of July, in the morning, by the Light Infantry, commanded by Brigadier General Wayne.

	Lieut. Colonels			Captains			Lieuts.			Ensigns.			Surgeons.			Sergeants.			Musick.			Bombardiers.			Matrosses.			Rank & File.			Negroes.	Conductors.	Artificers.	Officer's Waiters.
	Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners.	Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners.	K.	W.	P.	K.	W.	P.	K.	W.	P.	K.	W.	P.	K.	W.	P.	K.	W.	P.	K.	W.	P.	K.	W.	P.	Prisoners.	Prisoners.	Prisoners.	Prisoners.
Royal Artillery.									1																								
17th Regt.						1			6							3	4	9			2			5	2	2	38						
17th Regt.			1	1		2	2		6		1	3			1	4	2	2	3		14							30	34	269			
63d Regt.									1										4		2							15	14	113			
Lord Rawdon's.																														1			
Loyal Americans.																1	2	1										5	5	53	3	1	10	25
Total.			1	1		4	2		14		1	6			1	8	8	12	4		20			5	2	2	38	50	48	436	3	1	10	25

A return of Artillery and others taken in the assault of Stony Point.

2 Cannon, 24 pounders, iron.	6 Royals, brass.
3 Brass 12 do.	1 Brass 3 pounder.
2 Iron 12 do.	1 Iron 18 do.
1 Ten Inch Mortar, Brass.	
1 8 Inch Howitzer, Brass.	

A large quantity of ammunition made into cartridges, 100 barrels of powder, arms, tents, ordnance stores, and many other combustibles, all for the good of the brave soldiers, the whole amounting to one hundred and eighty five thousand dollars.

Stony Point evacuated by the enemy the 21st. of October, 1779.

Head Quarters Moore's House,
August 27th., 1779.

The Commander in Chief has the pleasure to announce the following Resolutions which the Honourable the Congress have been pleased to pass for the benefit of the army.

The disposition manifested in these Resolves is a fresh proof to the army that their country entertains a high sense of their merits and service, and are inclined to confer an honourable and adequate compensation.

The General flatters himself the respective States will second the generous views of Congress and take every proper measure to gratify the reasonable expectations of such officers and soldiers as are determined to share the glory of serving their country and themselves through the war, and finishing the task they have so nobly began. The flourishing aspect of affairs in Europe & in the West Indies, as well as in these States, gives us every reason to believe that the happy period will speedily arrive.

The Congress, August 16th., 1779. Resolved that the Clothier General estimate the value of the several articles of soldiers clothing at the prices they were respectively worth at the end of the year '78, and forthwith transmit such estimate to the Paymasters of the several regiments (who shall be furnished out of the military chest) with monies to pay the soldiers for all deficiencies of clothing at the estimated prices of every article as affixed by the Clothier General, who shall henceforward transmit the estimates before the close of every year during the War, so that the soldiers be paid by the Regimental Pay

Masters according to such articles annually and previous to their discharge (when the same happens before the end of the year) for all articles allowed them by the Resolutions of Congress of the 6th Sept. 77, which they have not received and which are or shall be due to them after the year last mentioned.

In Congress Aug. 17th. 1779.

Whereas the Army of the United States of America, has by their patriotism, valor and perseverance in the defence of the rights and liberties of their Country become entitled to the gratitude as well as approbation of their fellow-citizens—

Resolved: That it be and is hereby recommended to the several States which have not already adopted measures for that purpose to make such further provision for the officers and soldiers enlisted for the war to them respectively belonging who shall continue in the service till the Establishment of Peace as shall be adequate compensation for the dangers, losses and hardships they have suffered and been exposed to in the course of the present contest either by granting to the officers half-pay for life and proper rewards for their soldiers or in such or other manner as shall appear to be most expedient to the Legislatures of the several States—

Resolved: That it be and is hereby recommended to the several States to make such provision for the widows of such of their officers and such of their soldiers who are enlisted for the war, or have died or may die in the service as shall leave to them the sweets of that liberty for the attainment of which their husbands nobly laid down their lives—

Resolved Aug. 18, 1779.

That until further orders of Congress the officers of the army be entitled to receive monthly for their subsistance money the sums following—each Col. and Chaplain 500 dollars, every Lieut. Col. 400 dollars, every Major 300 dollars and Reg't. Surgeon. Every Captain 200 dollars and every Lieut. and Ensign and Surg's Mate 100 dollars—

Resolved: That until further orders of Congress the sum of ten dollars be paid to every Non-Commissioned officer and soldier monthly for their subsistance in lieu of those articles offered originally intended for them and not furnished.

MINUTES

OF THE

COMMITTEE OF SAFETY

OF

BUCKS COUNTY.

1774-1776.

[The original Minutes of the Committee of Safety of Bucks County have only recently been found, and are in the possession of Gen. WILLIAM W. H. DAVIS of Doylestown, for a copy of which we are indebted to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY OF BUCKS COUNTY, 1774-1776.

At a meeting of a number of the inhabitants of the County of Bucks, held at Newtown, agreeable to notice given on Saturday, the 9th day of July, 1774, Gilbert Hicks, Esq., Chairman, and William Walton, clerk.

The Chairman having taken his place, in a short address to the Company, explained the nature and intention of the meeting, when they proceeded to the Business thereof, which was carried on and finished with the greatest Decency and Harmony.

In this time of public distress, when, by the operation of divers Acts of the British Parliament, the Americans are subjected to the universal controul of a Legislature in which they are not represented, the inhabitants of the County of Bucks, at a meeting held at Newtown, on the ninth day of July, appointed the following Gentlemen as a Committee to represent the said County at a meeting of the several Committees of the respective Counties of Pennsylvania, to be held at Philadelphia the 15th day of July inst., viz. : John Kidd, Joseph Kirkbride, Joseph Hart, James Wallace, Henry Wynkoop, Samuel Foulke, and John Wilkinson, after which the sense of the inhabitants of the said County was recommended to them as general rules for their Conduct at the said meeting in the following resolves, viz. :

"*Resolved*, That the inhabitants of this County have the same opinion of the dangerous tendency of the Claims of the British Parliament to make laws, binding on the inhabitants of these Colonies in all Cases whatsoever, without their consent, as other of our fellow American subjects have.

"*Resolved*, That it is the Duty of every American, when oppressed by measures either of Ministry, Parliament, or any other Power, to use every lawful endeavour to obtain relief, and to form and promote a plan of Union between the parent country and colonies in which the Claim of the parent country may be ascertained and the Liberties of the Colonies defined and secured, and no Cause of Contention in future may arise to disturb that Harmony so necessary for the interest and hap-

piness of both, and that this will be best done in a general Congress, to be composed of Delegates, to be appointed either by the respective colonys Assemblys, or by the Members thereof in Convention."

At a meeting of the Committee November 27, 1774, the following Notification was ordered to be published:

"To the Freeholders and Electors of the County of Bucks:

"As the late Continental Congress for the support of American Liberty have formed resolves, and entered into an Association in behalf of themselves and their respective Colonies they represented, and have recommended the appointment of Committees in several towns and Counties attentively to observe the Conduct of all persons touching the same; the Committee chosen for the County of Bucks in July apprehending that we have, to the best of our ability, executed the trusts then reposed in us, beg leave to recommend to the Freeholders and inhabitants of this County who are qualified to vote for Members of Assembly to meet at Newtown the 15th day of December next, to choose a new Committee for the above-mentioned purposes."

December 15, 1774.

This day, pursuant to a notice for that purpose, the following gentlemen were chosen as a Committee of Observation for this County, viz: Joseph Galloway, John Kidd, Christian Minnick, John Bessonet, Joseph Kirkbride, Thomas Harvey, Thomas Jenks, Henry Kroesen, Joseph Hart, James Wallace, Richard Walker, John Wilkinson, Joshua Anderson, John Chapman, Jonathan Ingham, Joseph Watson, Benjamin Fell, John Kelly, David Waggoner, Abraham Stout, Thomas Foulke, John Jamison, Jacob Strahan, James Chapman, Henry Wynkoop, Jacob Beitleman, Thomas Darrach, Robert Patterson, David Twining.

Thursday, the 29th inst., is appointed for the meeting of this Committee at Newtown at 10 o'clock A. M., to enter upon their important trust.

Newtown, December 29, 1774.

"To the Committee of the County of Bucks:

"As the great fall of Snow hath prevented your attendance here this day, you are desired to meet at Newtown on Monday, the 16th day of January, to proceed upon the business for which you have been chosen."

Newtown, January 16, 1775.

A large majority of the Committee chose in pursuance of

notice for that purpose given, this day assembled in said town and unanimously chose Joseph Hart, Esq., Chairman and John Chapman, Clerk.

The Committee then taking into consideration the measures recommended by the Continental Congress for the redress of American Grievances, entered into the following resolves:

"1. That we highly approve of the pacific measures recommended by the Continental Congress for the redress of American Grievances, and do hereby render our unfeigned thanks to the worthy gentlemen who compose that august Assembly for the faithful discharge of the trust reposed in them.

"2. That we hold ourselves bound, in justice to ourselves, our posterity, our King, and our Country, strictly to observe and keep the Association of said Congress, especially as it is recommended to us by the united voice of our Representatives in Assembly, and, as a Committee, will use our utmost endeavours to have it carried into execution.

"3. That we hold it as our bounden duty, both as Christians and as Countrymen, to contribute towards the relief and support of the poor inhabitants of the town of Boston, now suffering in the general cause of all the Colonies; and we do hereby recommend the raising a sum of money for that purpose to every inhabitant or taxable in this County as soon as possible."

The Committee then taking into consideration a late resolve of the Committee of the City of Philadelphia, setting forth an absolute Necessity that the Committees of the Counties of this province, or their Deputies, be requested to meet together in Provincial Convention on the 23d day of January inst., cannot conceive from any information we have had the necessity of such Provincial Convention or that any good effects can be produced thereby towards carrying into execution the Association so clearly pointed out to us by the Continental Congress.

Voted that Joseph Hart, John Wilkinson, Henry Wynkoop, Joseph Watson, and John Chapman, or any three of them, be a Committee of Correspondence; and that Henry Wynkoop be Treasurer to receive such charitable donations as may be collected in pursuance of the third resolve of this Committee.

May 2, 1775.

At a meeting of a Committee of Correspondence the following advertisement was ordered to be published:

" The Committee for the County of Bucks.

"The alarming situation of public affairs rendering it necessary that something should be done towards warding off the oppressive measures now too manifestly carrying into execution against us, you are therefore requested to meet at the

house of Richard Leedom on Monday the 8th inst. at nine o'clock in the morning."

At a meeting of the Committee held at the house of Richard Leedom, May 8, 1775:

"*Resolved,* unanimously; That we do heartily approve of the resolves of the late Provincial Convention, held at Philadelphia the 23d day of January last, and do earnestly recommend it to the observation of the inhabitants of this county.

"*Resolved,* unanimously; That notwithstanding the disapprobation we have hitherto shown to the prosecution of any violent measures of opposition, arising from the Hopes and Expectations, that the Humanity, Justice and magnanimity of the British Nation would not fail of affording us relief, being now convinced, that all our most dutiful applications have hitherto been fruitless and vain, and that attempts are now making to carry the oppressive Acts of Parliament into execution by military force; We do therefore earnestly recommend to the people of this County to form themselves into Associations, in their respective Townships, to improve themselves in the military art, that they may be rendered capable of affording their Country that aid which its particular necessitys may at any time require."

Joseph Hart, John Kidd, Henry Wynkoop, Joseph Kirkbride, and James Wallace, or any three of them, are appointed as Delegates, to meet in provincial Convention, if any shall be found necessary.

The Committee requests all persons who have taken subscriptions for the relief of the poor of Boston, as soon as possible, to collect and pay the same into the hands of the Treasurer, Henry Wynkoop, that it may be speedily applyed towards the benevolent purpose for which it was intended; and at the same time to give those who have not subscribed an opportunity to contribute also.

At a meeting June ye 12, 1775.

Present: Joseph Hart, John Kidd, Richard Walker, Robert Patterson, Henry Kroesen, James Wallace, Jacob Bietleman, Benjamin Fell, Thomas Darrach, and Henry Wynkoop.

The Treasurer informed the Committee that the sum of £51 15s. and 4d. had been paid into his hands for the relief of the poor sufferers of the town of Boston; whereupon ordered that Richard Walker and Henry Wynkoop dispose thereof in such manner as they shall judge most likely to answer the Benevolent purpose of the Donors.

Upon motion, Joseph Hart is appionted to publish an adver-

tisement, notifying the officers of the different associated Companies to meet at the house of John Bogart the 20th day of July, to choose their Field Officers, and such other purposes as shall then be found necessary; the Committee to meet at the same time and place.

At a meeting at the house of John Bogart, July 21, 1775.

Present a large majority.

Jacob Strahan, formerly chosen a member of this Committee for Haycock township, and Abraham Stout, for Rockhill, having declined acting, Philip Pearson was returned in the room of sd. Strahan and Samuel Smith in the room of sd. Stout, who are accepted as legal members.

The members appointed at the last meeting to dispose of the money collected for the relief of the poor of Boston, reported, that they had paid the same into the hands of Samuel Adams, one of the Delegates at the Continental Congress for the province of Massachusetts Bay, and produced a receipt from him for £51 15s. 4d.

Nicholas Patterson exhibited a complaint against Arthur Irwine, setting forth that, agreeable to a former recommendation of this Committee, the inhabitants of the township of Tinicum, together with the sd. Arthur Irwine, had associated and proceeded to the choice of their officers, and that he, the said Nicholas Patterson, was chosen the Captain of the sd. company by a great majority; that notwithstanding the sd. Irwine had prevailed on a number of the men associated under the sd. Patterson, to choose him their Captain, and that he continues to muster them, to the disturbance of the Company of the sd. Patterson. The Committee taking the same in consideration, and having heard the defence of the said Irwine, are of opinion, that Nicholas Patterson hath been regularly chosen captain of the associated company of Tinicum, consequently the said Arthur Irwine cannot be considered as an officer in that township.

A petition was exhibited from Joseph McIlvain, William McIlvain, Abraham Britton, and John Priestly, officers of the associated Company of Bristol, setting forth, that attempts were making to raise a second company in that Township, whose Articles were essentially different from those of the other associated companies.

The Committee having taken the said Petition and Articles of association into consideration, are of opinion, that as harmony and unanimity are essentially necessary in prosecuting the present unhappy contest, and as Field Officers are now appointed for the respective Battalions, no second company

ought to be raised in any Township without leave being first obtained from them for that purpose. Benjamin Hare informed that John Hoff had uttered expressions derogatory and injurious to the general American Cause; the said Hoff, voluntarily appearing before the Committee, acknowledged the charge, and made such concessions as were considered as a sufficient attonement for his former errors.

Benjamin Hair likewise informed that Thomas Meredith had uttered expressions inimicable to the Cause and Libertys of America in general and especially of the inhabitants of the town of Boston.

John Lacey represented that Thomas Smith, Upper Makefield, had uttered expressions derogatory to the continental Congress and inimicable to the Liberties of America.

The same being taken into consideration of, Joseph Hart, Richard Walker, James Wallace, and Henry Wynkoop, or any three of them, are appoined a sub-committee to examine into the said complaints and report to the next meeting.

John Wilkinson, Jonathan Ingham, Thomas Foulke, and John Chapman, being of the people called Quakers and alledging scruples of Conscience relative to the business necessarily transacted by the Committee, desired to be relieved from any further attendance, whereupon Henry Wynkoop was appointed Clerk of the Committee and directed to publish the following advertisement:

"WHEREAS, Several persons who were chosen members of this Committee in December last have hitherto neglected to attend the same, and others who have attended, have, from Scruples of Conscience made application to be discharged, the Committee therefore request all those who do not propose attending for the future to advertise their respective townships with their determination, at the same time appointing some convenient time and place for the inhabitants to meet, and choose other suitable persons in their room, who are desired to meet the Committee on Monday, the 21st of August, at the house of John Bogart in Buckingham Township."

In Committee at John Bogart's, August ye 21, 1775.

Pursuant to a public recommendation of the last meeting the following persons were returned and accepted as legal members of this Committee, viz.: Benjamin Seigle for the township of Richland in the room of Thomas Foulke; James McNair for the township of Upper Makefield in the room of John Chapman; Joseph Sackett for the township of Wrightstown in the room of John Wilkinson; Augustine Willet for the township of Middletown in the room of Thomas Jenks; John Coryel for

the township of Solesbury in the room of Jonathan Ingham; William Carver for the township of Buckingham in the room of Joseph Watson. Sundry of the inhabitants of the township of Newtown offering to contest the Election held there, it was recommended to them and agreed by both parties to hold a new election of which the Clerk is directed to notify the Electors of that township previous to the next meeting.

The Treasurer reported that he had received Donations from sundry townships for the sufferers of the town of Boston, amounting to £75 8s. 4d., and that he had paid the same into the hands of John Adams, one of the Committee of Boston, at the same time producing a receipt from him for that sum.

The sub-committee appointed to examine into the charges brought against Thomas Meredith and Thomas Smith reported that Thomas Meredith appeared before them, that the accusations against him were supported by Benjamin Hair, John Hair, and John Harry, and that the said Thomas Meredith thereupon executed the following Declaration and renunciation, viz.:

"WHEREAS, I have spoken injuriously of the distressed people of the town of Boston, and disrespectfully of the Measures prosecuting for the redress of American Grievances; I do hereby declare, that I am heartily sorry for what I have done, voluntarily renouncing my former principles, and promise for the future to render my Conduct inexceptionable to my Countrymen, by strictly adhering to the measures of the Congress. THOMAS MEREDITH."

That Thomas Smith, upon a second notice, appeared before them; that he denied the greatest part of what was alledged against him; that thereupon John Lacy the complainant, together with the said Thomas Smith, were desired to appear before the Committee this day, and that notice had likewise been given to James McMasters and Josiah Daws to appear to testify their knowledge of what the said Thomas Smith was accused with. That, as the Committee of Safety had requested the Committees of the respective Counties of this Province to make return to them of all Officers of the Military Association that they might be Commissioned, and also lists of the Associators and Non-Associators, within their respective Districts; they had published an advertisement requesting the Colonels of the several Battalions to furnish the Committee at this meeting with Lists of all Officers within their District, and that the Captains of the associated companys were likewise requested to return exact Lists of Associators and Non-Associators in their townships. All which is submitted to the Committee.

Voted that the Declaration of Thomas Meredith is considered as satisfactory and ordered to be published.

The Committee then resumed the consideration of the complaint made against Thomas Smith, and having heard the Testimony of John Lacy, James McMasters, and a letter from Josiah Daws, he being necessarily absent, and likewise the defence of said Thomas Smith. Voted that the charges laid against said Thomas Smith have been fully supported by Evidence, and the said Thomas Smith refusing to make any satisfaction for his misconduct, the Clerk is directed to publish the following state of his case, viz:

"Proof having been made by incontestable evidence that Thomas Smith, of Upper Makefield, had uttered expression to the following purport, viz.: That the Measures of Congress had already enslaved America and done more Damage than all the Acts the Parliament ever intended to lay upon us, that the whole was nothing but a scheme of a parcel of hot-headed Presbyterians and that he believed the Devil was at the Bottom of the whole; that the taking up Arms was the most scandalous thing a man could be guilty of, and more heinous than an hundred of the grossest offenses against the moral law, &c., &c., &c.

"*Resolved*, That as the above virulent and indecent Invectives appear manifestly designed to cast the grossest indignity upon the Honourable the Continental Congress, to raise inviduous Distinctions between different denominations and to impede the virtuous struggles of our distressed Countrymen against Ministerial Oppression, the said Thomas Smith be considered as an Enemy to the Rights of British America, and that all persons break off every kind of dealing with him until he shall make proper satisfaction to this Committee for his misconduct."

In Committee at Newtown, September 11, 1775.

Present: Joseph Hart, James McNair, Joseph Kirkbride, John Coryel, John Kidd, Samuel Yardley, Henry Wynkoop, Augustine Willett, John Bessonet, Joseph Sackett, Christian Minnick, Robert Patterson, James Chapman, Benjamin Fell, Henry Kroesen, Jacob Beitleman, Richard Walker.

The Clerk informed the Committee that, agreeable to order, he had sent the case of Thomas Smith to the Press for publication, but that sd. Smith expressing remorse and penitence and promising to appear before the Committee this day and make satisfactory acknowledgement for his misconduct, its publication had been postponed.

Thomas Smith appearing before the Committee voluntarily

executed the following acknowledgement and declaration, viz. :

"As I have been charged before the Committee for having uttered expressions derogatory to the Continental Congress, inviduous to a particular Denomination of Christians, and tending to impede the opposition of our Countrymen to Ministerial Oppression, I do hereby declare myself heartily sorry for my imprudent expressions and do sincerely promise for the future to coincide with every measure prosecuted for the redress of American Grievances so far as is consistent with the religious principles of the society to which I belong.

THOMAS SMITH."

Voted that this be considered as a sufficient satisfaction for his misconduct, and ordered that the Clerk publish it as such.

Samuel Yardley returned Committeeman for the township of Newtown and accepted as a legal member.

Three of the members of the Committee of Correspondence having resigned, James Wallace, Joseph Sackett, and Samuel Yardley are appointed in their stead.

Benjamin Fell informs the Committee that Edward Updegrave and John Rogers have at sundry times spoken disrespectfully of the Congress, etc., and that Bernard Kepler, Mary Bogart, and Elizabeth McCauley can give Evidence to the same. It is therefore ordered that Benjamin Fell, William Carver, John Coryel, Joseph Hart, Henry Wynkoop, and James Wallace, or any three of them be a special Committee to inquire into the premises and make report to this Committee at their next meeting.

The Committee then adjourned to meet at the house of John Bogart ye 9th of October.

In Committee at John Bogart's, October 9, 1775.

Present: Joseph Hart, Thomas Darrach, James Wallace, Benjamin Seigle, Richard Walker, Augustine Willett, Robert Patterson, Joseph Sackett, John Jamison, James McNair, Henry Wynkoop, Samuel Yardley

The Sub-committee appointed to hear the Complaint against Edward Updegrave and John Rogers reported: That in consequence of notice given to sd. Updegrave and Rogers, sd. Updegrave had appeared before them; that upon inquiry they found he had uttered some imprudent expressions, affronting to the Associated company of Plumstead, for which he appeared penitent and promised to meet them, acknowledge his fault, and ask their pardon. That John Rogers had not appeared before them, and that notice had been given him to appear before the Committee this day.

The Committee, then taking the sd. report into consideration, are of opinion that the Concessions made by Edward Updegrave are a sufficient satisfaction for his misconduct; and that the case of John Rogers be held under advisement till the next meeting.

William Buckman appearing before the Committee requested a Certificate setting forth that Nathaniel Twining had absconded with a view to defraud his creditors, expecting thereby to facilitate his pursuit of sd. Twining into the Provinces of Maryland or Virginia.

Which is considerd as an improper motion.

The Treasurer reported that the sum of £125 15s. 7d., collected for the sufferers by the Boston Port Act, was now in his hands.

Ordered thereupon that Treasurer dispose of the said money in such manner as shall be most likely to answer the benevolent purpose of the Donors.

The Committee then adjourned to meet at this place ye 23d of November.

In Committee at John Bogart's, November ye 23d, 1775.

Present: Joseph Hart, Benjamin Fell, Richard Walker, James McNair, Robert Patterson, Thomas Darragh, James Wallace, John Coryel, Henry Kroesen, and Henry Wynkoop.

The Committee, taking the case of John Rogers into consideration, and having examined Mary Bogart, said to be the principal witness against him, are of opinion that the offence as well as the offender are too insignificant to deserve any further notice of this Committee.

It being now near the expiration of one year since the present Committee was chosen, and the Board being of opinion a new choice ought to be annually made, do recommend each member to advertise the inhabitants of his township, to meet at the most convenient place in each township for that purpose, on the sixteenth day of December.

The Treasurer informed the Committee that to comply with the order of the nineteenth of October he had paid the moneys then collected into the hands of Samuel Adams, chairman of the Committee appointed by the General Court of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, to dispose of the Contributions for the Relief of the Sufferers by the Boston Port Bill, and produced a receipt from him for the sum of £125 15s. 7d.

December ye 26th is appointed for the meeting of the new mittee at this place.

In Committee December 26th, 1775.

The following persons were returned as members in Committee in their respective Townships for the ensuing year, viz. :

Upper Makefield, James McNair; *Springfield*, Josiah Brian; *Rockhill*, Samuel Smith; *Buckingham*, John Lacey; *Northampton*, Henry Wynkoop; *Wrightstown*, Joseph Sackett; *Bensalem*, John Kidd, James Benezet; *Solesbury*, John Coryel; *The Falls*, Thomas Harvey, William Biles; *Bristol*, Joseph McIlvain, John Cox; *Newtown*, Samuel Yardley; *Southampton*, Arthur Watts; *Warrington*, Richard Walker; *Warminster*, Joseph Hart; *Plumstead*, Benjamin Fell; *Haycock*, Adam Lowdesleger; *Tinicum*, Robert Patterson; *Warwick*, James Wallace.

Joseph Hart was appointed Chairman, Henry Wynkoop Clerk and Treasurer, and Joseph Hart, James Wallace, Samuel Yardley, Arthur Watts, Henry Wynkoop were chosen Committee of Correspondence for the ensuing year.

The Committee being apprehensive that certain Shopkeepers within this County have not been sufficiently attentive to the Continental Association respecting the price of goods, the Clerk is directed to publish the 9th article of sd. Association with the following preamble annexed, viz. :

"This Committee, desires as much as possible to prevent every species of imposition and extortion which designing persons, prompted by a sordid attachment to private interests and present scarcity of sundry articles of merchandise, may be tempted to commit, have directed the republication of the 9th article of the Continental Association: and all Shopkeepers and other Retailers of Goods are requested to be particularly attentive thereto, as a wilful violation thereof will necessarily incur the penalties recommended in this and the 11th Article of said Association."

Each member of this Committee is likewise particularly enjoined to use his influence within their respective neighborhoods for suppressing as much as possible that growing evil.

Joseph McIlvain and John Cox having informed the Committee that they had been instructed that William Walton had drank damnation to the Congress and uttered expressions derogatory to that Honorable Body and disrespectful to the present public measures.

Ordered that John Kidd, James Benezet, Thomas Harvey, Joseph McIlvain, and John Cox be a sub-committee to inquire into this matter and make report to the next meeting.

The Committee, taking into consideration the late resolves of the Assembly of this Province respecting the Military Asso-

ciation and the Laws passed for its regulation by that Body, do earnestly recommend to every Member of this Board to use his influence within his township and neighbourhood to induce the people to sign and submit to the same.

In Committee by particular request from the Committee of Safety, Jannary 22, 1776.

Present: Joseph Hart, John Coryel, Robert Patterson, Robert Shewel, *New Britain*, Richard Walker, Arthur Watts, John Cox, James McNair, John Lacey, Thomas Jones, *Hilltown*, Joshua Anderson, *Lower Makefield*, Henry Wynkoop, James Wallace, Samuel Smith, Joseph McIlvain, Thomas Darrah, *Bedminster*, Samuel Yardley, Josiah Brian, Joseph Sackett, Benjamin Seigle, William Biles, Benjamin Fell, Thomas Harvey, Andrew Trumbower, *Lower Milford*, James Benezet.

Messrs. James Biddle and Joseph Wharton, members of the Committee of Safety for this Province, delivered the following letters from that Board, viz.:

In Committee of Safety.

"PHILADELPHIA, January ye 10, 1776.

"GENTLEMEN,—The Committee of Safety have published a process for the making of Saltpetre, which they hope will induce the inhabitants of the Colony generally to set about the work, but as no description, however exact, so fully answers the purpose of instruction as the actual exhibition of the Process, the Committee have resolved to employ a number of persons to go through the Country to instruct the people in this necessary branch of Manufacture. It is therefor requested of you to send two persons to this city to obtain a competent Knowledge of the method practiced at the Saltpetre Works here, that they may be qualified to exhibit the process to such inhabitants of your County as are desirous of being useful to their Country at this important and dangerous Crisis of our Affairs.

"It is referred to you to make such agreement for the public with the persons you employ on this Service as you may think just and reasonable. Their expenses to and from the City and while they remain here for instruction will be also allowed by the Committee of Safety.

"*By order of the Committee,*

"JOHN NIXON,

"*Chairman.*

"To the Committee of Bucks County."

In Committee of Safety.

"PHILADELPHIA, January ye 10, 1776.

"GENTLEMEN,—The better to encourage people at a Distance from this City to enter into the manufacture of Saltpetre with Spirit, we request you would appoint a proper person in your County to receive all that shall be made there, and give notice to this Board and also public notice of such appointment. As soon as we have notice, we shall furnish such person with Power to pay in that Article one-fourth the value of the Saltpetre according to our former proposals, and the rest of the price we shall pay to the order of the Officer appointed, who is to send the Saltpetre he shall receive from time to time, as opportunity shall offer, to Mr. Robert Towers our Commissary in this city.

"*By order of the Committee,*

"JOHN NIXON,

"*Chairman.*

"To the Committee of
"The County of Bucks."

The above letters having been read and considered, Messrs. James Wallace, Andrew Kicklein, and Joseph Fenton, Junr, were appointed to go to Philadelphia to be instruced in the method of making Saltpetre. And James Wallace is appointed the Officer to receive the Saltpetre which shall be manufactured in this County agreeable to the request made in the sd. letters by the Committee of Safety.

Representation being made to this Board that the inhabitants of a certain District within this County, on the border of Northampton County, who have lately been established into a Township by the name of Durham, were desirous to receive the Direc ion of this Committee relative to the mode of obtaining a Representative in this Board, it was ordered that public notice be given to the inhabitants of sd. Township to meet and choose a person for that purpose.

The Sub-committee appointed to examine the charge laid against Mr. William Walton reported as follows, viz. :

"On the 30th December, 1775, four of the Committee met to enquire into the truth of the charge laid against Mr. Walton, who appeared and also the witnesses, but on objection of Mr. Walton to the proceeding of the Committee until the whole of them had assembled and the fifth gentleman appointed to this business not being able to attend, on account of sickness: the members then present thought it proper to adjourn the matter to a further day, viz., to the 6th of January.

"The Committee then met, Mr. Walton appeared, and ob-

jected to answer until he saw his accusers face to face. The Committee waited from 11 o'clock in the morning untill four in the afternoon, the witnesses nor any of them appearing, though directed and having promised to attend, your Committee thought proper to make this report of their proceeding.

"JOHN KIDD, JOSEPH MCILVAIN,
"JOHN COX, JAMES BENEZET,
"THOMAS HARVEY.

"*Resolved*, That this matter be held under advisement until the next meeting, and the aforesd. Committee are requested to have a strict regard to the conduct of sd. Walton during that time."

The Committee then adjourned to February 27, 1776.

In Committee at John Bogart's, February 27, 1776.

Present: Joseph Hart, John Coryel, Richard Walker, Samuel Smith, Robert Patterson, James McNair, James Wallace, Benjamin Siegel, Adam Lowdesleger, Benjamin Fell.

"*Resolved*, That the following petition be presented to the Assembly relative to the Military Association:

"That as a general uneasiness prevails among the Associators in this County on account of the late Military Resolutions of this Honorable House, and many persons have signed them under a full persuasion that amendments would be made therein; And as there are many able-bodied men between the age of fifty and sixty years, possessed of large estates, who are entirely exempt from Military Duty and Expense, your petitioners therefore humbly prays that the Association may be extended to the age of sixty.

"And as the Tax upon Non-Associators is considered merely as an equivalent for personal services, and the Associators have not Compensation for their Arms and accoutrements, not to mention the danger they will be exposed to when called into actual service, Your petitioners pray that an additional Tax be laid upon the Estates of Non-Associators proportionate to the expenses of the Associators necessarily incurred for the general Defence of Property.

"And as by marching whole Battalions or Companies of Militia large tracts of Country will be left destitute of Men, except those who either hold all Resistance unlawful, or such as are disaffected to the present Measures, Your petitioners therefore beg leave to submit to the consideration of the House, whether it would not be better to direct the Colonels to draught from their Battalions such number as shall from time to time be requisite, thereby affording an opportunity for those whose circumstances will not always admit their going

to get Volunteers in their stead, and at the same time leaving sufficient force in every part of the Country to quell any local Insurrections.

"All which your Petitioners humbly pray may be taken into consideration of the House and such Amendments made as you in your Wisdom shall seem meet."

Complaint being made that John Burrows, Jr., had uttered expressions inimicable to the Cause of America. Ordered that John Coryel, James McNair, Joseph Sackett, Samuel Yardley, and Joshua Anderson, or any three of them, be a Special Committee to examine the Evidences and make report thereof to the next meeting.

The Committee then adjourned to March 27th.

In Committee at John Bogart's, March 27, 1776.

Present: Joseph Hart, James Benezet, Richard Walker, Samuel Smith, Arthur Watts, John Sample, James Wallace, Samuel Yardley, James McNair, William Biles, Robert Patterson, John Kidd, Adam Lowdesleger, Jacob Beitleman, Andrew Trumbower, John Cox, Thomas Darrah, Thomas Long, Joseph Sackett.

The Committee appointed to enquire into the charge laid against John Burrows, Jr., do report that upon proper examination it appeared that the words charged against him had been spoken heedlessly, the party saying he could not recollect to have said anything with an intention to offend, but if he had spoken disrespectfully he was very sorry for it, and promised to demean himself better for the future.

Resolved, "Therefore, that this excuse be allowed."

A letter from the Committee of Safety dated March 19, 1776, requesting that the Associators in this County be properly equipped so as to be in condition to march at an hour's warning, and that a strict attention be paid to their Arms and Accoutrements, and there is the greatest reason to apprehend that Gen. Howe intends an attack upon this Province.

Also another letter from that Committee, dated March 23, 1776, requesting this Board to appoint proper persons to purchase such Muskets in this County as are in the hands of Non-Associators or can be spared, for the use of the Battalions raised in this Province for the Continental Service, and the Battalion of Musketeers raised for our provincial defence.

Said letters having been read and considered, "*Resolved*, That every Member of this Committee do as soon as possible purchase all the Arms within his respective Township which he shall judge fit for service and are not made use of by associators or their owners shall be willing to part with upon rea-

sonable terms, and that the same be delivered to Henry Wynkoop, James Wallace, or Samuel Smith, who are hereby appointed to receive them and send tham to Philadelphia agreeable to the request of the Committee of Safety. And that information be given to the Colonels of the different Battalions of Associators in this County of the present critical situation of our affairs, and that they be requested to use their utmost abilities and diligence to put the several Battalions in the best order that the nature of the thing will admit of, to be ready to march immediately if it should be thought necessary; and it is expected and required that every member of this Board do everything in his power to assist the officers in carrying the above resolve into execution."

Upon motion, "*Resolved*, That for the future fifteen members met, and no less, shall be considered a Board capable to transact business."

The Committee then adjourned to April 24, 1776.

In Committee at John Bogart's, April 24, 1776.

Present: Joseph Hart, Thomas Long, Richard Walker, James McNair, Robert Shewell, James Wallace, John Cox, Joseph Sackett, Arthur Watts, Robert Patterson, John Sampler, William Biles, Jacob Beitleman, Samuel Yardley, Joshua Brian, Joshua Anderson, Samuel Smith, Henry Wynkoop, Adam Lowdesleger.

Upon motion "*Resolved*, That the sum of 1s. 6d. shall be paid by each Member who shall not attend within the space of one hour after the time appointed for the meeting of this Committee, and that Mr. Walker be the Collector of the sd. fines."

Richard Walker, Esq., being in the Chair, Mr. Hart, as Colonel of the 2d Battalion of Associators in this County made return of the Field Officers of that Battalion as chosen by the Officers thereof, viz: Joseph Hart, Colonel; Robert Shewell, Lieutenant-Colonel; James McMasters, first Major, Gilbert Rodman, second Major; Joseph Shaw, Standard Bearer, and William Thompson, Adjutant, which was accordingly certified to the Speaker of the Assembly, agreeable to a late resolve of that body.

The Committee appointed to examine into the charge against Thomas Blacklidge reported that they apprehended the witnesses had not understood Mr. Blacklidge, and that he declared that he wished well to the Libertys of America, and would support its freedom as far as was consistent with the religious principles of the Society to which he belongs:

"*Resolved*, Therefore, that Mr. Blacklidge is fully acquitted from the said charge."

The Committee then adjourned to May ye 22.

In Committee at John Bogart's, May 22, 1776.

Present: Joseph Hart, Samuel Yardley, James Benezet, James Wallace, John Cox, Arthur Watts, John Kidd, Joseph Sackett, Jacob Beitleman, Richard Walker, Joseph McIlvain, John Sampler, Benjamin Siegle, James McNair, Robert Patterson, Gilbert Hicks, Samuel Smith, Thomas Harvey, Benjamin Fell, William Biles, John Coryel, Thomas Long, Henry Wynkoop, Adam Lowdesleger, Josiah Brian.

Gilbert Hicks returned as Committeeman for the Township of Middletown.

The Committee receiving a letter from the Committee of Safety reminding this Board that the Assembly of this Province, by five Resolves of the 6th of April last, did provide for disarming disaffected perons, and procuring the Arms of Non-associators in this Province, to be applied to the arming the Continental Troops raised in this Colony, the Troops raised in its own special Defence, and the residue for the Associators; as the necessity for Fire-locks at this alarming conjuncture is very pressing, they request this Board to refer to the sd. Resolves without delay, and make report to them with all possible speed. After mature consideration of the above letter:

"*Resolved* That the inhabitants of those Townships in this County who have not already elected persons to take up the Arms of Non-Associators, agreeably to late Resolves of the Assembly of this Province, be requested to meet on Saturday the 8th of June and choose three persons for that purpose,. And that the Members of this Committee advertise this Resolve at some of the most public places in their respective Townships, with the place and hour of meeting. And it is recommended to those persons who shall be so chosen, to join in districts in the following order, viz:

"Bristol Falls and Middletown; Bensalem, South Hampton, and Northampton; Warmister, Warwick, and Warrington; Newtown, Lower Makefield, and Upper Makefield; Wrightstown, Buckingham, and Solesbury; Plumstead, Bedminster, Tinicum; New Brittain, Rockhill, and Hiltown; Milford, Haycock, and Richland; Springfield, Nockamixon, and Durham."

Messrs. David Jones and Joseph Watkins having produced a letter from the Committee of Inspection of Philadelphia requesting this Board to nominate a certain number of their members to meet Deputies from the other Counties of this Province in Philadelphia on Tuesday the 18th day of next month, in order to agree upon and direct the mode of electing Members for a Provincial Convention, to be held at such time and place as the sd. Conference of Committees may appoint, for the express purpose of forming and establishing new form of Government.

The said letter, together with some other papers to the same purport having been read and considered:

"*Resolved*, That, as this is a matter of very great consequence and ought to be considered with the utmost deliberation, the same be held under advisement until Monday the 10th of June, when this Committee will meet and give an answer to the said letter."

In the mean time every Member of this Board will collect as much as possible the sense of his Township on this important subject.

The Committee then adjourned to Monday 10th June.

In Committee at Newtown, June 10, 1776.

Present: Joseph Hart, Joshua Anderson, John Kidd, Benjamin Seigle, Richard Walker, Jacob Beitleman, James Benezet, Samuel Smith, Robert Patterson, Benjamin Fell, Joseph Sackett, John Sampler, William Biles, John Coryel, James McNair, Samuel Yardley, Arthur Watts, James Wallace, Andrew Trumbower, Gilbert Hicks, Adam Lowdesleger, Thomas Long, Josiah Brian, Thomas Jones, John Cox, Thomas Harvey, Henry Wynkoop.

The Committee taking into consideration the request of the Committee of Inspection of Philadelphia relative to the appointment of Deputies to meet the other Counties of this Province in Provincial Conference at Philadelphia on Tuesday the 18th day of June for the purposes above recited. The members having reported the sense of the inhabitants of their respective Townships and the whole matter having been debated and considered, the question was put whether this Board will appoint Deputies agreeable to the request of the Committee of Philadelphia, or whether the Assembly be considered as competent to regulate the Interval Police of this Colony agreeable to the Resolve of the Continental Congress of the 15th of May last, which was carried in favor of Deputies being appointed by a great majority.

The Committee then appointed Joseph Hart, John Kidd, James Wallace, Benjamin Siegle, and Henry Wynkoop, or any three of them, to attend the said Conference.

The Committee being informed that sundry Townships had neglected to choose persons for receiving the arms of Non-associators, agreeable to a late resolve of the Assembly of this Province, as requested by this Committee at their last meeting, the following persons were appointed for that purpose by this Board, viz.:

John Crawford, James Barclay, and William Long for *Warrington;* Daniel Larew, Richard Rue, and Thomas Miller for

Middletown; William Thompson, John Johnson, and Simon Sackett for *Wrightstown;* John Klyne, Peter Sampson, and John Freeze for *Milford;* Theophilus Foulke, Philip Smith, and Peter Wykle for *Richland;* Peter Henry, Jacob Hartzel, and George Phillips for *Rockhill,*

It being represented that the Borough of Bristol had been omitted in laying off the different Townships into Districts, and that the inhabitants thereof had elected persons for executing the Resolve of Assembly relating to the Arms of Non-associators within the Borough.

It was resolved that the sd. Borough be joined in District with the Falls, Middletown, and Bensalem Townships.

James Scout being charged before this Committee with the following expressions, viz: The said Scout asked John Dorland before several people whether he was an Independent in his Principles, Dorland replying he was, Scout then said, You are going to open a door to Eternal Tyrrany and give a loose to every Usurper, Dorland asking who he meant by Usurpers, he said, The cursed Congress and Committee of Safety; The said charge having been fully proven against the said Scout, he begged pardon for those imprudent expressions, declaring he was firmly attached to the Cause of America, and promised for the future to be more guarded and to avoid such indecent language, and neither to say or do anything contrary to the Interests of America.

The Committee thereupon dimissed him, being satisfied with those concessions.

The Committee then adjourned to Monday July ye 1st.

In Committee at John Bogart's Monday, July ye 1, 1776.

Present: Joseph Hart, John Coryel, Thomas Darrah, Joseph Sackett, Samuel Smith, Robert Patterson, Benjamin Siegel, Robert Shewell, Adam Lowdesleger, John Sampler, Josiah Brain, Richard Walker, Arthur Watts, John Cox, James Wallace, Joshua Anderson, Thomas Long, Benjamin Fell, James McNair, Jacob Beitleman, James Benezet, Henry Wynkoop, Thomas Jones.

The Committee, being informed that sundry persons had refused to surrender the Arms in their possession to the collectors of Arms, appointed agreeable to a late Resolve of the Assembly of this Province,

"*Resolved*, That, where such refusal shall happen in any township, the militia be called upon for enforcing sd. Resolve, and that the Collectors of the Arms apply to the colonel or in his absence the next in command of the battalion to which the associators of that township belong, who shall thereupon give

orders to such officer and such number of men as he shall apprehend proper and sufficient to enforce the said resolve of Assembly."

A complaint, partly verbal and partly by petition, being exhibited to the Board against Andrew Kichlein, colonel of the 3d Battalion of Associators in this County, that he had used undue influence in procuring himself elected, and that he rendered himself incapable of commanding by excessive drinking; from Joseph Savitz and John Loudwick, Valentine Up, George Hurleur, Henry Hover, Benjamin Seigle, and Michael Smith, Captains of companies. The Committee agreed to take the same into consideration at their next meeting, and ordered that the parties be notified and requested to attend. The Board being informed that George Waln, who had been elected by the inhabitants of Solesbury one of the persons to receive the arms of Non-associators in that Township, declined acting therein. The committee appointed Henry Lott, Jr., as Collector of Arms in the room of said Waln.

The Committee likewise appointed Joseph Shaw, John Kelley, and Jarret Irvine to collect the arms in Hiltown.

On motion "*Resolved*, That Joseph Hart, Thomas Long, Samuel Smith, Benjamin Fell, and Robert Patterson be and they are hereby appointed to meet a Deputation from the Committee of Northampton County to settle the quota of Field officers to be appointed for the Battalion to be raised by those two counties agreeable to a resolve of the late Provincial Conference."

The Committee appointed Solomon Gruber and Philip Sheets in the room of Theophilus Foulke and Peter Wikle as Collectors of arms in the township of Richland. The Collectors of arms in Rockhill reported they had received thirty-nine guns.

The Committee adojurned to 10th July, 1776.

In Committee 10th July, 1776.

Present: Joseph Hart, Andrew Trumbower, Richard Walker, Adam Lowdesleger, James Benezet, John Coryel, Joseph Sackett, John Sampler, Arthur Watts, Benjamin Fell, James Wallace, Josiah Brian, Robert Patterson, Samuel Smith, Henry Wynkoop, Thomas Long.

"*Resolved*, That this Committee will use their utmost endeavors that the Resolve of the late Provincial Conference for embodying four hundred of the Associators of this County be immediately put into execution, and that the following gentlemen be appointed officers, being the proportion allotted to this County, viz.: Joseph Hart, colonel; Captains, John Folwell,

William Roberts, William Hart, Valentine Up, and John Jamison; 1st Lieutenants, John Kroesen, Henry Darrach, Hugh Long, Philip Trumbower, and Tennis Middlemart; 2d Lieutenants, Abram DuBois, James Shaw, Jacob Drake, Samuel Deane, and John Irvine; Ensigns, Mr. McKissack, William Hines, Joseph Hart, Stoffel Keller, and John McCammon Adjutant, John Johnson; Surgeon, Joseph Benton, Jr.; Quartermaster, Alexander Benstead.

"*Resolved*, That where any person or persons within any Township of this County shall refuse to deliver his or their fire-arms to the Collectors of arms, either chosen or appointed, agreeable to a late Resolve of the Assembly of this Province, the said Collectors or any one of them apply to the Colonel, or in his absence the next in command of the Battalion to which the Associators of that Township belong, who shall thereupon give orders to such Officer and such number of men as he shall apprehend proper and sufficient to enforce the said Resolve of Assembly.

"*Resolved*, That where it shall appear to the Collectors of Arms that any person or persons have been in possession of good Fire-arms and do not deliver them, or satisfy the Collectors where they are, the said Collectors, or any of them, cite such person or persons to appear before this Committee at their next meeting and satisfy this Board how the said arms have been disposed of."

Agreeable to two Resolves of the Committee of Safety of this Province this Committee have appointed Gerret Dungan to cause the fire-arms collected from Non-Associators in this County to be immediately rendered fit for use, and Matthew Bennett is appointed for the first Battalion and Jared Irvine for the 2d, 3d, and 4th Battalions of Associators in this County to size the guns and mark the size on the breech-pin or lower end of the barrel.

An account was produced to this Board of the arms collected in Bedminster, being thirteen fit for service.

A letter was produced to the Board from the Committee of Safety, containing a resolve of that Board, to furnish each Battalion of Associators in this County with two quarter casks of powder, and requesting this Board to send to the Commissary Robert Towers for the same and distribute it to the different colonels.

"*Resolved*, That the Chairman grant orders to the different Colonels for receiving said powder from the Provincial Commissary."

The Collectors of arms in Haycock Township reported they had received two guns.

Major James McMasters, Captain John McKonkey, and Mr. John Keith are appointed to collect the fire-arms in Upper Makefield, in the room of Barnet Vanhorn, John Burleigh, and James Torbet, who decline serving.

Captain John Jamison and Philip Grisler informed the Board that Stoffel Suckafuss had assaulted the said Grisler, destroyed the gun of sd. Jamison, and uttered many expressions discovering a violent enmity to the Libertys of America. The Committee appointed Mr. Patterson, Mr. Fell, Mr. Long, Mr. Trumbower, and Mr. Brian, or any three of them, a sub-committee to enquire into the said charge, and report to the next meeting.

Information being made to the Committee that Jeremiah Vastine, a Non-Associator, had bought up a number of guns without any proper authority:

"*Resolved*, Therefore, that the Chairman immediately issue a precept to apprehend the said Vastine to bring him before the following gentlemen, viz: Joseph Hart, James Wallace, Arthur Watts, Richard Walker, and Henry Wynkoop, or any three of them, who are appointed a Sub-committee to enquire into the said matter, and report to the next meeting of this Board."

John Bogart produced an account for Continental services, amount £9 5s. 1d., which is ordered to be recommended to the Committee of Continental accounts as just.

Philip Stever and Mathias Hartman are appointed Collectors of arms in Haycock Township in the room of Philip Hering and John Mill.

Valentine Up, Rudolph Croman, and John Esterly are appointed Collectors of arms in Springfield township, in the room of Ellis Roxbury, Christopher Wagner, and John Esterly.

The Committee adjourned to the 29th July.

In Committee, 29th July, 1776, at John Bogart's.

Present: Joseph Hart, Robert Shewell, Richard Walker, Arthur Watts, Benjamin Seigle, James McNair, Joseph Sackett, John Sampler, Benjamin Fell, Robert Patterson, Thomas Jones, Josiah Brian, James Wallace, William Biles, John Coryel, Henry Wynkoop.

Two lettters being produced to the Board from General Roberdeau, and likewise a Resolve of Congress of 19th inst., urging the immediate march of the Militia.

"*Resolved*, That notwithstanding a former resolve of this Board for sending to camp the proportion of this county for the Flying Camp, this Committee will use their utmost endeavors to forward the immediate march of the whole Militia and afford them all the assistance in their power.

"*Resolved*, That the Cartouch Boxes, Bayonet Belts, Knap and Haversacks, procured by the Commissioners and Assessors of this County, be equally distributed between the four Battalions of Associators in this County, and be delivered to their Colonels, or the next in command, who shall endeavor to distribute them among the companies in proportion to the number of men entering into acutal service."

Peter Blaker and Jonathan Cooper appeared upon Citation from Captain John McKonkey, one of the Collectors of Arms in Upper Makefield, to satisfy this Board how their arms had been disposed of. Blaker said his gun had been taken away, as he supposed, by one John South who was enlisted into the service of this Province, and Cooper promised to deliver his guns the next morning, upon which they were discharged.

Joseph Shaw having made complaint that Ebenezer Owen had refused to deliver his gun and uttered expressions discovering a violent enmity to the Libertys of America, Thomas Darrach, Benjamin Fell, Richard Walker, and Robert Shewell, or any three of them, are appointed to bring the said Owen before them to enquire into this matter, to cite such witnesses as shall be necessary, and to make report to the next meeting.

Representation being made that a certain Negro, called Samson, belonging to Jeremiah Dungan, Jr., had become obnoxious to the Associators in his neighborhood and that they were afraid he would injure their families during their absence, said Dungan offering to become surety for the good behaviour of said negro until the return of the Associators, the same is ordered to be taken.

The Committee appointed to examine into the charge against Stoffel Suckafuss, reported that they had cited the said Stoffel before them, and also the witnesses in support of said charge; that it appeared the said Stoffel, in conjunction with Jacob Bougar, had assaulted Philip Grisler, and broke and destroyed a gun belonging to Captain John Jamison, and that said Stoffel and Jacob refused to make any compensation to the said Jamison for the loss of his gun or the expenses arisen upon their prosecution; that said Stoffel behaved himself in a very insulting, outrageous, and haughty manner, saying there was no law now and that he would do what he pleased, and that from the general conduct and language of the said Stoffel and Jacob they apprehended them to be dangerous to the safety of the State of Pennsylvania.

Therefore "*Resolved*, That the said Stoffel Suckafuss and Jacob Bougar be forthwith conveyed to the Committee of Safety of this Province, at Philadelphia, to be there confined until they shall compensate said Captain Jamison for the loss

of his gun and pay the expense accrued upon this Prosecution, unless they shall give such security for those payments and their future good behaviour as shall be judged sufficient by one or more of the Neighbouring Committeemen. Cost as follows, viz. :

To Captain Jamison for his gun 50/	£2	10
To Philip Grisler, a witness attending 4 days at 2/ .		8
To Grisley Steel, attending 2 days at 2/		4
To Captain Jamison. expense for guard to bring Suckafuss to Newtown, ...	1	4
To his trouble 6 days at 5/ and 3 men 2 days at 2/6 .	2	5
	£6	11

"*Resolved,* That the officer appointed to get the Arms collected from Non-associators fitted for immediate use deliver those arms, when so fitted, to the Colonel or commanding officer of the Battalion where the Guns have been collected, to be by him distributed among those Associators who are going into actual service and have no guns of their own.

"*Resolved,* That the arms collected from the inhabitants of Rockhill, who have now associated under Captain Ludwick Benner, be returned to them again, they paying the expense of fitting them for actual Service."

As it is doubtful whether a sufficient number of camp-kettles can be immediately procured for the use of the militia, therefore

"*Resolved,* That the Captains of the Associators procure a Pot Kettle or Frying Pan suitable to accommodate every six men at the expense of the public, and that he furnish a neighbouring Committeeman with an account thereof, to enable this Board to draw for money to discharge the same."

Agreeable to a resolve of the Committee of Safety of the 15th inst. recommending to th Committees of Inspection in the several Counties of this Province to nominate and appoint a proper number of judicious person to distribute to distressed families whose husbands are now in actual service, the allowance they may think reasonable, and that the said Committees be empowered to draw as they shall see occasion on this Board for the necessary sums of money to be by them lodged in the hands of the persons so nominated, to be applied as above directed.

The following gentlemen were appointed for the purposes mentioned in said resolve, viz. :

Bristol Borough and *Township*, Benjamin Brittain, and Robert Patterson; *Bensalem*, John Kidd; *Buckingham*, John Sampler; *Falls*, William Biles; *Lower Makefield*, Abram Mack; *Middletown*, Gabriel Vanhorn; *Newtown*, Samuel Yardley; *South-*

ampton, Henry Kroesen;* *Warminster*, Isaiah Hough; *Warrington*, Richard Walker; *Warwick*, James Wallace; *Wrightstown*, Joseph Sackett; *Plumstead*, Thomas Dyer; *Bedminster*, Robert Darrach and Robert Maneeley; *New Brittain*, Alexander Finlay; *Hilltown*, John Kelley; *Tinicum*, Robert Patterson; *Nockamixon*, Daniel Jamison; *Springfield*, James Chapman; *Rockhill*, Samuel Smith; *Richland*, Thomas Foulke; *Durham*, Thomas Long; *Northampton*, Gilliam Cornel; *Upper Makefield*, James McNair; *Solesbury*, John Coryel; *Haycock*, Adam Lowdesleger; *Milford*, Andrew Trumbower.

The gentlemen appointed to enquire into the conduct of Jeremiah Vastine relative to his purchasing Guns report that, upon proper examination, it appeared that said Vastine buying guns had been done merely for the purpose of profit to himself, and not with any design to injure his Country, as he had sold them to gunsmiths in Philadelphia to be fitted for service. Ordered therefore that said Vastine be acquitted from any further prosecution on this information.

As many members of this Board are going with the Militia into the Continental Service, therefore,

"*Resolved*, That, for the future, nine members met constitute a Board."

The Committee then adjourned to 12th of August, 1776, at nine o'clock.

In Committee, 12th August, 1776.

Present: John Kidd, John Sampler, Richard Walker, Arthur Watts, William Biles, Thomas Jones, Joseph Sackett, James Wallace, Thomas Long, Robert Patterson, John Coryel, Robert Shewell, James McNair, Robert Patterson, Esq., Samuel Yardley, Henry Wynkoop, Adam Lowdesleger.

Robert Patterson returned as a member of this Board for the Township of Bristol in the room of Mr. John Cox, resigned.

The Board being informed that John Brown had delivered his Arms, ordered that his publication be stopped.

Eleanor Graham complaining that she apprehends herself in danger of some personal injury from Benjamin John, Richard Walker and Robert Shewel are appointed to bind the said Benjamin John to his good Behaviour towards the said Eleanor Graham until the return of the Militia.

The Rev. Robert Keith is appointed Chaplain for the Battalion of the Flying Camp under the command of Colonel Hart.

Ebenezer Owen appearing personally before the Board and confessing that he had expressed himself imprudently to the Collectors of Arms, and declaring himself sorry for his indiscreet conduct, and being willing to give Security for his good

behaviour until the return of the Militia, ordered that Mr. Walker and Mr. Shewel take his Security, and he be discharged from any further prosecution.

In Committee, July 29, 1776.

Present: Joseph Hart, Robert Shewel, Richard Walker, Arthur Watts, Benjamin Siegle, James McNair, Joseph Sackett, John Sampler, Benjamin Fell, Robert Patterson, Thomas Jones, Henry Wynkoop, James Wallace, Josiah Brian, John Coryel, William Biles.

Two letters being produced to the Board, and likewise a Resolve of Congress of 19th inst., urging the necessity of the immediate march of the Militia.

"*Resolved*, That, notwithstanding a former resolve of this Board for sending to Camp the proportion of this County for the Flying Camp, this Committee will use their utmost endeavours to forward the immediate march of the whole Militia and afford them all the assistance in their power."

Upon motion "*Resolved*, That the Cartouch Boxes, Bayonet Belts, Knap and Haversacks in this County, procured by the Commissioners and Assessors, be equally distributed between the four Battalions of Associators in this County, and be delivered to their Colonels or the next in Command, who shall endeavor to distribute them among the companies in proportion to the number of men entering into actual Service."

Peter Blaker cited to satisfy the board on the complaint of John McKonkey, one of the Collectors of Arms in Upper Makefield, how his arms had been disposed of. Blaker says his guns had been stolen; Jonathan Cooper promised to deliver his gun; James Thornton says he hath no gun.

Joseph Shaw having made complaint that Ebenezer Owen had refused to deliver his Gun and uttered expressions discovering a violent enmity to the Libertys of America, Thomas Darrach, Benjamin Fell, Richard Walker, and Robert Shewel, or any three of them, are appointed to bring the said Owen before them and enquire into this matter, to cite such Witnesses as are necessary to support said charge, and report to the next meeting.

A complaint having been made to this Board that a Negro of Jeremiah Dungan, Jr., had said he would burn the houses and kill the Women and children of the Associators when they marched out, said Dungan offers to enter into Bond of £100 for the good behaviour of said Negro Samson, which is considered as satisfactory until the return of the Militia.

Thomas Dyer, one of the Collectors of Arms for Plumstead, cites John Brown for having refused to satisfy the collectors

how his Arms had been disposed of; the said Brown says he had two guns that he had sold, the one lately after demanded by the Collector, to one Abram Tucker who is now gone to York County, and that he had disposed of the other about five months ago; at the same time declaring he thought this Board had no authority to ask him such questions, and therefore he did not choose to inform them who the person was:

"*Resolved*, That the said John Brown, in refusing to answer such questions as were asked him by this Board and disputing its Authority in a matter so necessary for the Defence of the American States, hath acted the part of an enemy to the Libertys of America, and that he be published as such."

The Committee appointed to examine into the charge against Stoffel Suckafuss reports: That they had cited the said Stoffel before them and also the witnesses in support of said charge; it appeared that the said Stoffel, in conjunction with a certain Jacob Bougar, had assaulted Philip Grisler and broke and destroyed a Gun belonging to Captain John Jamison, and that they, the said Stoffel Suckafuss and Jacob Bougar, refused to make any compensation to the said Jamison for the loss of his Gun and the expenses arisen upon their prosecution; that he behaved himself in a very insulting, outrageous, and haughty manner, saying there was no Law now and that he would do what he pleased, and that from the general conduct and language of the said Stoffel and Jacob they apprehend them to be dangerous to the Safety of the State of Pennsylvania:

Therefore "*Resolved*," [Here the minutes break off.]

ROLLS

OF

SOLDIERS OF THE REVOLUTION,

PENNSYLVANIA LINE,

Found in the Department of State,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

[When the History of the Pennsylvania Line was in course of preparation, access was denied the Editors to the Papers in the State Department at Washington. Recently, permission was given to copy all the rolls, etc, there contained. Little, if any additional information was found, for as will be discovered, the lists only duplicate what have been printed in Volumes X and XI of this series of Pennsylvania Archives. We print the more important, as they give the men by companies, assuring the reader that nothing is omitted which has not already been published in connection with the War of the Revolution.]

THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE.

List of General and Field Officers in the late Army of the United States, who continued in Service to the end of the War, or were deranged in pursuance of Acts of Congress.

Major General.

Arthur St. Clair.

Brigadier Generals.

Edward Hand.
William Irvine.
Anthony Wayne.

Colonels.

Daniel Brodhead.
Richard Butler.
William Butler.
Henry Bicker.
James Chambers.
Thomas Craig.
Richard Humpton.
Adam Hubley.
Francis Johnston.
Robert Magaw.
Stephen Moylan.
Lewis Nicola.
George Nagle.
Andrew Porter.
Walter Stewart.

Lieutenant Colonels.

Stephen Bayard.
Lewis Farmer.
Samuel Hay.
Josiah Harmar.
John Murray.
Francis Mentzges.
Caleb North.

Thomas Robinson.
Christopher Stewart.
Tench Tilghman.

Majors.

John Armstrong.
William Alexander.
Thomas Church.
Isaac Craig.
Evan Edwards.
Moore Fontleroy.
David S. Franks.
James Grier.
James Hamilton.
John Hulings.
William McPherson.
Thomas L. Moore.
Francis Murray.
James Moore.
Francis Proctor.
James Parr.
James R. Reid.
George Tudor.
Jeremiah Talbot.
Frederick Vernon.

FIRST REGIMENT—1776.

Return of the officers present and absent of the first Regiment of Foot in the Service of the United American States, Commanded by Col. Edw[d]. Hand, West Chester, Oct. 5 1776.

PRESENT AND FIT FOR DUTY.

Colonel.

Edwd. Hand.

Lieutenant Colonel.

James Chambers.

Major.

Jas. Ross.

Captains.

Robt. Clugage.
Henry Miller.
Chas. Craig.
Jas. Grier.
David Harris.
Jas. Parr.
Jas. Hamilton.

First Lieutenants.

Jno. Holliday.
Saml. Craig.
Jno. Matson.
Matt. M^{c}Conell.
Ben. Chambers.
Michl. Simpson.
Jas. Wilson.
Fred. Hubley.

Second Lieutenants.

Willm. Willson.
Thos. Buchanan.
Jasper Ewing.
Thos. Armor.
Wm. Cross.
Ben. Bird.
Peter Wiser.

Third Lieutenants.

Jno. Dick.
Jno. Dougherty.
Wm. Magaw.
Abrm. Skinner.
Alexr. Wilson.
Jas. Holliday.

Chaplain.

Sam^{l}. Blair.

Adjutant.

Jasper Ewing.

Quartermaster.

Fred. Hubley.

Surgeon.

Wm. Magaw.

Mate.

Chris. Reinick.

Officers Absent and how Long.

1st Lieut. Archibald Steel, } Prisoners of War, 31st December,
2d. Lieut. Francis Nichols, } 1775.
3d Lieut. David Ziegler, wounded 26th Aug., 1776.

Officers Fit for Duty.

Capt. Nathan Smith, recruiting 1st July, 1776.

Vacant Officers and by What Means.

Capt. James Ross, } Promoted.
3d Lt. John Clark, }
2d Lt. Jacob Zank, } Resigned.
3d Lt. George Francis, }

[Endorsed] Return of officers of Col. Hand's Regt., Oct. 5, 1776.

EDWD. HAND, *Colonel.*

Return of the officers of the 1st Regim't of Foot, 5th October, 1776.

RIFLE REGIMENT—1776.

Return of the Officers of the 2d Battalion, Penna. Rifle Regt., Octr. 4th, 1776.

Present Fit for Duty.

Major Jno. Patton.
Captn. Jno. Murray.
Captn. Jno. Marshal.
Captn. Petr. Grubb.
Captn. Heny. Christ.
1st Lt. T. B. Bowen.
2d Lt. Robt. Burns.
2d. Lt. Jacob Maise.
3d Lt. Abner Davis.
3d Lt. Wm. Brown.
Adjt. Bowen.
Q. M. Power.
Surjn Reiger.

Sick Present.

Lt. Col. Broadhead.
1st Lt. Jno. Clark.

1st Lt. Jno. Carpenter.
2d Lt. Jas. Hamilton.

Sick Absent.

1st Lt. Jno. Stoner.
3d Lt. Robt. Campble.
Lt. Stephn Hanna.
3d Lt. Wm. Moore.

On Command after Deserters.

Capt. Jos. Erwin.
2d Lt. Thos. Gourley.
Surgns Mate Buck, tendg sick absent.
[Endorsed] Return of officers, 2d Batt[n] Regt.
Return of officers 2d Battn Penna R. Regt., Oct. 4th, 1776.

FIELD OFFICERS—1776.

A Return of the Field Officers in the Pennsylvania Battalions encamped near Head Quarters, October 5th, 1776.

3d Penna Battn.
Col[o]. John Shee, resigned.
Lt. Col. Lambt Cadwallader, present fit for duty.
Major Henry Becker, present fit for duty.

5th Penna Battn.
Colo. Robert Magaw, Present fit for duty.
Lt. Col. Joseph Penrose, gone to Phila since 29th Sept., to purchase Cloths for the Battn.
Major George Nagle, present fit for duty.

Delaware Battn.
Col. John Heslet, sick beyond Kingsbridge.
Lt. Col. Gun'g Bedford, present fit for duty.
Major John McDonough, present fit for duty.

Penna Rifle Men.
Col. Saml Miles, taken prisoner at Long Island.

1st Battn Lt. Col. James Piper, taken at same place.
Major Enion Williams, gone on Command to Phila.

2d Battn, Lt. Col. Danl Broadhead, Sick, present.
Major Patton, present fit for duty.

Penna Muskett Battn.

Col. Saml John Attlee, taken prisoner at Long Island.

Lt. Col. Parry, Killed at the same place.

Major James Potts, Resigned at Philada.

ROBT. MAGAW, *Colo 5th. P.*

[Endorsed] Colo Magaw's List, Battn eldest officer of Field offrs in ye Penna Battalions Encampd near Head Quarters, Oct. 5, 1776.

First Lieut Henry Eppele, Capt. vice Capt. Gross, July 4th, 1778.

Ditto Willm Craig, Ditto vice Capt. Brisben, resigned Sept. 1st, 1777.

Second Lieut., James Bird, First Lt. vice Henry Eppele, preferred.

Ditto Danl St. Clair, Ditto vice Willm Craig, Ditto.

Ditto Mathias Luken, Ditto vice 1st Lt. James Montgomery, left out by order of Genl Conway, Sept. 11th, 1777.

Ensign Danl MacDonald, Second Lt. vice James Bird, preferred.

The above are the vacancies in ye 3d Penn. Regt., Nov. 25th, 1777.

THOS. CRAIG.

[Endorsed] Promotions in the 3d Penna Battalion.

COL. HARTLEY'S REGIMENT.

A list of the officers in Colonel Hartley's Battalion in the Service of the United States of America.

	Rank.	*When Appointed.*
Thomas Hartley,	Colonel,	10th January, 1777.
Morgan Conner,	Lieut. Colonel,	9 Apl., 1777.
Lewis Bush,	Major,	12 January, 1777.
John McAllister,	Quarter Master,	17th April.
Robert Ralston,	Adjutant,	16th January, 1777.
Thomond Ball,	Paymaster,	15th January, 1777.
Jacob Swope,	Surgeon,	15th January, 1777.
—— Tracey,	Surgeon,	5 February.
Barnet Eichelberger,	Captain,	12 January.
William Nicholl,	Do.	13 January.
Robert Hopes,	Do.	13 Do.
Benjamin C. Stoddert,	Do.	14 Do.

	Rank.	*When Appointed.*
William Kelley,	Captain,	16 January.
Richard Willson,	Do.	15 February.
George Bush,	Do.	1 March
Archibald McAllister,	Do.	18th April.
Paul Parker,	first Lieut.,	16th January.
James Forrester,	Do.	23d January.
Horatio Ross,	Do.	24th Do.
James Kenny,	Do.	25th Do.
James Dill,	Do.	5th February.
Count De Momfort,	Do.	23d March.
Charles Croxall,	Do.	25th May.
John Hughes,	Do.	1 June.
Andrew Walker,	Second Lieut.,	12th Jan., 1777.
Isaac Sweeney,	Do.	23d Jan., 1777.
Henry Carberry,	Do.	24th Do. 1777.
Martin Eichelberger,	Do.	25th Do.
Wm. McCurdy,	Do.	26 Do.
William Clemm,	Do.	26 May.

The other two Second Lieutenants are appointed, but I cannot at present return their names.

George Hillery,	Ensign,	1st February.
John M^{c}Bride,	Do.	2d Do.
James McCalmon,	Do.	5th Do.) 24th Jany by Colo.
John Manghan,	Do.	25th Feby) Hartley's Note.
Vachel Dorsey,	Do.	1st May.
John Stake,	Do.	26 May.

The other two Ensigns are also Appointed; I can not now return their names.

I appointed a certain Walter Cox a Captain for the particular Circumstances Attending this appointment his Excellency was pleased to Approve of the same; the Appointment was made the 5th of February, 1777.

THOS. HARTLEY, *Colonel.*

Camp at Middle Brook, June the 14th, 1777.

You will be pleased to present the above List to His Excellency General Washington, as the officers are Anxious to have their Commissions. I would be glad that they were granted as soon as Leisure will admit. The Times of appointment are mentioned. Should any other of the sixteen Battalions desire the Commissions to be of the same Date to all their officers, the same Indulgence will doubtless be granted us.

I am, Sir, Your humble servant,

THOS. HARTLEY.

To Lieut. Colonel Morgan Connor, Adjutant General, pro Temp, Middle Brook, 14th of June, 1777.

[Endorsed] Col. Hartley's officers commissioned.

Thomas Hartley's Commission of Lieut. Colo. in the 6th Batta of Pennsylvania in the Service of the United States, was dated the 10th day of January, 1776. He was Appointed Lt. Col. of Minute Men the 9th of June, 1775.

T. HARTLEY.

[Endorsed] Col. Hartley's Memorandum.

Promotions in Colo. Hartley's Regiment.

James Forrester a first Lieutenant to be a Captain in the Room of Captain Archibald McCallister, resigned the 19th of Novr. last.

Two Commissions are lost within a few days. New ones are desired.

Henry Carbury a 2d Lieut. to be a first Lieutenant in the Room of Captain Parker, promoted 11th Sept.

Martin Eichelberger, 2d Lieut. to be a first Lieutenant in the Room of Lieut. Dill, killed 19th Sept.

THOS. HARTLEY, *Colo.*

[Endorsed] Colonel Hartley for three Commissions, 10th Decemr, 1777.

Promotions exclusive of the Majority to take place as follows in Colonel Hartley's Regiment:

Lt. Paul Parker to be a Captain in the Room of Capt. Kelly, deceased the 9th of September, 1777.

Lieut. Horatio Ross to be a Captain Do. of Capt. Hopes, killed 11th September, 1777.

Lieut. James Forrester to be a Captain in Do. of Capt. McAllister, resigned the 19th of November, 1777.

Second Lieut. Walker to be a first Lieut. in Do. of Lieut. Hughes, declined serving the 1st June, 1777.

2d Lieut. Isaac Sweeney to be a Do. of Lieut. Parker promoted 9th Septr, 1777.

2d Lieut. Henry Carberry to be a Do. in Do. of Lieut. Ross, promoted.

2d Lieut. Eichelbarger to be a Do. in Do. of Lieut. Dill, killed the 19th Septemb, 1777.

2d Lieut. William Clemm to be a first Lieut. in Do. of Lieut. Forrester, promoted the 19th November, 1777.

Ensign George Hilleary to be a Second Lieut. in Do. of Mr. Walker, Lieut., promoted 1st June, 1777.

Ensign John Mahon, a 2d Lieut., in Room of Mr. Lieut. Sweeney, promoted the 11th Septem'r, 1777.

Ensign Vachel Dorsey to a 2d Lieut. in Room of Lieut. Clemm, promoted the 19th of Novem'r, 1777.

In These Cases marked, Commissions have been already granted. Commissions are desired in the others. When the Majority is to be filled Capt. Barnet Eichelberger, Sen'r Captain, has his Commission dated the 12th Janury, 1777. Capt. William Nicholls has his Commission dated the 13th of January; their appointments were the 12th of January.

December ye 10th, 1777.

THOS. HARTLEY,
Capt. Comm'g Brig.

The Commissions for first Lieutenant William Clemm and Second Lieutenant Vachel Dorsey filled up 27th December, 1777.

[Endorsed] Arrangement for Col. Hartley's Regimt. 26th Decemb., 1777.

Comms. granted except the majority not yet settled.

SEVENTH REGIMENT—1777.

Return of officers Belonging to the 7th Penn'a Regiment to fill the vacancies in said Regiment.

Lieut. Andrew Irvine, Capt. 25th Sept. last in the Room of Capt. Jeremiah Talbot, Promoted.

Lieut. Robert McPherson, 1st Lieut., in the Room of Lieut. James Young, Resigned 1st Sept. last.

Lieut. Alexr. Russell 1st Lieut. in the Room of Lieut. Andrew Irvine, Promoted 25th Sept. last.

Ensign James Millagen Apt. 2d Lieut. in the Room of Lieut. McPherson.

Ensign John McCullom, Apt. 2d Lieut. in the room of Lieut. Russell McPherson, Promoted 21st Sept. last.

Ensign John Hughes, Apt. 2d Lieut. 25th, dated 26th Sept.

Ensign John McGee, Apt. 2d Lieut. 13th Oct. last in the Room of Lieut. William Kayle, Resigned.

SAML. HAY, *Majr.*

JAS. CHAMBERS,
Col. 1st Reg. Com'g Brigade.

[Endorsed] Promotions in the 7th Pennsylvania Regt. Comms. granted.

ARTILLERY ARTIFICERS—1779.

A Return of the officers & Privates of the Enlisted Companies of Artillery & Artificers & Staff Officers, Artificers, &c., employed in the Department under the Command & Direction of Collo. Benja. Flower of Artillery & Artificers Com'y Gen'l Milit'y Stores, Dec'r the 1st, 1779.

Col. Benja. Flower, Com'y Gen'l Milt'y Stores.
Capt. Isaac Coren.
Capt. Lieut. Wm. E. Godfrey.
Lieut. Anthony Wright.

49 Non Commissioned officers and Privates doing duty as Guards over the Magazines, Stores & Laboratory on the Wharf.

2 Tinmen making the several articles for the use of the Army.

6 Women, wives of the Non Com'd officers and privates.

Detachment of Capt. Jordan's Company under the Command of Lieut. Henry Stroop.

12 Armourers.
13 Carpenters.
7 Blacksmiths.
2 Brass Founders.
1 Drum Maker.
1 Cooper.
1 Sadler.
1 Turner.
1 Painter.
4 Women.

Capt. Lieut. Theophilis Park acting as Captain and allowed Capt.'s pay & Ration.

Lieut. Alexander Dow.
4 Carriers.
28 Shoe Makers.
3 Sadlers.
7 White Smiths.
2 Boys Accoutrement makers.

7 Shoemakers,
2 White Smiths,
1 Sadler. } Drafts from diff. Regts.

1 Woman.

James Lucas, Adjutant.
Edward Bradley, Q. M. Ser't.
Capt. Daniel Joy, Surveyor of Ordnance.

John Henderson, Supt. of Painting.
Maj'r Jonathan Goslelow, Com'y M'y Stores.
James Pearson, ditto.
Daniel Topham, ditto.
William Thorn, Esq., Paymaster.
William Chambers,
Isaac Warner,
Henry Baker,
Philip Clumburg,
Christian Staddle,
Robert McFee,
William McLaughlin, } Conductors Mil'ty Stores.
Edward Keran,
William Knox,
Peregrine Jones,
John Dealy,
Moses Ghiseling,
Patrick Sullivan, } Clerks.
Weston Clark.
Ralph Bamford, Super't of the White Smiths.
Simon Murray, Foreman of the Tin Shop.
Thomas Follett, purchaser of Skins and preparer of Drum Heads.
Robert Elton, Waggon Master & assistant in providing Timber for the Department.
6 Waggoners.

———

Return continued, being hired men employed in Colo. Benja. Flower, Com'y Gen'l Mil'y Stores Department at the armory.

Joseph Perkins, Superintendent.
Christopher Care.
William Shepherd.
Richard Clark.
Joseph Simcock.
Peter Lessley.
Reimr. Jonsserant.
Frederick Warton.
Charles Southart.
William Clark.
James Smith.
Thomas Lawrence.
William Gardiner.
Glode Uhroe.
Conrad Bartling receives no rations.
Daniel Trump.

William McKinsey
Samuel Starn.
Isaac Roberts.
James Walsh.
John Meggs.
George Shaw.
John Goodman.
Barney McKinney.
Francis Wigstead, a British Prisoner
Alexr. McCook.
Joseph Cartwright.
John Flinn.
Joseph Delavan.
Jacob Baldwin.

Black Smiths.

John McGinley, Superintendant.
John Cotton.
Jonathan Clay.
George Hass.
Jacob Fry.
Martin Step.
Edward Deille.
Musgrove Harry.
Stephen Smith.
John Thompson.
Andrew Lachler.
William Page.
Christian Henry, Stricker.
John Care, ditto.
Peter Beard, ditto.
Lewis Buck, ditto.
Charles Hicks, ditto.
Francis Miltz, Filer.
Val. Hoffman, Superintendant.
John Assmus.
John Carle, Stricker.
Michael Huntsman, ditto.

Wheelwrights.

Christian Beackley, Superintendt.
William Nicholls.
Amos Farra.
Peter Powell.
Joseph Ristine.
David Evans, } Assistant to the Wheelwrights.
Edward Riffets, }

Brass Founders.

James Byers, Superintend't.
Samuel Parker.
Martin Carroll.
Hieronimus Warner.

Buckle Filers and Finishers.

Abraham Sciek.
Abraham Motanye.
Thomas Glover.
Fincher Hellings.
Battis Earnest.

File Cutters.

Samuel Bedford.
William Colton.
John Pendleton.

Carpenters.

Joseph Kennedy.
Thomas Murray.
Archibald Stewart.
Andrew Clark.
John Thumb.

Turners.

Alexander Boyd.
Edmond Edmonds.
Thomas Winger.

Curriers.

John Metts.
Conrad Walters.
Peter Mascuer.

At the Lead Furnace.

Simon Mitchell.
John Robbins.
John Cook.
Robert Fullerton.

At the Laboratory.

James Kelly.
Joseph Bowne.
John Beaks, Sen'r.
John Beaks, Jun'r.
John Smalt.
John Conway.
John Grant.
John Hartman.

William McKinsey
Samuel Starn.
Isaac Roberts.
James Walsh.
John Meggs.
George Shaw.
John Goodman.
Barney McKinney.
Francis Wigstead, a British Prisoner
Alexr. McCook.
Joseph Cartwright.
John Flinn.
Joseph Delavan.
Jacob Baldwin.

Black Smiths.

John McGinley, Superintendant.
John Cotton.
Jonathan Clay.
George Hass.
Jacob Fry.
Martin Step.
Edward Deille.
Musgrove Harry.
Stephen Smith.
John Thompson.
Andrew Lachler.
William Page.
Christian Henry, Stricker.
John Care, ditto.
Peter Beard, ditto.
Lewis Buck, ditto.
Charles Hicks, ditto.
Francis Miltz, Filer.
Val. Hoffman, Superintendant.
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John Carle, Stricker.
Michael Huntsman, ditto.

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James Byers, Superintend't.
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Buckle Filers and Finishers.

Abraham Sciek.
Abraham Motanye.
Thomas Glover.
Fincher Hellings.
Battis Earnest.

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Samuel Bedford.
William Colton.
John Pendleton.

Carpenters.

Joseph Kennedy.
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Archibald Stewart.
Andrew Clark.
John Thumb.

Turners.

Alexander Boyd.
Edmond Edmonds.
Thomas Winger.

Curriers.

John Metts.
Conrad Walters.
Peter Mascuer.

At the Lead Furnace.

Simon Mitchell.
John Robbins.
John Cook.
Robert Fullerton.

At the Laboratory.

James Kelly.
Joseph Bowne.
John Beaks, Sen'r.
John Beaks, Jun'r.
John Smalt.
John Conway.
John Grant.
John Hartman.

James McGill.
Joseph Craig.
Joseph Boehm.
James Hannah.
John Miller.
Hugh McSwain.
George Cook.
William Peters.
Thomas Page.
Henry Jaffet.
Henry Havick.
Patrick Kelly.
Felix Fitzpatrick.
Thomas Oliver.
Casper Stall.
John Hetherington, } Boatman or employ'd in the Labora-
James Stewart, } tory.
Baltis Collins, cooper.
Mathias Folke, Skinner.

Labourers.

Casper Gasner, } Stocking Coals, Sawg. Timber and Various
Patk McGonegal, } other Services at the Ordnance Yard.
John Hamilton, }
William Reddin, } Attending at the office Weighing Iron,
Joseph White, } &c., &c.
John Bucher, Sawing & spliting wood for the Lead foundry, &c.
Lodowick Wenckler, Carter.
Andrew Kuhn, ditto.
Tunis Lees, attending Saw mill.
Roger Teague, } Grinding Ramrods, files, &c., &c.
Joseph Teague, }
Job Follows, } Forge men drawing Steel.
Wm. Lummus, }
James McColter, Millwright.
James Walsh, Labourer.
David Sheldrake, wood cutter.
George Howard, ditto.
Joseph Lindsay, }
Robert Fargrave, } Colliers.
Joseph Lindsay, }

Note the Rations for the time last mentioned; Men are to be paid for by James Pearson Com'y Mil'y Stores.

Gentlemen: The foregoing return is agreeable to your request relative to all Persons in my Department in this city, who

draw from the Public Stores, ascertaining their numbers and species of Duty, and the regulations they draw by are the Resolves of the Honl. the Congress. Should your Honors wish any further Information I should be ready on all occasions to give it.

I have the Honor to be your

Obedient Serv't,

BENJ. FLOWER,

Col. Ay. & A. Comy. Genl. of Mily. Stores.

To the Hon. the committee of Congress, Will. C. Houston, Ed. Gerry, T. Penn.

Phil'a, Dec. 30, 1779.

Discharged from the employment since the first of Dec'r, 1779.

11 Men from the Armory.
1 Assistant to the Wheelwrights.
3 Brass Founders.
5 Carpenters.
3 Curriers.
3 Labourers.
1 Man attending the saw mill.
3 Colliers.
2 wood Cutters.

William McLaughlin, Cond'r of Mil'y Stores to Gen'l Clinton's Brigade in the western expedition is returned to his former post at Albany.

REPRESENTATION AGAINST MAJOR RYAN.

[NOTE.—Michael Ryan appointed Major of 10th Pa., October 23, 1777; Suspended that week May 19, 1778, in consequence of the following remonstrance.]

To his Excellency General Washington, Commander in Chief, &c., &c.

May it please your Excellency.

We the Captains in the Pennsylvania Line of the Army now in Camp, beg leave to remonstrate to your Excellency in the most respectful yet earnest manner against the unprecedented promotion of Brigade Major Ryan to a Majority in the line of this state; a Gentleman who never attain'd a higher rank in the Army than that of a 2d Lieutenant, which we presume

he must have resigned when he accepted his appointment in the Staff.

In General Orders issued at middle Brook and repeated in those of the 31st of October last, your Excellency was pleased to declare that all Commissioned officers should rise regimentally according to seniority to the rank of Captains; and from that in the line of the State they belong to, by Seniority Also, 'till they attain the rank of Colonel: except where particular officers signalize themselves by Extraordinary Merit, or where others prove themselves Unworthy of preferment. We are not conscious of such unworthiness in our Conduct, nor do we conceive that Mr. Ryan, tho' no doubt a gentleman of worth, has signalized himself by any merit so extraordinary that we should be thrown a step back, while he, tho' entirely out of the line of preferment, which your Excellency has been pleased to establish, is created a Field officer over all our heads.

Exclusive of the good of our Country, and the glory of assisting to establish the blessings of Liberty & Independance, the only recompense of our Services, as Individuals, is honour and promotion in Right of Seniority; both which are severely wounded in the present Case; in losing these we are deprived of our reward.

This step, Sir, is so highly injurious to us, indeed to the young Subalterns of this State, that we cannot suppose your Excellency was rightly informed of Circumstances, and therefore pray your Excellency to order an Enquiry by a Board of officers into the Merits of the Case, or to grant us such other redress as your Excellency in your wisdom and justice may think proper.

We are with the greatest
Deference and Respect,
Your Excellency's
Most obedt. hm'l Servants,

Jas. Grier, *Capt.*	*P. R.*	Thos. Butler, *Capt. 3d*	*P. R.*
Jas. Parr, *Capt.*	"	Henry Epple, *Capt.*	"
Wm. Wilson, *Capt.*	"	Wm. Craig, *Cap.*	"
Saml. Craig, *Capt.*	"	Edwd. Skull, *Cap. 4th*	"
Jno. Matsen, *Cap.*	"	Wm. Gray, *Cap.*	"
Jas. Wilson, *Cap.*	"	Benjn. Fishburn, *Cap.*	"
Jno. Patterson, *Cap. 2d*	"	Jno. McGowen, *Cap.*	"
Jacob Ashmead, *Cap.*	"	Benjn. Bird, *Cap.*	"
Jno. Bankson, *Cap.*	"	Robt. Connelly, *Cap.*	"
Christn Straddle *Cap.*	"	Jno. Means, *Cap.*	"
Thos. H. Moore, *Cap. 3d*	"	Jno. Chrystie, *Cap. 5th*	"
Jas. Chrystee, *Cap. 3d*	"	Benjn. Bartholomew, *Cap.*	"
Jno. McCowen, *Cap. 6th*	"	Joseph Irwin, *Cap. 9th*	"

Walter Cruise, *Cap.*	*P. R.*	Jos. McClellan, *Cap.*	*P. R.*
Jas. Waugh, *Cap.*	"	Thos. B. Bowen, *Cap.*	"
Jacob Moser, *Cap.*	"	Jno. Grant, *Cap.*	"
Jno. McDowell, *Cap. 7th*	"	Jno. Davis, *Cap.*	"
Jno. Alexander, *Cap.*	"	Sam'l Dawson, *Cap. 11th*	"
Rob't Wilson, *Cap.*	"	Wm. Scull, *Cap.*	"
Andr'w Erwin, *Cap.*	"	Jno. Harris, Jr., *Cap.*	"
Sam'l Miller, *Cap. 8th*	"	Henry McKinley, *Cap. 12th*	"
Matthew Jack, *Cap.*	"	Nicholas Miller, *Cap.*	"
Jno. Brady, *Cap.*	"	Geo. Ross, *Cap. 11th*	"

N. B.—A true Copy from the Original.

[Endorsed] Representation ag't Ryan's Promotion.

THE GERMAN REGIMENT—1778.

Roll of Capt. Charles Baltzel's Com'y, German Regt., Commanded by Lt. Col. Weltner. Sept. 9th, 1778.

Sergeants.

Henry Speck, July 15, 1776.
Willim Trux, July 21, 1776.
John Cole, July 16, 1776.
John Hering, July 30, 1776.

Corporals.

Philip Beam, July 30, 1776.
John Trux, July 21, 1776.
Patrick Kelley, July 30, 1776.

Drummer.

Benja. England, July 15, 1776.

Fifer.

John Brown, July 28, 1776.

Privates.

Peter Kneise, July 16, 1776.
John Miller, July 24, 1776.
Jacob Waggoner, July 21, 1776.
Conrad Beam, July 24, 1776.
Jacob Shitz, Aug. 12, 1776.

Fifer.

Jos. Alexander.

Privates.

Fred'k Rively.
Henry Shuler.
Jacob Harper.
Henry Lear.
Ch'n Riffit.
Fred'k Kerle.
Fred'k Delinger.
Math's Rinehart.
Jacob Botomer.
Philip Lach.
Wm. Kerle.
Ch'n Leidy.
Rud. Brookhouse
John Wiedman.
Jacob Grumly.
Nich's Werner.
Thos. Wheler.
Jno. Firmire.
Con'd Gerhart.
Ch'n Fleish.
Dan'l Coppt, July 18, 1776.
James Gohoon, Aug. 13, 1776.
Mich'l Firmick.
Peter Coppus.
Dav'd Drexler.
Martin Shudy.
Henry Deberring, July 13.
Jno. Sanliter, July 16, 1776.
Dav'd Bloom, July 30.
Geo. Keretiter.
Ch's Christman, July 30.

P. BOYER, *Capt.*

A Roll of Capt. Geo. Hubley's Company of Continental Forces in the Service of the United States of America, Com'd by Lt. Colo. Weltner.

Sergeant Major.

Geo. Francis, Nov. 4, 1776.

Sergeants.

John Johnstone, Nov. 4, 1776.
Lewis Reiskly, August, 1776.

Corporals.

Lewis Brownsbery, July 21, 1776.
Geo. Funk, July 20, 1776.

Drummer.

Israel Jenkins, Oct., 1776.

Privates.

Mathias Flough, July 13, 1776.
Geo. Linn, July 24, 1776.
Jacob Visler, July 27, 1776.
Adam Neble, July 23, 1776.
Christ'n Mencher, July 25, 1776.
John Leonhard, Aug. 4, 1776.
Jacob Thirk, Aug. 5, 1776.
John Kuhn, Aug. 7, 1776.
Christ'n Hake, Aug. 28, 1776.
Thos. Turner, Sept. 1, 1776.
Henry Dominick, Sept. 4, 1776.
Christ'n Baker, Nov. 5, 1776.
Geo. Hansel, Nov. 2, 1776.
John Crane.
Robert Stroud.
Philip Donochor.
John Rysbecker.
John Kephard.
John Snyder, Aug. 13, 1776.
Mathias Leaf.
Casper Isralo, Aug., 1776.
Burchardt Hand, July 10, 1776.
Christn. Byerly, Sept. 5, 1776.

GEO. HUBLEY, *Captain.*

Roll of the 1st Vacant Company, German Reg't, Commanded by Lt. Colo. Weltner.

Sergeant.

George Price, 2 June, 1776.

Corporal.

Fred'k Wilhalm, 3 Aug. 1776.

Privates.

John Partner, Aug. 3, 1776.
John Smith, May 1, 1776.
Philip Gilman, June 8, 1776.
Everhart Myer, Sept. 1, 1776.
Patrick Higgins, Nov. 1, 1776.

John Cristman, Aug. 5, 1776.
Henry Capple, Oct. 1, 1776; on cattleguard.
Philip Cakel, Aug. 1, 1776.
Henry Sivert, June 10, 1776.
Jacob McLain, June 29, 1776.
Abraham Price, Aug. 9.

HENRY MAAG, *Ensign.*

[Endorsed] Company Roll of the 1st Vacant Company, German Regiment Com'd by Lt. Colo. Weltner.

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Roll of the Second Vacant Company in the German Regiment of Continental Forces Commanded by Lieut. Colonel Ludwick Weltner.

Sergeants.

Jacob Low, Aug. 6, 1776.
Henry Hean, July 26, 1776.
John-Leather, Aug. 3, 1776.

Corporals.

Jesey Honshitt, July 27, 1776.
John Shatz, July 29, 1776.
Christofiel Standly, July 19, 1776.

Privates.

John Washtel, July 30, 1776.
Peter Amrick, July 25, 1776.
Peter Cuntz, July 25, 1776.
Jacob Miller, Jr., July 25, 1776.
Andrew Roberson, July 25, 1776.
John Cline, Aug. 11, 1776.
Ben Corley, Aug. 22, 1776.
Levi Arron, April 22, 1776.
Henry Herrin, July 25, 1776.
Philip Stoter, Aug. 11, 1776.
Edward Roberson, July 25, 1776.
Michel Moser, July 30, 1776.
Jacob Crammer, July 19, 1776.
John Abel, July 19, 1776.
Martain Walzkins, July 19, 1776.
Michel Moser, July 26, 1776.
Jacob Smadron, April 21, 1776.
Rudolph Marole, July 21, 1776.
Camer Hill, Feb. 27, 1778.

Wm. Taylor, Aug. 20, 1776.
Bertel Engel, July 31, 1776.
Peter Huber, July 31, 1776.
Robert Dill, July 31, 1776.
Philip Fisher, Aug. 4, 1776.
Thomas Mehoney, April 2, 1778.
John Dalton, April 22, 1778.
Michel Hardman, April 20, 1776.
Jacob Miller, July 19, 1776.
Jacob Ricknogel, Aug. 1, 1776.
John Snider, Aug. 1, 1776.
Henry Cronise, Aug. 1, 1776.
Lennerd Lodwick, Aug. 3, 1776.
Ludwick Wisinger, Aug. 4, 1776.
John Zimerman, July 25, 1776.
Conrad Housman, July 25, 1776.
Adam Kintner, July 19, 1776.
Michel Stoner, July 19, 1776.
Henry Fisher, April 21, 1778.
Fredk. Shoemaker, May 8, 1778.
James Dayler, April 27, 1778.
John Matodey, May 2, 1778.
James Jonston, May 20, 1778.
Charles Follen, April 23, 1778.
Thos. Mehoney, May 13, 1778.
Alex'r Smith, May 20, 1778.
John Wade, May 5, 1778.
John Humore, May 12, 1778.
John Timbler, April 20, 1778.
Christofiel Keplinger, June 18, 1778.
Philip Henkel, June 18, 1778.
Thos. Colhons, June 18, 1778.
Abraham Miller, June 18, 1778.
Parnham Rednour, June 18, 1778.
Jacob Alexander, January 28, 1778.

WILLIAM RICE, *Lieut.*

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A Roll of the Third Vacant Comp'y in the German Reg't of Continental Forces in the Service of the United States, Com'd by Lieut. Col. Lewis Weltner.

Sergeants.

Wm. Rumelson, July 12, 1776.
Fred'k Sollars, July 29, 1776.
Geo. Stauffer, July 30, 1776.

Corporals.

Joseph Hook, July 31, 1776.
Jacob Etter, July 15, 1776.
Wm. Krafft, July 27, 1776.

Drummer.

Adam Mattrell.

Fifer.

Mich'l Smith.

Privates.

Mich'l Crowley, Aug. 15, 1776.
John Shlifi, July 20, 1776.
Fred'k Wm. Haller, July 18, 1776.
John Shaffer, July 29, 1776.
Wolfgang Elzberger, July 17, 1776.
Vendle Lorantz, July 20, 1776.
Geo. Lightheiser, Aug. 26, 1776.
Jacob Meiley, Aug. 11, 1776.
John Schryock, July 16, 1776.
Joseph Stricter, July 17, 1776.
Henry Rumfelt, July 17, 1776.
Rudolph Crower, July 15, 1776.
Ferdinant Lorantz, July 15, 1776.
Jacob Myers, July 20, 1776.
Philip Kantz, July 20, 1776.
Henry Smith, July 25, 1776.
Paul Estin, July 30, 1776.
Geo. Crethorn, Aug. 2, 1776.
David Fink, Aug. 7, 1776.
Jos. Williams, Aug. 23, 1776.
John Smith, Aug. 15, 1776.
John B. Dyche, July 14, 1776.
Thos. Laramot, Aug. 25, 1776.
Martin Lanz, July 15, 1776.
Geo. Rittlemys, Sept. 10, 1776.
Jacob Ruppert, July 15, 1776.
Godlieb Danroth, Aug. 2, 1776.
Geo. Good, June 19, 1778.
Mathias Smith.
Wm. Rider.
Wm. Mallins.
Benj'n Cole.
Timothy Cahill.
Robert Smith.
Cornelius Vaughan.

Christian Castner.
Wm. Pope.
Jacob Kauffman, April 10, 1778.
Thos. Proctor, April 4, 1778.
Rich'd Gaul, April 16, 1778.
John Shiveley, May 1, 1778.
Thos. Halfpenny, April 22, 1778.
Wm. Johnston, May 16, 1778.
John Richards, June 2, 1778.
Albert Hendricks, June 18, 1778.
Philip Bates, June 18, 1778.
Geo. Arnold, June 18, 1778.
John Fennell.
Jacob Feymiller, July 15, 1776.
Mich'l Kershner, July 16, 1776.
John Harley, July 19, 1776.
David Mumma.
Abr'm Frantz.
Anthony Miller, July 20, 1776.
James Murphy.

MARTIN SHUGART, *Lieut.*

[Endorsed] Return of Third Vacant Company in the German Regim't, Commanded by Lieut. Colo. Lewis Weltner, Esq.

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Roll of the fourth vacant Comp'y in the German Reg't of Continental Forces, Commanded by Lieut. Colonel Lewis Weltner.

Sergeants.

Jacob Hose, Aug. 11, 1776.
John Jaquit, July 21, 1776.
William Lewis, July 16, 1776.

Corporals.

Barned Frey, July 26, 1776.
John Breecher, July 17, 1776.
John Michael, July 16, 1776.
Adam Stonebreaker, Aug. 22, 1776.

Drummer

Moses McKensey, April 2, 1778.

Fifer.

Joshua McKensey, April 20, 1778.

Privates.

Henry Stroam, July 17, 1776.
John Flick, Aug. 2, 1776.
Henry Michael, Aug. 22, 1776.
Melcher Binner, July 17, 1776.
Jacob Klein, Aug. 1, 1776.
Jonathan Hacket, July 18, 1776.
Michael Camlee, July 26, 1776.
Thomas Clifton, Aug. 3, 1776.
Michael Boward, July 17, 1776.
John Crofft, July 27, 1776.
John Kibler, Aug. 8, 1776.
Christ. Wagner, Aug. 10, 1776.
John Smith, July 27, 1776.
Patrick Flemming, Aug. 9, 1776.
Mathias Keiser, Aug. 10, 1776.
Michael Weaver, July 19, 1776.
George Riggleman, Aug. 18, 1776.
John Haltfield, Aug. 13, 1776.
Conrad Hogle, July 20, 1776.
Christ. Reaser, July 27, 1776.
Henry Panther, July 27, 1776.
James Duncan, July 16, 1776.
George Wilhelm, July 17, 1776.
John Etnier, July 16, 1776.
Philip Timothy, Aug. 2, 1776.
Jacob Bishop, July 26, 1776.
Alexander Sailor, July 28, 1776.
Jacob Heefner, Aug. 18, 1776.
John Smithley, Aug. 2, 1776.
Frederick Locher, Aug. 5, 1776.
Michael Yockley, July 22, 1776.
Henry Quir, July 18, 1776.
John Cropp, Aug. 11, 1776.
Henry Stattler, Aug. 4, 1776.
George Gitting, July 28, 1776.
Jacob Beltzhoover, July 26, 1776.
Jacob Masser, May 12, 1778.
Richard Oquin, May 1, 1778.
James Ashley, April 25, 1778.
James Smith, May 20, 1778.
Thomas Rowlands, June 18, 1778.
George Bantz, June 18, 1778.
Philip Fisher, Aug. 9, 1778.
Frederick Filler, July 9, 1778.
Francis Cavin, Aug. 4, 1778.

James Furnier, July 26, 1778.
Frederick Sweitzer, July 16, 1778.
John Armstrong, July 27, 1778.
Henry Tomm, July 27, 1778; wounded.
Jacob Hoover, July 16, 1778; wagoner.
Henry Wagner, Aug. 5, 1778.

CHRISTIAN MYER, *Lieut.*

[Endorsed] Roll of the fourth Vacant Comp'y in the German Reg't, Com'd by Lieut. Colo. Weltner.

Company Roll of the 5th vacant Company, German Regiment, Commanded by Lieut. Col. Lewis Weltner.

First Lieutenant.

Michael Boyer.

Sergeants.

Michael Haus, Aug. 16, 1776.
Fred'k Lindeman, Aug. 21, 1776.
David Diffenderfer, Aug. 25, 1776.

Corporals.

John Weyand, Aug. 25, 1776.
Fred'k Siperil, Aug. 19, 1776.

Drummer.

Geo. Facundus, May 4, 1777.

Fifer.

Francis Bordignon, Oct. 2, 1776.

Privates.

Francis Mulz, Aug. 5, 1776.
Philip Cline, Aug. 6, 1776.
Michael Rummel, Aug. 9, 1776.
Marc Miller, Aug. 19, 1776.
John Brunner, Aug. 19, 1776.
John Soene, Aug. 21, 1776.
Ch'n Kuhn, Aug. 24, 1776.
John Kochenderfer, Aug. 26, 1776.
Philip Moyer, Sept. 3, 1776.
Geo. Strauss, Sept. 8, 1776.
James Halfpenny.
Ditrick Banick.
Geo. Keller.
Thomas Keen.
Geo. Smith.

Henry Swethe, April 27, 1777.
Adam Stoll, April 27, 1777.
Tobias Hess, April 27, 1777.
Peter Moyer, May 24, 1777.
Adam Spect, April 27, 1777.
Geo. Gruber.
Henry Herrgood.
Michael Hess.
Casper Wagoner.
Philip Helter, Aug. 9, 1776.
Abram Dutton, Aug. 4, 1776.
Henry Shaub, May 9, 1777.
Andrew Hawke, April 27, 1777.

MICHAEL BOYER, *Lieut.*

STATE REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY.

General return of the Pennsylvania State Regiments of Artillery, Commanded by Colonel Thomas Proctor, Esqr., Taken April 3d, 1779.

[*Rank, place of birth, date of commission.*]

Thomas Proctor, Colonel, County Longford, Ireland, February 5, 1777.
Thos. Forrest, Major, Philadelphia county, Pennsylvania, March 3, 1777.
Nath'n Maguire, P. M., County Fermanagh, Ireland, March 3, 1777.
Geore Hoffner, Adjutant, Pennsylvania, April 14, 1777.
Wm. Adams, Surgeon, Ireland, April 1, 1777.
J. B. Webster, Quartermaster, County York Shire, England, November 1, 1777.
John Morton, S. Mate, Philadelphia county, Pennsylvania, February 11, 1778.
Isaac Craig, Captain, County Antrim, Ireland, March 14, 1777.
Laur. Allman, 1st Lieutenant, Philadelphia county, Pennsylvania, April 1, 1777.
James Lloyd, 2d Lieutenant, Pennsylvania, March 14, 1777.
John Strucker, 3d Lieutenant, Maryland, April 1, 1777.
Amos Wilkinson, Captain, Pennsylvania, March 14, 1777.
Thoms. Douglass, Lieutenant, Ireland, April 1, 1777.

Joseph Rice, Captain, Pennsylvania, March 14, 1777.
Robt. McConnell, Lieutenant, County Down, Ireland, March 14, 1777.
John Shute, Lieutenant, Pennsylvania, April 1, 1777.
Fran's Proctor, Captain, Nova Scotia, July 16, 1777.
Pat'k Duffey, Captain, County Longford, Ireland, March 14, 1777.
Jno. Bryce, Captain Lieutenant, Scotland, March 14, 1777.
Robt. Coltman, Captain Lieutenant, County Yorkshire, England, March 14, 1777.
Jesse Crossley, Lieutenant, Pennsylvania, April 1, 1777.
Worsley Emes, Captain Lieutenant, County Devonshire, England, Oct. 5, 1776.
Alias Williams, Sergeant, New Castle county, Delaware, Feb. 9, 1777.
Thomas Wiggins, Sergeant, Philadelphia county, Pennsylvania, May 3, 1777.
Sam'l Blackwood, Sergeant, Salem county, New Jersey, March 1, 1777.
Wm. Clark, Corporal, County L. Derry, Ireland, May 15, 1777.
Wm. Rushworm, Corporal, Nancemon county, Virginia, Feb. 2, 1779.
Jno. Harris, Bombardier, Salem county, New Jersey, April 10, 1777.
Jno. Wilks, Gunner, County Gloster, England, Oct. 5, 1776.
Jas. Fitzimons, Gunner, County Armagh, Ireland, May 12, 1777.
Jas. Barns, Sen'r, Mattross, County Down, Ireland, May 13, 1777.
Thos. Dunlap, Mattross, Dublin, Ireland, April 2, 1777.
Timothy Lane, Mattross, County Cork, Ireland, Dec. 25, 1776.
Jon'a Trickle, Mattross, Germany, April 25, 1777.
Chas. Kitts, Mattross, County Tubridge, Germany, April 25, 1777.
Wm. Blair, Mattross, County Derry, Ireland, May 24, 1777.
Barry Connigham, Mattross, County Down, Ireland, Dec. 14, 1777.
Jno. Tame, Mattross, Somerset county, New Jersey, April 9, 1777.
Peter Olinger, Mattross, Philadelphia county, Pennsylvania, April 20, 1777.
Jno. Steer, Mattross, Kent county, Maryland, June 6, 1778.
Patt Crafford, County Limerick, Ireland, April 4, 1777.
David Brodwick, Fifer, Philadelphia county, Pennsylvania, March 10, 1777.
Mich. Clingan, Fifer, London, March 11, 1777.
George Thompson, Drummer, Scotland, April 21, 1777.
An'ty Hover, Drummer, Pennsylvania, August 30, 1777.
Fer'd Shubart, Mattross, Germany, April 1, 1777.

Benj. Daly, Mattross, Virginia.
Lewis Sewalt, Sergeant, Germany, Feb. 6, 1776.
Jno. Bell, Corporal, England, April 26, 1777.
Patt. Smith, Gunner, Ireland, August 15, 1776.
Thos. Jennings, Gunner, Ireland, Jan. 1, 1777.
John Young, Mattross, Pennsylvania, April 13, 1777.
William Clare, Mattross, England, August 2, 1777.
David Reed, Mattross, Ireland, August 5, 1777.
Rob't Young, Mattross, Ireland, April 1, 1777.
Richard S. Sweetman, Mattross, Pennsylvania, July 30, 1778.
Edw'd Toole, Mattross, Ireland, March 3, 1777.
Ben. Farnham, Mattross, Pennsylvania, September 1, 1778.
Jos. Johnson, Mattross, Virginia, Sept 1, 1778.
Jos. Morgan, Sergeant, Osomock county, Virginia, April 1, 1777.
Daniel Fobes, Sergeant, County Cathness, Scotland, Sept. 12, 1777.
Rob't Davidson, Corporal, County Down, Ireland, April 22, 1777.
Rob't Paupet, Gunner, County Pamma, Germany, April 27, 1777.
Martin Miller, Gunner, Pennsylvania, April 24, 1777.
Dan'l McCoy, Gunner, Georgia, April 28, 1777.
Jno. Nugent, Gunner, County Tyrone, Ireland, April 17, 1777.
Jno. Molony, Mattross, Ireland, March 2, 1777.
Geo. Godfrey, Mattross, Germany, April 20, 1777.
How'd Knight, Mattross, Maryland, March 17, 1777.
Wm. Talbott, Mattross, County Antrim, Ireland, April 15, 1777.
Wm. Ford, Mattross, Pennsylvania, Nov. 17, 1777.
Wm. Syms, Mattross, Salem county, New Jersey, May 10, 1777.
Jno. Vanostrand, Mattross, New Jersey, March 2, 1777.
Dan'l Murphy, Mattross, Pennsylvania, March 29, 1779.
Isaac Sebey, Mattross, Pennsylvania, March 29, 1779.
Geo. Kellar, Fifer, Pennsylvania, April 2, 1777.
Thos. Connelly, Drummer, Pennsylvania, April 4, 1777.
Mich'l Ring, Drummer, Pennsylvania, April 3, 1777.
Daniel North, Sergeant, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, Oct. 5, 1776.
Rich'd Evitt, Sergeant, Ireland, Dec. 10, 1776.
Jno. Stafford, Bom'br, Ireland, Nov. 8, 1776.
Wm. Hays, Gunner, Ireland, May 10, 1777.
John Coony, Gunner, Ireland, April 22, 1777.
Jno. Thornton, Mattross, Chester county, Pennsylvania, May 10, 1777.
Jno. Mohony, Mattross, Q. Mary county, Maryland, Sept. 14, 1778.
Leonard Branson, Mattross, Virginia, Sept. 14, 1778.
Hugh McDonald, Mattross, Ireland, Oct. 15, 1778.
Thos. Mullen, Mattross, Ireland, March 27, 1777.

Wm. McCoombs, Mattross, Ireland, March 24, 1777.
Wm. Crowley, Mattross, Ireland, Feb. 15, 1779.
Will'm Mooney, Mattross, Maryland, Feb. 1, 1779.
Herms. Thornton, Mattross, Cumberland county, Pennsylvania, May 21, 1779.
Jno. Hill, Mattross, Morris county, New Jersey, March 29, 1779.
Jno. Clark, Drummer, Morris county, New Jersey, March 23, 1777.
Geo. Chase, Drummer, Ireland, March 23, 1777.
Wm. Campbell, Drummer, Pennsylvania, March 1, 1777.
Dan'l Cross, Drummer, Pennsylvania, March 1, 1777.
Wm. Stuart, Sergeant, Philadelphia county, Pennsylvania, Nov. 1, 1776.
Philip Wetzell, Corporal, County Hesse, Germany, May 14, 1777.
Fred'k Smalts, Gunner, County Hesse, Germany, Oct. 4, 1776.
Conrod Vercloss, Mattross, County Hesse, Germany, April, 1777.
Wm. Baker, Mattross, Germany, May 8, 1777.
Char's Young, Mattross, Germany, May 4, 1777.
Geo. Camph, Mattross, Pennsylvania, May 1, 1777.
Jno. Evans, Mattross, Wales, Jan. 2, 1778.
Jno. Gibbons, Mattross, England, June, 1777.
Peter Deeter, Mattross, Pennsylvania, May 8, 1777.
Jos. Craft, Mattross, England, May 8, 1777.
Christ'n Miller, Mattross, Germany, May 7, 1777.
Mich'l Joice, Mattross, Ireland, March 3, 1777.
Jno. Stewart, Mattross, Pennsylvania, Sept. 9, 1778.
Chas. Schafer, Mattross, Philadelphia county, Pennsylvania, June 18, 1777.
Jno. Taplin, Mattross, England, Nov. 1, 1776.
Jno. Rogers, Mattross, Pennsylvania, Aug. 25, 1776.
Jacob Bryan, Fifer, Pennsylvania, May 1, 1777.
Rob't. Patterson, Fifer, Hunterdon county, New Jersey, April 3, 1777.
Wm. McDaniel, Drummer, Pennsylvania, May 26, 1777.
Casper Ebenard, Drummer, Pennsylvania, Sept. 3, 1778.
James Bennett, Sergeant, Virginia, Oct. 26, 1776.
Geo. Henderson, Sergeant, Ireland, Nov. 7, 1776.
Casper Shane, Corporal, Pennsylvania, March 1, 1777.
Wm. McMullen, Corporal, Ireland, March 1, 1777.
Henry Gavan, Bom'br, Ireland, Oct. 26, 1776.
Sam'l Butler, Bom'br, Bucks county, Pennsylvania, Oct. 26, 1776.
Henry Conele, Gunner, Germany, Dec. 4, 1776.
Daniel Fennell, Gunner, Ireland, Nov. 7, 1776.
Henry Lose, Mattross, Ireland, Oct. 26, 1776.
Wm. Emberson, Mattross, Ireland, Nov. 18, 1776.

Tho'ms Howell, Mattross, Pennsylvania, Nov. 6, 1776.
Ed. Gallahan, Mattross, Ireland, January 19, 1777.
John Dunn, Mattross, Ireland, August 5, 1777.
John Lisk, Mattross, Pennsylvania, May 1, 1777.
James Carter, Mattross, Ireland. Oct. 4, 1776.
Wm. McMahon, Mattross, Ireland, April 11, 1777.
Robt McNeal, Mattross, Ireland, Nov. 3, 1776.
James Gill. Mattross, Ireland, Nov. 8, 1776.
Jno. Redman, Mattross, Ireland, July 9, 1777.
Chris'r McDonnell, Mattross, Ireland, Nov. 15, 1776.
Geo. Farrell, Mattross, Burlington county, New Jersey, Nov. 27, 1776.
Patt. Gough, Mattross, Ireland, June 30, 1777.
Wm. Alexander, Drummer, New Jersey, Nov. 1, 1776.
Benj. Lovertt, Drummer, New York, March 19, 1779.
Phillip Lower, Sergeant, Pennsylvania, Oct. 10, 1776.
Benj. Whittow, Corporal, New England, May 13, 1777.
Fred. Byerly, Corporal, Germany, April 4, 1777.
Reynard Smith, Corporal, New Jersey, May 20, 1778.
Thos. Mayberry, Gunner, Ireland, May 20, 1777.
Wm. Mayberry, Mattross, Ireland, April 15, 1778.
John Gutzelman, Mattross, Pennsylvania, Jan. 18, 1777.
Fred. Redhair, Mattross, Pennsylvania, April 26, 1777.
Jacob Fager, Mattross, Germany, April 26, 1777.
Chris'n Hubart, Mattross, Philadelphia county, Pennsylvania, May 7, 1777.
Mich'l Sailheimer, Mattross, Germany, June 3, 1777.
Mich'l Bowers, Mattross, Ireland, March 1, 1777.
Thos. Johnson, Mattross, Ireland, March 1, 1779.
Jno. Spade, Drummer, Pennsylvania, March 2, 1777.
Henry Guger, Drummer, Pennsylvania, Feb. 1, 1777.
J. M. Ludwick, Sergeant, Pennsylvania, April 24, 1777.
Jos. Adams, Sergeant, Pennsylvania, Nov. 1, 1776.
F. Donnelly, Sergeant, County Tyrone, Ireland, May 7, 1777.
Peter Burkett, Corporal, Pennsylvania, April 21, 1777.
James Grimes, Corporal, County Tyrone, Ireland, May 27, 1777.
James Say, Corporal, Pennsylvania, April 10, 1777.
Glover Hunt, Bom'br, England, Jan. 10, 1777.
Wm. Henderson, Bom'br, Pennsylvania, Jan. 10, 1776.
Thom's Tiverdy, Gunner, County Down, Ireland, April 10, 1777.
Mich'l McNulty, Gunner, Ireland, May 13, 1777.
Wm. Hannah, Gunner, County Cork, Ireland, May 1, 1777.
Jno. Snell, Gunner, Pennsylvania, April 25, 1777.
Jno. Creag, Mattross, Hunterdon county, New Jersey, Aug., 1778.
Thos. McCook, Mattross, Ireland, May 20, 1777.
Patt. Dever, Mattross, Ireland, March 10, 1777.

Laur Lowerman, Mattross, Pennsylvania, April 26, 1777.
Jno. Storts, Mattross, Pennsylvania, April 5, 1777.
Wm. McMullen, Mattross, Ireland, May 6, 1777.
Thos. Lange, Mattross, Ireland, Aug. 15, 1777.
John Miller, Mattross, Oswego, July 2, 1778.
Geo. Hutcheson, Mattross, Pennsylvania, March 2, 1777.
Jon'an Sturgis, Mattross, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia county, June 20, 1778.
G. L. Feighter, Mattross, Philadelphia county, Pennsylvania, March 28, 1779.
Fred. Winkler, Mattross, Philadelphia county, Pennsylvania, Sept. 8, 1778.
Archey Hannah, Mattross, Ireland, March 25, 1777.
Char. Conrod, Mattross, Germany, July 29, 1777.
Math's Camph, Mattross, Pennsylvania, July 30, 1778.
Wm. Wilkerley, Mattross, England, Oct. 28, 1777.
Jam's McCracken, Mattross, Pennsylvania, April 28, 1777.
Fred Orne, Mattross, Germany, June 2, 1777.
Jacob Smith, Fifer, Pennsylvania, April 24, 1777.
James Crutcher, Fifer, Pennsylvania, April 15, 1777.
Hugh Fegan, Drummer, Pennsylvania, March 1, 1777.

Non-Commissioned Staff and Musicians.

Jno. Molony, Clerk, County W. Meath, Ireland, April 23, 1777.
Dan'l Hauthern, Sr. Major, Pennsylvania, March 18, 1777.
James Patterson, Q. M. S., Ireland, Aug. 28, 1776.
Char's Hoffman, Master, Germany, July 10, 1777.
Wm. Shippen, Master, Philadelphia county, Pennsylvania, April 24, 1776.
Pet'r Colkhoffer, Master, Germany, Dec. 20, 1777.
Jacob Snell, Musician, Pennsylvania, March 27, 1777.
Thos Mingle, Musician, Pennsylvania, March 12, 1776.
Geo. Weaver, Musician, Germany, July 11, 1777.
Sam'l Hockuhoy, Musician, Germany, May 15, 1778.
Mich'l Thurston, Musician, County Limerick, Ireland, June 24, 1778.
Wm. Moore, Musician, Scotland, October 24, 1778.
Con'd. Gropingeiser, Musician, Germany, Dec. 21, 1778.
Thos. Guy, F. M., Penn'a, Sept. 8, 1776.
Wm. Norton, D. M., Ireland, April 5, 1777.

A true State.

THOS. PROCTOR, *Col.*

[Endorsed] Colo. Proctor's Regiment Special Return, 3d April, 1779.

[Addressed] His Excellency George Washington, Esq., Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States, Middle Brook.

FIRST PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT—1778.

ROLL OF THE COLONEL'S COMPANY.

[*Dates given are those of expiration of enlistment.*]

Sergeants.

Alexander Crawford, July 1, 1779.
James Sweeny.
Andrew Keith, June, 1779.
James Lamb, June 22, 1780.

Corporals.

Alexander Simenton, July 1, 1779.
Benjamin Carson, July 1, 1779.
Joseph Eaton, Nov. 1, 1778.

Drum and Fife.

William Holliday.
George McGehan.

Privates.

John McMahen.
Thomas Vaughn.
Mathies Crotoley.
James Rusk.
James Moon.
Christopher Finnager.
Michael Sexton.
Patrick Newell.
Mathies Long.
Charles Bayle.
James Black.
John Bellons.
James Boreland.
Thomas Murray.
Patrick Conaway, Feb. 1, 1779.
David McCarter.
William Walker.
Thomas Kelly.

Archibald Brown.
Frederick Victorious.
John Early.
James McIlven, July 1, 1779.
Joseph Norton.
George Housman.
John Tidd.
James Carle.
Pater Hagen.
Edward Maddin, July 1, 1779.
Michael McGehan.
Samuel Dinn.
William Wallace.
James Formoyle.
John Lynch.
John McMurtrie, Sergeant Major, July 1, 1779.

ROLL OF THE LIEUTENANT COLONEL'S COMPANY.

Sergeants.

John Leiper, May 10, 1779.
Thomas Fannery.

Corporals.

John Ferguson.
William Douglass.
John McCollough, July 1, 1779.

Drummer.

Jacob Tanner.

Fifer.

William Morris.

Privates.

Timothy Winters.
John Patton.
John McIntire.
Robert Conyen.
Murdough Patterson.
John Spavin.
Samuel Silas.
John Oran.
William Fitzpatrick.

Richard Kennady.
Charles Linn.
Patrick Preston.
Patrick Grant.
Robert Minor.
Cristopher Bettinger.
John McCloskey.
Francis Ennis.
Thomas Brown.
Edward Moore.
James McClane.
Thomas Kennady.
Able Evans.
John Daugherty.
William Carnahen.
Joseph Armstrong.
Redman Roach.
Barney McQuire.
Rodger Caskey.
Alexander Burns.
Francis Murray.
John Williams, Drum Major.

ROLL OF THE MAJOR'S COMPANY.

Sergeants.

John Griffiths.
William Donalen.
Andrew Sands, June 1, 1781.
John Denmark.

Corporals.

Mathew Sampson.
John McCarty, February 20, 1780.
Joseph Campble.
Samuel Leonard.

Fifer.

George Dickson.

Privates.

Joseph Johnston.
Robert Jones.
John Bailey.

Abraham Bryan.
Robert Magee.
Daniel McMullen.
William Sparrow.
Patrick Ambrose.
John Kelly.
Nicholas Smith.
Anthony Grenade.
Thomas Rock.
Samuel Gorman.
John Campble.
Edward Oneal.
Charles Loid.
Patrick Leonard.
Samuel Willis.
Thomas Shahen.
Ralph Willis.
Andrew Burns, May 16, 1780.
Samuel Plumb.
Martin Obrian.
Martin Reynolds.
Mathew Dougherty.
Asia McCord.
George Whitman.
William Irvine.
Thomas Davis.
John Ward.
James Fruit.
Thomas Fletcher, Fife Major.

ROLL OF CAPTAIN PARR'S COMPANY

Sergeants.

John Me Lone.
Michael Lougherty.
Joseph Lougherty.

Corporals.

John Curry.

Privates.

Thomas Stuart.
Thomas Wilson.

Hugh Fleming.
Patrick Quinn.
Peter Wildrick.
John Hutchinson.
Cornelious McConnel.
Alberd Law.
Jonathan Washburn.
Philip Henry.
George Horner.
James Currey.
John Simpson.

ROLL OF CAPTAIN HAMILTON'S COMPANY.

Sergeants.

James Franer.
James Welch.

Corporals.

Charles Ogelby.
Jacob Shoner.
Michael Foust.

Privates.

John Ward.
Michael Gamble.
Philip Murphy.
John Hopkins.
Lodwick Ormagust.
John Patton.
Amos Silvers.
John Gower.
John McNear.
Joseph Barnet.
Timothy Danagen.
John Kerr.
John Hill.
John Shearer.
William Danlinger.
John Condner.
John Dougherty.
David Reese.
Elias Metz.

Henry Heagy.
Thomas Allison.
Henry Winegardner.
Daniel Countz.
Charles McGee.
William Porter.
Henry Mathias.
Frederick Miller.
Patrick Stacks.

N. B.—No account Can be given of the men's Enlistments, as the Papers where Lost on Long Island, & The Captain Absent.

ROLL OF CAPTAIN CRAIG'S COMPANY.

Sergeants.

Daniel Humphry.
John McCartney.

Corporals.

Valentine Baker.
Benjamin Decker
Elijah Hardy.

Fifer.

William Ferguson.

Drummer.

Michial Frederick.

Privates.

David Son.
Cristian Hoffman.
Dennis Marraty.
Joel Borger.
Robert Bradly.
John Collins.
Mathew Hughes.
John Harvey.
John Dockings.
David Scribner.
William Hill.
Thomas Richart.
John Gillan.
Samuel Mathes.

ROLL OF CAPTAIN SIMPSON'S COMPANY.

Sergeants.

Stephen Sims.
John Armstrong.

Corporals.

John Rhea.
John Ryan.
William Kerr.

Privates.

Daniel Campble.
Michael Parker.
David Davis.
John Jost.
Peter Conoton.
Philip Peters.
Alexander Thompson.
John Murphy.
Patrick Magaw.
John Kelly.
William Linn.
John Moseye.
Nicholas Cocker.
Albright Weaver.
Felix Honor.
George Baylor.
John Clark.
John Stephens.
John Rheim.
William English.
John Salmon.
Peter Felix.
James Elliot.

N. B.—All the above men are under the Command of Captain Parr, with Colonel Butler to the Northward.

ROLL OF CAPTAIN JAMES WILSON'S COMPANY.

Sergeants.

John Ward.
Philip Gates.

Corporal.

Joseph Finch.

Drummer.

Cornelious Tauderskin.

Privates.

Jacob Bower.
Richard Francis.
Daniel Johnston.
Daniel Dougherty.
James Artness.
Robert Stanford.
John Dongan.
Peter Provo.
Francis Lucas.
James Smith.
Charles Smith.
Arthur Williams.
Hugh Henderson.
Peter McBride.
Michael Kelly.
William McCormick.
John Rogers.
James Fagen.
Jacob Kigher.
David Moore.
James Baxter.
Dennis O'Bryan.
The above are all during the War

ROLL OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM WILSON'S COMPANY.

Sergeants.

John McKenly.
Jacob Abright.
Samuel Parks.
Thomas Hambeard.

Corporals.

James Reed.
William Kelly.
Hugh Melligan.

Fifer.

Robert Cample.

Drummer.

Joseph Kincaid.

Privates.

Andrew Kincaid.
Abram Boyd.
Barney Roody.
Cristian Evick.
Cristian Moyer.
Daniel Callahan.
John Flora, March, 1779.
Isaac Willey, September, 1779.
James Brown, September, 1779.
Anthony Hinkle, March, 1779.
Jacob Pinkly.
James Gibbons.
James McCready.
James Broadwod.
Jacob Wenfield.
John Coleman.
John Bough.
John Crowley.
Nicholas Sheinfelter.
Samel Cline.
John Mackey.
James Filgret.
William Henderson.
George Barrack.

William Robeson.
James Robeson.
Michael Kenny.
Robert Little.
John Strucker.

Return of the officers of the First Pennsylvania Regiment of Foot, with their names, rank and date of commission, from the first of January, 1777, until the 31st August, 1778.

Edward Hand, Colonel, March 7, 1776; prom. 1777.
James Chambers, Colonel, September 28, 1776.
Richard Butler, Lieutenant Colonel, February 22, 1777; prom. 1777.
Thomas Robinson, Lieutenant Colonel, June 7, 1777.
James Ross, Major, September 25, 1776; prom. 1777.
Henry Miller, Major, September 28, 1776; prom. March 1, 1777.
James Moore, Major, September 20, 1777.
James Grier, Captain, March 7, 1777; prom. Oct. 23, 1777.
David Harris, March 7, 1777; res. Oct. 1, 1777.
James Parr, August 10, 1776.
James Hamilton, August 10, 1776.
John Holliday, September 25, 1776; res. March 1, 1778.
Samuel Craig, January 16, 1777.
John Matson, January 16, 1777; res. Jan. 1, 1778.
Michael Simpson, January 16, 1777.
Jas. Wilson, Febuary 12, 1777.
William Wilson, October 1, 1777.
Thomas Buchanan, October 23, 1777.
Thomas Armor, First Lieutenant, September 25, 1776.
Peter Wiser, September 25, 1776; on parole.
John Dick, September 25, 1776; res. August 3, 1777.
John Dougherty, Septemer 25, 1776.
David Zieglar, September 25, 1776.
Abraham Skinner, May 13, 1777.
James Holliday, May 13, 1777; killed, Sept. 11, 1777.
Benjamin Lyon, August 3, 1777.
John McClelan, September 11, 1777.
Samuel Smith, Second Lieutenant, May 13, 1777; res. March 20, 1778.
George Stevenson, May 13, 1777; res. Sept. 14, 1777.
Aaron Norcross, May 13, 1777.
Thomas Boyd, May 13, 1777.

John Hughs, May 13, 1777.
James Magill, May 13, 1777; res. Jan. 1, 1778.
James McFarlane, May 13, 1777.
William McDowell, February 14, 1778.
Edward Crawford, January 1, 1778.
David Hay, Third Lieutenant, May 13, 1777; res. Dec. 1, 1777.
David Hammond, May 13, 1777.
Robert Clifton, May 13, 1777.
William Bayard, August 17, 1777; dead.

Captain John Doyle's Independent Company Joyn'd this regiment the 28th November, and has continued to do duty in the Reg't to this date.
John Doyle, Captain, Date of Commission July 16, 1776.
Samuel Brady, First Lieutenant, July 16, 1776.
William McMurray, Second Lieutenant, July 16, 1776.
Thomas Doyle, Third Lieutenant, January 7, 1777.
Henry McCormick, Adjutant, Appointed April 16, 1777. Promoted December 26, to Major Brigadier.
Andrew Johnston, Quartermaster, January 1, 1778.

N. B.—Lieutenant Norcross doing the duty of Adjutant since ye 27th December, 1777.

[Endorsed] Return of the Officers in the First Pennsylvania Regiment, 1778.

I certify the within Return contains a true State of the officers of the Regiment from the 1st January, 1777, to this Date, to the best of my knowledge.

JAMES CHAMBERS,
Colonel First Regiment.

COLONEL WALTER STEWART'S SECOND PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT—1778.

Return of the officers who have served in the Second Pennsylvania Regiment from the first of January, 1777, until the time it was incorporated with the 13th Pennsylvania Regiment, with their names, rank, dates of commissions, promotions, resignations, &c.

James Irvine, Colonell, November, 1776; resigned in April or May, 1777.

Henery Bicker, Colonell, Vice Col. Irvine; left out in the new arrangement.

Jonathan Jones, Major, November, 1776; promoted to Lieutenant Colonel in the Regiment in February or March, 1777; resigned in April or May, 1777.

Henery Miller, Lieutenant Colonell, March 1, 1777; joined the Regiment (vice Lieutenant Colonel Jones) in February or March, 1778.

William Williams, Captain, October 27, 1775; promoted to Major (vice Major Jones); taken prisoner at Germantown; since made his escape, and left out of the arrangement.

Josiah Harmer, Captain, October 27, 1775; promoted to Major in the Third Pennsylvania Regiment, January, 1777.

Marian Lamar, Captain, October 27, 1775; promoted to Major in the Fourth Pensylvania Regiment, January, 1777.

Joseph Howell, Captain, joined the Regiment vice Captain Williams.

John Patterson, Captain,
Jacob Ashmade, Captain, } Rank of four Captains disputed.
John Bankson, Captain,

Roger Staynor, Captain, January 1, 1777; taken prisoner in Philadelphia September, 1777.

George Jinkins, First Lieutenant, January, 1776; promoted March 1777, vice Captain Harmer.

Christian Staddle, First Lieutenant, May, 1776; promoted February, 1777, vice Captain Lamar.

John Ellis,, First Lieutenant, January 1, 1777; cashiered April, 1777.

Samuel Tolbert, First Lieutenant, January 1, 1777; promoted March, 1777, to captain.

Peter Gosner, First Lieutenant, January 1, 1777; appointed vice Captain Stayner, September, 1777.

John Cobie, First Lieutenant, January 1, 1777.

Philip Clumburg, First Lieutenant, Janaury 1, 1777; resigned April, 1778.

Jacob Ziegler, First Lieutenant, January 1, 1777; resigned February, 1777.

William Moore, Second Lieutenant, January 1, 1777; resigned March, 1777.

John Irvine, Ensign, January 20, 1776; promoted to Adjutant, with rank of First Lieutenant, January 1, 1777.

Major Walburn, Second Lieutenant, January 1, 1777; promoted to First Lieutenant March, 1777; killed 20th September, 1777.

John Stoy, Second Lieutenant, January 1777; promoted to First Lieutenant, March, 1777.

James Morris Jones, Second Lieutenant, January 1, 1777.

Henery Piercy, Second Lieutenant, February, 1777; appointed First Lieutenant, March 1777.

William Honeyman, Second Lieutenant, February, 1777; ordered to join the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment on the new establishment.

Benjamin Boyer, Second Lieutenant, February, 1777; ordered to join the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment on the new establishment.

John Cannon, Second Lieutenant, February, 1777; resigned September, 1777.

Abbel Morris, Ensign, January 1, 1777; promoted March 2, 1777, to Second Lieutenant; left out of the new Arrangement.

Philip Waggoner, Ensign, January 1, 1777; promoted to Second Lieutenant, March, 1777.

Jacob Detrick, Ensign, January 1, 1777; killed April, 1777, in a Skirmish near Amboy.

John Barton, Ensign, January 1, 1777; promoted March, 1777; deserted to the enemy, 1778.

Charles Deragh, Ensign, January 1, 1777; promoted April, 1777; left out of the new arrangement.

Barod Sickerty, Ensign, January 1, 1777; resigned Nov., 1777.

John Stricker, Ensign, April 18, 1777; promoted Oct. 1. 1777.

Thomas Norton, Ensign, March 12, 1777; promoted to Second Lieutenant April, 1777.

Henry D. Pursell, Ensign, April 19, 1777; promoted October 4, 1777.

September 6, 1778.

HENRY MILLER,
Lieutenant Colonel Second Pennsylvania Regiment.

[Endorsed] Roll of the officers of the Old Second Regiment of Pennsylvania.

COMPANY ROLLS OF THE SECOND PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Roll of Captain Jacob Ashmeads company in the Second Regiment of Pennsylvania, commanded by Colonel W. Stewart, September 8, 1778.

Robert Pealing, sergeant.
John Jacobs, sergeant.

Michael Berrey, sergeant.
Robert Justice, corporal.
Jacob Meyers, corporal, enlisted March 16, 1778.
Anthony Pelsor, fifer.
John Keaton.
James Brannon.
Mathias Hines.
William Weatherspoon.
Henry Miller.
Patrick Dugan, on command, Hackensack.
Clemon Shire.
Andrew Travice.
John Smith.
Martin McGaugh.
James Morrison.
Thomas Ankard.
Joseph Lewis.
James Duffey.
George Alberson.
Jacob Riffe.
William McConoway.
George Marchel.
Conrad Franks.
Andrew Carnburger.
William Broadstock.
Henry Leyman.
Archabald McClain.
Daniel McVeay.
Elexander Hill.
Mathew Kelley, on command, Tarrytown.
Edward Beavey.
James Colter.
John Newcomb.
John Berger.
Joshua Wismon.
Philip Hope.
Elexander Corrill.
Peter McElhetton.
Samuel Woods, in infantry.
Silvester O'Bryan, in infantry.
James Kelley, in infantry.
John Anrill, in infantry.
Charles Holder, brigade waggoner.
Michael Weaver, sick, Valley Forge.
John Glin, sick, Valley Forge.

John Salter, sick, Valley Forge.
John Lane, time expires the 1st of October.

JACOB ASHMEAD,
Captain Second P. R.

[Endorsed] Roll of Captain Jacob Ashmead's Company in the second Regiment of Pennsylvania.

Roll of Captain John Bankson's company, Second Regiment of Pennsylvania, commanded by Colonel W. Stewart, Sept. 9, 1788.

Joseph Miller, sergeant.
John Adams, sergeant.
Roger Moore, sergeant, on command with the light infantry.
Stephen London, corporal.
William Caldwell, corporal.
James Smith, corporal.
Richard Grossvener, drummer.
Joseph Watson, fifer, enlisted May 10, 1777
David Allshouse, private.
John Bay.
Andrew Criswell.
Alexander Duke.
Peter Fritz.
Jacob Frederick.
Richard Johnson.
William Jefferys.
Joseph Kelly.
George Kisster, enlisted May 16, 1778.
Michael Lemon.
John Murphy.
Francis Murphy, sick, present.
William Magraw.
Patrick Mooney.
Henry Miller.
Daniel Lafferty.
Neal McAffee.
Arthur McCue.
Job Reily.
David Ritchey.
George Raynor.

Patrick Shaw.
William Stewart, Junior.
William Cumpton, sick, present.
John Harrison, sick, present.
Adam Strope, sick, present.
Charles Adams, sick at Valley Forge.
William Stewart, sick at Valley Forge.
John Cochran, sick at Valley Forge.
Thomas Sullivan, sick at Lancaster.
John Mellan, on 1 week's command.
John Christy, on command with the light Infantry.
Peter Messersmith, on command with light Infantry.
Martin Dull, on command with the Artillery.
John Dougherty, waggoner in the Regiment.
Elias Sheetz, on command with Commissary General.
Daniel Eichenger, on command with Marquis La Fiet.
John Eichilberger, time expired.
Richard Allen, deserted September 4, 1778.

JOHN BANKSON,
Captain Second Regiment Pennsylvania.

[Endorsed] Roll of Captain John Bankson's Company, Second Regiment Pennsylvania, From September 9, 1778.

A roll of Captain John Patterson's company, Second Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel Walter Stewart, September 9, 1778.

Sergeants.

William Phrener.
Robert Fassell.
Charles Charlton, sick, present.

Corporals.

Henry Benner.
William Butler.
John Squibb.

Drum and Fife.

Jacob Piercy.
Thomas Hanney, sick, Regimental Hospital.

Privates.

Samuel Allen.
David Bolland.

Benjamin Clifton.
John Graham.
William Judges.
Michael Martin.
Jacob Musser.
Thomas Ford.
William Sample.
Nathaniel Williams.
Henry McKinzie.
James Ratcliff.
Bal'r Barge.
John McCleod.
John Kelly.
Christian New.
Frederick Levinburg.
John Sullivan.
Abraham Evans.
Charles Chambers.
Jas. Porter.
John Patterson.
Jacob Reddheffer.
John Turner.
John Stout.
William Rutledge.
Thomas Gilby.
John Shields, with the Light Infantry.
William Williams, with the Light Infantry.
Francis Mason, with the Light Infantry.
Adam Foutz, baking for the army.
Paul Pemple, baking for the army.
Robert Finley, command, Yellow Springs.
Jacob Hood, making coals.
Daniel Stevenson, waggoner.
John McCourts, waggoner.
Peter Jacobs, waggoner.
John Collins, on two days command.
Christian Marlow, sick, present.
Edward Walker, sick, Trenton.
Thos. Butler, sick, Trenton.
James Crosby, sick, Yellow Springs..
William Ledley, sick, Valley Forge.
Ludwig Whitman, sick, Princeton.

JOHN PATTERSON, *Captain.*

A roll of Captain Joseph Howell's company, September 9th, 1778.

Jacob Weidman, Sergeant.
John Dallis, Sergeant.
Patrick Deady, Sergeant.
James Glover, Corporal.
Joseph Dunlap, Corporal.
Darby Cunningham, Corporal.
John St. John, Drummer.
John Williams, Fifer.

Privates.

Thomas Madden.
Jacob Waggoner.
John Murphy.
Thomas Crow, on command at Tarrytown.
Henry Milton, on command at the Lines.
David Bayne.
Laurence Gannon.
Richard McMahon.
James Ryan, on Command at Hackensack.
Joseph Jones.
Philip O'Foy.
James Martin, with the Infantry at the Lines.
James O'Neal.
Daniel Laing.
Isaac Garrison, on command at the Lines.
John Vaughen, sick at the Regimental Hospital.
Nicholas Horn.
Frederick Brown.
John Coon, with the Infantry at the Lines.
John Abett, with the Infantry at the Lines.
Frederick Hiesler, on command at Philadelphia.
Edward Cook.
Simon Trayner, sick at the Regimental Hospital.
John Davis.
John Mullin, Senior.
George Miller.
Philip Kepps.
Samuel Dundy, waiter for General Wayne.
Edward Williamson, waggoner.
Philip Clein.
John Ponseller.
Michael McCalester.

Edward Jones.
William Bowman.
Thomas White.
Edward Butler.
James Robinson.
William Peterson.
John Mullin, Junior.
Noble Crone, With the Artillery.
Arthur Stewart.
Daniel Godsgrave.
Robert Hope.
Daniel Shay.
John Norton.
Thomas Leister.
Richard Lewis.
Thomas Harnett, taken Prisoner at ye Lines, August 22, 1778.

Roll of Captain John Marshall's company, Second Regiment Pennsylvania, commanded by Col. Walter Stewart, September 8th, 1778.

John Cowen, Sergeant, enlisted August 25, 1777.
William McDonald, Sergeant.
John Husley, Sergeant.
Frederick Long, Corporal.
Levi Davis, Corporal.
William Hannah, Corporal.
Robert McWillin.
John McWaid.
William Moarns.
Jere Michael Bierdon.
Michael Brogan.
William Mallack.
John McCowan.
Frederick Leonard.
George Wolb.
Myles Ryan.
Holbert Douglass.
John Fullerton.
John McKinney.
John McCormick.
Daniel Davis.
Joseph Fritz.

William Shields.
Donald Williamson.
John Laird.
David Larkin.
Jacob Coone.
Jacob Stinebough.
Richard Harding.
James Smith.
John Thompson.
Samuel Harvey.
Henry Hamilton.
Daniel C. McEntire.
Henry Wise.
Daniel Hatherhouse.
John Coolle.
Jacob Slyder.
Nicholas Coleman.
Joseph Lewes.
James Edgar.
Thomas Armstrong.
John Organ.
John Sehion.
William Fitzgerald.
David Crawley.
James Wation, on command, Light Infantry.
Malcome McCohan, on command, Light Infantry.
Charles Warclots, on command, Light Infantry.
Christopher Browne, on command, Light Infantry.
Henry Cooster, on command. Light Infantry.
Frederick Kinsel, on command, one week.
James Thompson, on command, two weeks.
William McCormick, sick; absent W. Plains.
Conroad Miller, sick; absent New Castle.
Robert Garret.
Lewes Bryon, diserted.
Christopher Reynhold. Drummer.
William Murray, Fifer.
Jonathan Guy, Sergeant Major.
Robert Wallace, Quartermaster Sergeant
William Hennig, Drum Major.
Daniel McCarty, Fife Major.

J. MARSHALL, *Captain.*

A roll of Major John Murray's Company, Second Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel Walter Stewart, September 9, 1778.

Sergeants.

Jacob Murphy.
John Justice.
James Winning.

Corporals.

John Ross.
John Scannel.
John Saise.

Drum and Fife.

John Moore.
George Coats.

Privates.

Stephen Singlewood.
James Lynch.
George Weihle.
Roger Kennon.
Andrew Swartz.
George Snyder, on command.
Conrad Kenney
Andrew Ryan.
Stephen Lewis, on command.
Patrick Mulrany, sick, present.
James Moore.
Robert Guess.
Jacob Walter, on command.
James De Vitt.
Patrick Kelly.
William Powers.
John King.
John English, on duty.
John Francis, on duty.
John Callaghan, on duty.
Thomas Jones, on duty.
Jacob Baker.
Owen James, on command
Ludwig Houser.
Peter Rice, sick; Valley Forge.
Michael Sullivan, sick, Brunswicl
Patrick Richard, sick, present.
Henry Guess.

William Johnston, on command.
John Ingle.
James Price, sick, Valley Forge.
James Ellison, on command.
Robert Maginton.
Frederick Hull.
David Hannah.
Andrew McCartney, on command.
Philip Vanamaker.
John Lynch.
Michael Derry.
Philip Jones.
Patrick Themsey, confined.
Barry Cunningham.
Samuel Leacoant.

A Roll of Lieutenant Colonel Henry Miller's Company, September 9, 1778.

Sergeants.

Gerard Riddle.
Robert McKillip.
Andrew Ralston.

Corporals.

George Roberts.
Robert Herring.
Robert McLoughlin.

Drummer.

John Bayles.

Fifer.

William Johnston.

Privates.

Andrew Dilman.
James Martin.
John Frazer.
Thomas Zermins.
Michael Regan.
Francis Regan.
William Butler.
Robert Young.
Thomas Malser.
Hugh Twik.
John Notestain.
George Limrecks.

Leonard Hinkel.
Lewis Carpenter.
Michael Fink.
Balser Maze.
William Gristock.
Godfrey Devey.
David Alspaugh.
Patrick McNay.
John Winsley, two days command.
Thomas Knee, one week's command.
Cornelius Dwyer.
Michael Wheelant.
Henry Musketnough, on command.
Thomas Smith.
James McQuillen.
Michael Curts.
Phillip Smith, on command at ye commissaries.
Francis Keel, waiter.
George Conrad, on command at Beaker.
Stophel Stainhighel, on command in ye infantry at ye lines.
John Burney, on command in ye infantry at ye lines.
Andrew Brock, on command in ye infantry at ye lines.
Peter Messersmith, on command in ye infantry at ye lines.
Jacob Shrifley, on command; waggoner.
Adam Musketness, on command; waggoner.
John Graceley, on command; waggoner.
Benjamin Bagg, on command in ye artillery.
William Wilkens, sick at a barry one mile from camp.
Hugh Hughs, sick; absent at ye Yellow Springs.
John Faraday, sick at Princetown.
James McClay, sick at Lancaster.
Michael Redman, pioneer for ye above company.

JOHN COBEA,
Lieutenant Second Pennsylvania Regiment.

A Roll of Colonel Walter Stewart's Company of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Captain Peter Gosner.

Sergeants.

John McItay.
Kershaw Peeling.

Corporals.

James Pegnam.
Thomas Kennedy.

Drum and Fife.

Jesse Moore.
Michael O'hagan.

Privates.

John Cochran
George Unroa
Thomas Kullin.
Hugh Mulhollin.
Patrick Cross.
Richard Wallace.
Henry Bole.
John Null.
Detrich Ourtrand.
Patrick Walker.
William McIlvain.
Patrick Collins.
William O'bryan.
Jacob Delph.
Conrad Stone.
William Barber.
Richard Burns.
James Steel.
William Warner.
Joseph Maddon.
Andrew Carter.
Walen Lydy.
Matthew Hoerner.
James Sedt.
Thomas Murry.
Israel Pifer.
Christopher Cackler.
Andrew Drukabrod, on command.
Patrick Sullivan.
Matthew Dolton.
John Harman.
Charles Carter.
Stout Branson.
Godfrey Redrick.
William Mitchell.
Thomas Brady, on detachment.
William Murray, on detachment.
John Blakely, on detachment.
William Elliot.
George Biddleson, waggoner.
Thomas Smith, foraging.
Daniel Godshall, drafted to artillery.

PETER GOSNER, *Captain.*

A True State of Captain Samuel Tolbert's Company in the Second Regiment of Pennsylvania, Commanded by Colonel W. Stewart, September 9, 1778.

Sergeants.

Samuel Burns.
James Dwyer.
Thomas Garvin.

Corporals.

Nathanial Brandon, sick, Valley Forge.
John Kelly.
John McCullam.

Drum and Fife.

David Carbaugh.
George Beck.

Privates.

Owen James.
Alexander Burk.
Joseph Harris.
William Karr.
Mathew Liddy.
John Hamilton.
Daniel McCalla.
Peter King.
James Gray.
John Crosson.
Robert Vernon.
John Everhart.
Henry Cook.
Robert Sanders.
William Robinson.
Charles Dolen.
Henry Collins.
William Bryan.
Andrew Young.
Joseph Reid.
James Kelly.
John Evert.
Valentine Miller.
Valentine Hardon.
John Montcaron.
Peter Peeks.
Nathaniel Singers.

Christian Winters, on command.
John Fritz, on command.
Andrew Mills, on command.
James McLure, on command.
John Christy, on command.
Darby Guttery, sick, Valley Forge.
Thomas McGee, sick, Valley Forge.
Christopher Cloze, sick, Valley Forge.
Hoppel Herring, sick, Valley Forge.
John McGran, sick, Valley Forge.
George Berkman, sick, General Hospital.

HENRY D. PURCELL,
Lieutenant Second Regiment, Pennsylvania.

[Endorsed] State of Captain Samuel Tolbert's Company, Second Regiment Pennsylvania, September 9, 1778.

COLONEL THOMAS CRAIG'S THIRD PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

A List of Officers who have Served in the Third Pennsylvania Regiment since ye First Day of January, 1777, to the Present Day, with their Rank, Dates of Commissions, Promotions, Dates of Vacancies, Removals and Casualties, August 9, 1778.

Colonel.

Joseph Wood, September 7, 1776; resigned October 4, 1777.

Lieutenant Colonels.

Thomas Craig, September 7, 1776; promoted Colonel, August 1, 1777.

Rudolph Bunner, August 1, 1777; killed at the Battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778.

Major.

Josiah Harmar, March 6, 1777; promoted Lieutenant Colonel January 1, 1778.

Adjutant.

George Boss, April 1, 1777; resigned July 31, 1777.

Captains.

John Brisban, January 5, 1776; resigned September 1, 1777.
John Huling, January 5, 1776; promoted Major June 6, 1777.
John Reese, January 5, 1776; resigned December 31, 1777.

Thomas L. Moore, May 21, 1776.
James Moore, November 11, 1776; vac. July 20, 1776.
James Chrystie, November 11, 1776; vac. August 9, 1776.
John Gross, April 1, 1777; cashiered July 4, 1777.
Thomas Butler, April 1, 1777; com. October 4, 1776; by Captain Bayard's promotion in another regiment.

First Lieutenants.

Henry Epple, November 11, 1776; to Captain July 4, 1771; Jun 6, 1777; Resigned April 9, 1778.
William Craig, April 1, 1777; to Captain September 7, 1777; July 4, 1777.
James Black, April 1, 1777; vac. October 3, 1776.
George McCulley, April 1, 1777; vac. October 4, 1776.
James Armstrong, April 1, 1777; vac. October 4, 1776.
John Marshall, April 1, 1777; vac. January 10, 1777.
Jacob Drake, May 1, 1777; resigned November 23, 1777.
James Montgomery, April 1, 1777; resigned September 1, 1777.

Second Lieutenants.

Mathias Lukens, April 1, 1777; died March 21, 1778.
James Bird, April 1, 1777; resigned November 3, 1777.
Percival Butler, April 16, 1777; November 23, 1777, to First Lieutenant by Lieutenant Drake's resignation.
James Otis, April 1, 1777; resigned May 31, 1777.
Daniel St. Clair, April 1, 1777; promoted to First Lieutenant September 1, 1777.
Nathaniel McMullan, April 1, 1777; died of his wounds October 18, 1777.

Ensign.

Samuel Coulter, April 1, 1777; resigned October 31, 1777.
John Goldsmith, April 21, 1777; deserted October 31, 1777.
William Russell, April 21, 1777; lost a leg at Brandywine Battle.
Daniel Campbell, April 29, 1777; killed in June, 1777.
James Lowes, April 1, 1777; resigned October 31, 1777.
John Young, April 20, 1777; resigned July 31, 1777.
Daniel McDonald, April 1, 1777.
John Newly, April 20, 1777; resigned July 31, 1777.

Captain.

John Reily, May 20, 1777, from Captain Lieutenant; June 1, 1778, removed from the Twelfth Regiment.

First Lieutenant.

John Henderson, October 1, 1776; removed from the Twelfth Regiment.

Second Lieutenant.

Blackhall William Ball, May 20, 1777; vac. April 4, 1777; removed from the Twelfth Regiment.

Ensigns.

Andrew Engle, October 1, 1776; May 20, 1777, removed from the Twelfth Regiment.

John Armstrong, May, 1777; removed from the Twelfth Regiment.

Peter Smith, appointed, the late arrangement.

John Wigton, appointed, the late arrangement.

Richard Fullerton, joined February, 1778; appointed, the late arrangement.

Thomas Huling, joined February, 1778; appointed, the late arrangement.

N. B.—Captains Samuel Moore, Christye and Butler were allowed Ranks according to the date of the above vacancies by a Board of Field Officers who sat at Valley Forge. Likewise a vacancy happened for Lieutenant Black to be promoted to Captain September 1, 1777; for Lieutenant McCully October 20, 1777; for Lieutenant Armstrong April 9, 1778.

THOMAS L. MOORE,
Captain Commanding Third Pennsylvania Regiment.

[Endorsed] Return of the Officers of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment, August 29, 1778.

A Roll of the Major's Company in the Third Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Thomas Craig.

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Sergeants.

Richard Collins, November 14, 1776; sick present.

Peter Mack, February 4, 1777.

William Tunks, December 24, 1776.

Corporals.

William Offy.

Abraham Dehart, on the line.

Samuel Doyl.

William Briggs, April 26, 1776.

Drum and Fife.

John McClalen.
William Tunks, May 26, 1777.

Privates.

William Darlington.
Henry Wimer, on the line.
John Rees.
Daniel Lafferty.
Thomas Gibson.
Robert Cunningham, December 26, 1776.
James Robeson.
Daniel Galicar; with Gen. St. Clair.
William Welch.
Edward Coller.
Marmaduk Berwick, January 9, 1777.
Barry Curly.
Frederick Shaffer, on the line.
William Works.
Ephraim Nunn, waggoner.
John Buxton, March 10, 1777.
John Jordon.
James Dagley, waggoner.
James Flinn.
William Rabb, rifle regiment.
William Deggon, Lord Sterling's waggoner.
Francis Ferril.
John Henderson, sick at the Yellow Springs.
John McManness, sick at the Yellow Springs.
Phillip Verner, sick at the Yellow Springs.
Henry Doyle, commissary general, waggoner.
Alexander Craig, on furlough.
Pattrick Flennigon, sick at French Creek.
William Cornet, sick at French Creek.
Conrad Crabner, sick at French Creek.
John McKlewain, on furlough.
Thomas Benston, rifle regiment.
William Shields.
Matthew Kelgner.
Hugh Boyle, at the Black River.
Peter Egnew, sick at Yellow Springs.

THOMAS HULING,
Ensign Third Pennsylvania Regiment.

[Endorsed] Company Rolls of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment, September 10, 1778.

A Roll of the Lieutenant's Company of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Thomas Craig, September 10, 1778.

———

Sergeants.

John Gordon.
John Hide.
James Mitchel.
Philip Everhart.

Corporals.

Adam Rex, sick, French Creek.
James Moore, surveying.
Thomas McIlwayne.

Privates

Mathew Dair.
Nathaniel Fagan.
John Cain.
Thomas Shields.
Edward Shippey.
Michael Dowd.
Thomas Cox.
Nicholas Ulaman.
George Taylor.
Edward Leo.
William Williams.
Michael Wildgoose.
James O'Neal.
Anthony Dunlevy.
Michael Walters.
William Ricketts.
Peter Eversole.
Benjamin Byoran.
Philip Micks.
John Quirick.
John Smith.
Jery Deal, light infantry.
Nathaniel Dickey, light infantry.
John McHearr, two weeks command.
Henry Rorck, sick, Yellow Springs.
Jacob Hough, sick, Yellow Springs.
Peter Reese, sick, Yellow Springs.
John Johnston, sick, White Plains.
John Evans, sick, Yellow Springs.
Thomas Reacrofft, sick, Yellow Springs.

Lambert Moore, absent without leave.
Thomas Marshall, sick, White Plains.
Wendle Lawrence, furlough.
Michael Mayse, sick, Yellow Springs.
Ephraim Harmer, sick, unknown where.
James Hammilton, with the rifle men.
Adam Stricker, sick, Princetown.

A Roll of Colonel Thomas Craig's Company of ye Third Pennsylvania Regiment, September ye 10th, 1778.

Sergeants.

John Delong, December 5, 1776.
Charles Ford.
John Henderson.
Samuel Seely, sick, absent.

Corporals.

Thomas Orms.
John Minor, with infantry
Conrad Shiar.

Privates.

Edward Long.
John McGinness.
John Gray.
Samuel Moody.
Jacob Rause.
Christian Miller.
Baltis Crist.
Andrew Mallin.
Philip Michael, two weeks command.
Henry Labarr.
Henry Humell.
Patrick Cambel.
George Fisher.
Archibald Parker.
Richard Curren.
David Logan.
John Marrs.
Neigal Parock.
Casper Cool.
Daniel Crownover.

Patrick McGinness.
John Martin.
Petter McGregor.
Berth. Ganning, att hospital.
John White, att hospital.
Aaron McDonnell, att hospital.
James Wilson, att hospital.
Josiah Huffman, att hospital.
Thimothy Burns, att hospital.
Barny McGloclin, att hospital.
James Franney, att hospital.
Hugh Gowans, with infantry.
Thomas Shafer, with infantry.
Moses Greer, with infantry.
George Byars, waggon conductor.
John Johnson, waggoner, with Commissary Ramsey.
John Tool, with surveyors.
Nicholas Lazer, deserted.
Ezekiel Richsson, drummer.
William McCalrey, fifer.

THOMAS L. MOORE, *Captain Commander.*

A Roll of Captain William Craig's Company in the Third Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Thomas Craig, August 10, 1778.

Sergeants.

William Carman, sick, present.
Andrew McLean, October 16, 1776.
Ulrick Whiteman.
George Cline, November 4, 1776.

Corporals.

Dinnis Furlew.
Edward Cummings.
Terance Bennit, on bullock guard.
James Brown.

Privates.

Patrick McAnalley.
Neal McKinsey.
John McGuire.
Lawrence Slown.
James McAnalley.

Nathaniel Simson.
William Barratt, November 1, 1776.
Dimnack Hann.
James Peck.
James Darrety.
George Salmones.
Conrod Smith.
Lenard Milles.
Adam Wilhalm.
Jacob Naughoyle.
John Willard.
John Hagan.
William Hulet.
John Reily, fifer, November 2, 1776; sick, present.
Richard Shortt, sick, present.
James Montgomery, on a week's command.
Frederick Deemes, in the infintry.
Christopher Mannan, in the infintry.
James McCormack, in the infintry.
John McGill, on command in rifle regiment.
John Cosper, on command at Sunbury.
William Demm, in hospital.
William Mateer, fifer, in hospital.
James Toner, in hospital.
Francis Coonce, in hospital.
Thomas Johnson, in hospital.
Christian Evenott, in hospital.
Isaac Goble, in hospital.
John Robertson, on furlough.
George Campbell, on furlough.
Chris. Pimberton, on furlough.
John Jameson, sick, present.

THOMAS L. MOORE,
Captain, Third Pennsylvania Regiment.

A Roll of Captain Thomas L. Moore's Company, Third Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Thomas Craig, September 10, 1778.

Sergeants.

Thomas Kelly.
Thomas Collins, September 22, 1776.
John Page.
John Tov.

Corporals.

John Clendinning.
James Houston, January 1, 1776.
Godfreye McDonnald.

Privates.

James Anderson.
James Arthers.
John Madole.
Michael Dinger.
Benjamin Kennard.
Duncane McKinley.
John Shenings.
John Battersby.
Robert Wilson.
John Green.
Morgan McIntosh.
Philip Evage.
James Douglass.
Barney Aston.
Mathew Thompson.
John Ford.
John Hammond.
William Morrow, infantry.
Thomas Gardner, infantry.
William Bell, General Sinclear's guard.
William English, Morgan's rifle regiment.
Daniel Armstrong, Morgan's rifle regiment.
Joseph King, Morgan's rifle regiment.
James Hagerman, bullock guard.
Thomas Hardy.
William Truman, waggoner, Commissary Lewis's
Samuel Thompson, waggoner, brigade.
Judiah Lepincot.
William Welch.
Abraham Gordon.
William Gordon.
James Harley, general hospital.
Mathias Little, general hospital.
John Logan, general hospital.
Mathew Clinton, Yellow Springs.
James Hagerty, Yellow Springs.

THOMAS L. MOORE,
Captain, Third Pennsylvania Regiment.

A Roll of Captain James Chrystie's Company, Third Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Thomas Craig, September 10, 1778.

Sergeants.

Thomas Boyd, light infantry.
William Martin.
Daniel Leary.
John Brigs, on command after deserters.
Pattrick Brown, light infantry.
John Smith.

Drummer.

Philip Dairt, sick, Valley Forge.

Corporal.

Robert Nettles.

Privates.

John Duffule.
William Dockerty.
Robert Coil.
Thomas Woods.
Francis Hamilton.
John Batton.
Andrew Colter.
John Green.
Cinotan Hoffman.
Henry Hugarmers.
Moses Moreland.
John Lavery.
Charles McCane.
Robert Polston, sick, present.
Michael Darcery.
Cornelius McClosky.
Laurance Burns.
George Greer.
Daniel Smith.
James Sweeny, light infantry.
Thomas Bachus, light infantry.
Pattrick Johnson, light infantry.
Timothy Murphy, Morgan's rifle regiment.
Samuel Porter, Morgan's rifle regiment.
William McQune, Morgan's rifle regiment.
John McKune, Morgan's rifle regiment.

Pattrick McMachon, Morgan s rifle regiment.
Edward Lee, Morgan's rifle regiment.
Patrick Ferel, with the surveyors.
William Dick, waggoner with General Conway.
Henry Bently, waggoner with Commissary Lewis.
Robert Wiley, sick, quartermaster's house.
Edward Meloy, sick, Valley Forge.
Pattrick Leland, sick, Princetown.
George Losback, sick, Valley Forge.
William House, sick, Kingstown.
William Alegan, sick, King's Ferry.

JAMES CHRYSTIE,
Captain, Third Pennsylvania Regiment.

A *Company Roll of Captain Samuel Moore's Company of ye Third Pennsylvania Regiment, Sept.* 10, 1778.

Sergeants,

Nicholas Neil.
Joseph Cunningham.
James Buchanan, on command.
George Campbell, sick at Valley Forge

Corporals.

Michael Kerr.
William Kirkpatrick.
James Burns.
Robert Carson, sick at Bethlehem.

Drum and Fife.

Peter Williams.
John Tuncks.

Privates.

John Stump.
James Duff, on command.
William Dixon.
Christian Miller, sick in flying hospital.
Josias Crane.
William McGowen.
Michael Seily.
William Ruggles.
Daniel McMath.
Godfrey Evick, sick in flying hospital.

John Shsiak.
John Milligan, sick in flying hospital.
Martin Yost.
John Burk, on command.
Lawrence Griffy, sick in flying hospital.
Martin Perry.
Joseph Gordon.
Angus McKeever, sick, present.
John Butler.
Richard Nixon.
Michael Carmody, sick in flying hospital.
Benjammin Wheeler, Second rifle corps.
John Solomon, Second rifle corps.
Charles McClane, sick at ye Yellow Springs.
Thomas Harper, sick at Valley Forge.
John Griffith, sick at Valley Forge.
Phineas Comes, sick at Valley Forge.
David Collins, waiter on General Wayne.
Samuel Wall.
Henry Himminger, wounded and at Princetown.
Edward Cating.

PERCIVAL BUTLER. *Lieutenant.*

A Company Roll of Captain Thomas Butler's Company of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment, September 10, 1778.

Sergeants.

John Kelse.
Abraim Bennett.
Thomas Jack.
John Rice.

Privates.

Robert Vernon, wounded and prisoner.
John Beaty.
James Everingham.
James McConnell.
James McGill.
Pattrick McDonald.
Robert Dixon.
James Craig.
John Chambers.

Christian Byarly.
Jacob Switzer.
John Painter.
William Webb.
Thomas McFadden.
Hopkins Driver.
John Ferris.
James Clark.
James Kirkondalpt.
Robert Powell.
Daniel Kinkton.
William Cawley.
Nicholas Beazs, wounded at Monmouth.
John Bedman, present and not fit for duty.
Jeremiah Vangoroten, present and not fit for duty.
Adam Dennis, on command.
Hugh Jones, on command recruiting.
Mathew Coleman, infantry.
John McMillan, infantry.
Samuel Mills, on command, Bedford.
Benjamin Custard, waiter, L. Sterling's.
Jeremiah Kell, rifle corps.
Thomas Collins, waggoner to ye regiment.
John Lemon, waggoner, General Lee.
Staford Smith, sick, Bedford hospital.
Michael Conway, sick, Bedford hospital.
Henery Fleming, sick, Bedford hospital.
Pattrick Herron, Flying hospital.
John Dunwar, sick, Yellow Springs.
William Calaghan, sick, Yellow Springs.
Hugh McCormick, sick, Princetown.
William Lee, fifer, on command, Valley Forge; with the sick.

THOMAS BUTLER,
Captain, Third Pennsylvania Regiment.

A List of the Names of Men in Captain John Reily's Company of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment, September 10, 1778.

Sergeants.

Daniel Graham.
Nicholas Riem.
George Stephens.
Arod Sutton.

Corporals.

John Klinger.
John Weimer.
James Graham.
Peter Berry.

Drum and Fife.

John Haynes.
Robert Kennedy

Privates.

Charles Dempsey.
Charles McDonald.
Samuel McFarling.
Joseph Pomroy.
Charles English.
Henry Keiger.
James Mahinley.
John Rowan.
Patrick Bryan.
John Lemons.
John Brandon.
Christian Evans.
Godfrit Whitman.
Daniell Delany, waggon camp.
William O'Hara, waggon camp.
James English, sick, present.
Samuel Jennings, sick, present.
Thomas Snodgrass, sick, present.
Patrick McDonald, sick, present.
Abraham Stickerworth, sick, present.
Daniel Shehan, Bradford hospital.
Joseph McQuilkins, sick, Lancaster.
James Cummins, sick, Lancaster.
Richard Hews, sick, Lancaster.
Richard Rylands, sick, Lancaster.
Addam Burtnett, sick, Lancaster.
John Gross, sick, Red Lyon.
Solomon Green, sick, Sunbury.
James Watters, on furlough.
Alexander Irvin, on furlough.
Arthur Mahan, light infantry.
Samuel Knap, waiting on Captain Chambers, Sunbury.
Patrick Pry, rifle regiment.

B. W. Ball,
Lieutenant, Third Pennsylvania Regiment.

COLONEL FRANCIS JOHNSTON'S FIFTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Return of All the Officers who have Served in the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment since January 1, 1777, until this Present Day, August 27, 1778.

Field Officers.

Francis Johnston, colonel; June 3, 1776.
Persifer Frazer, lieutenant colonel; October 1, 1776.
Thomas Robinson, major; October 2, 1776; promoted June 7, 1777.
James Taylor, major; September 23, 1777; resigned April 3, 1778.
Christopher Stewart, major.

Captains.

Thomas Church, January 5, 1776; promoted March 1, 1777.
Frederick Vernon, January 5, 1776; promoted June 7, 1777.
James Moore, January 5, 1776; promoted September 20, 1777.
James Taylor, January 5, 1776; promoted September 23, 1777.
Joseph Potts, January 1, 1777; left out in the new arrangement.
Alexander Johnston, January 1,1777; resigned January 23, 1778.
Benjamin Bartholomew, January 1, 1777; claims rank from October 2, 1776.
John Christy, January 1, 1777; claims rank from October 23, 1776.
William Oldham, March 24, 1777; claims rank from the 15th November, 1776.
Samuel Smith, appointed March 1, 1777.
Robert Gregg, appointed June 7, 1777.
Isaac Seeley, appointed September 20, 1777.
Thomas Boude, appointed September 23, 1777.
Charles McHenry, appointed January 23, 1778; left out in the new arangement.

First Lieutenants.

Samuel Smith, January 5, 1776; promoted March 1, 1777.
Alexander McClintock, January 1, 1777; killed September 11, 1777.

Robert Gregg, January 1, 1777; promoted June 7, 1777.
Isaac Seeley, January 1, 1777; promoted September 20, 1777 (6.)
Thomas Boude, January 1, 1777; promoted September 23, 1777.
Charles McHenry, January 1, 1777; promoted January 23, 1778.
Job Vernon, January 1, 1777.
John Barcley, January 1, 1777.
Adam Ott, March 24, 1777; resigned April 20, 1777.
Levi Griffith, appointed March 1, 1777.
Joseph Stanley, appointed April 20, 1777; died April 10, 1778.
Alexander Martin, appointed June 7, 1777.
George North, appointed September 11, 1777.
James Forbes, appointed September 20, 1777.
James McColloch, appointed September 23, 1777.
William Skolfield, appointed January 23, 1778; left out in the new arrangement.

Second Lieutenants.

Levi Griffith, January 1, 1777; promoted March 1, 1777.
Joseph Stanley, January 5, 1777; promoted April 30, 1777.
Alexander Martin, January 1, 1777; promoted June 7, 1777.
George North, January 1, 1777; promoted September 11, 1777.
James Forbes, January 1, 1777; promoted September 20, 1777.
James McColloch, January 1, 1777; promoted September 23, 1777.
William Skolfield, January 1, 1777; promoted January 23, 1778.
Michael Crafford, January 1, 1777; resigned November the 28th, 1777.
John G. Beneker, appointed June 7, 1777; cashiered November 15, 1777.
David Marshall, appointed March 1, 1777.
Abraham Wood, appointed March 24, 1777.
Jonathan Pugh, appointed April 20, 1777.

Ensigns.

David Marshall, January 1, 1777; promoted March 1, 1777.
George Crow, January 1, 1777; resigned December 19, 1777.
Reese Evans, January 1, 1777; resigned June 26, 1777.
James Steel, January 1, 1777; resigned August 3, 1777.
John Carr, January 1, 1777; resigned July 4, 1777.
James Johnston, January 1, 1777; resigned.
Abraham Wood, January 1, 1777; promoted March 24, 1777.
Jonathan Pugh, January 1, 1777; promoted April 20, 1777.
Adam Gilchrist, appointed August 1, 1777; resigned December 19, 1777.
William McGee, January 1, 1777; killed September 20, 1777.
John Bingham, appointed June 1, 1778.
[Endorsed] Return Fifth Regiment Pennsylvania.

Roll of the Men's Names and State of Captain Charles McHenry's Company. Taken September 9, 1778. Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment.

Sergeants.

Thomas Barry, no gun or accoutrements.
William Cale, infantry.
Aron Lockhart.
Arthur McCray.

Corporals.

John Sidle.
John King.

Drummer.

John McCowen.

Fifer.

James McCannon.

Privates.

Thomas Service.
Samuel Boyle.
Michael McCoy.
Benjamin Stagg.
William Johnston.
William Loughridge.
Anthony Wyneboner.
William Fitzpatrick.
William Bangnet, on command.
John Noble, on command.
Edward Robinson, infantry.
Edward Lyons, sick, present.
Richard Erwin, sick, present.
Gottlip Anore, no gun or accoutrements.
John Andrew, waiting on Colonel Frazer.
Henry Cluter, waiting on Doctor Davidson.
Abedniger Davis, sick at the Yellow Springs.
Samuel Davis, sick at the Yellow Springs.
Charles Washington, sick at the Yellow Springs.
William O'Bien, sick at Trenton.
William Johnston, transferred to the invalid per order Colonel Bradford.

Charles King, to be left out in future until he joins per order of Colonel Bradford. Noted sick. Last muster at Lancaster.

[Endorsed] Return of Captain McHenry's Company September 9, 1778, Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment.

LEVI GRIFFITH, *Lieutenant.*

A Return of Captain Samuel Smith's Company, Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Francis Johnston, September 9, 1778.

Recruiting Sergeants.

Samuel Widener.
John Hamelton.
John Binclare.
John McMaken, late Morgan's rifle corps.

Corporals.

Everhart Ferihan.
Thomas Heffernam.
Jacob Moyer.

Fifer.

George Morris.

Privates.

David O'haron, in hospital.
Thomas Crosly.
Samuel Craig, infantry.
John Craig.
Michael Ferrel.
Samuel Fox, no arms.
James Smith.
Thomas Doyle.
John Fowler.
William Thomas, infantry.
Michael McCortley.
John Smith.
Joshua Cathy.
John Davis.
Jones Hummer.

Jourdan Costello.
John Hunt, sick, present.
John Bruffy.
Daniel Smith.
Malcomb Forrest.
David Harry.
Andrew McFarrin, hospital, Yellow Springs.
Samuel Thompson.
Peter Fitzpatrick.
James Hazlet, sick, present.
Richard Bishop, sick at huts.
William Williams.
John Hole, driving wagon.
John Mose, sick at huts.
John McCrery, late Morgan's rifle corps.
John Woliber, late Morgan's rifle corps.
John Irvine, late Morgan's rifle corps.
Ezachariah Tuffts, late Morgan's rifle corps.
John Curry, late Morgan's rifle corps.
William Delany, late Morgan's rifle corps.
Robert Shepherd, late Morgan's rifle corps.
Isaac Hazleton, late Morgan's rifle corps.
Michael Yeeder, late Morgan's rifle corps.
James Craig, late Morgan's rifle corps.
Henry Pensinger, sick at Lancaster.
Connel Canady, wounded, present.
Godlip Hofman, waggoner.
Peter Widener, waiting on Colonel Johnston.
Michael Long.

N. B.—The whole enlisted during the war.

SAMUEL SMITH, *Captain.*

[Endorsed] Return of Captain S. Smith's Company, Fifth Regiment, September 9, 1778.

A Roll of Captain Robert Gregg's Company in the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment of Foot, Commanded by Colonel Francis Johnston, September 9, 1778.

Captain.

Robert Gregg, absent with leave.

First Lieutenant.

Alexander Martin, on command, corps late Colonel Morgan's.

Second Lieutenant.

Jonathan Pugh.

Sergeants.

Jesse Nesmith, present in the field.
Walter Lindsey, present in the field.

Corporal.

James Morgan, present in the field.

Drummer.

Samuel Hendrickson, present in the field.

Privates.

George Barnett, present in the field.
Joseph Fell, present in the field.
Robert Gross, present in the field.
Adam Kocher, present in the field.
William Nice, present in the field
George McCleod, present in the field.
Abram Crape, present in the field.
Thomas McPike, present in the field.
Francis McMullin, present in the field.
John Maphan, present in the field.
David Sutt, present in the field.
Patrick McNamara, present in the field.
John McCracken, present in the field.
Philip Brooks, present in the field.
Charles McQuillin, present in the field.
John Collins, on command light infantry.
Robert Cochran, sick, Yellow Springs.

JONATHAN PUGH,
Lieutenant, Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment.

[Endorsed] A roll of Captain Gregg's company, Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment of Foot, September 9, 1778.

A Return of Captain Benjamin Bartholomew's Company of the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Francis Johnston, September 9, 1778.

Sergeants.

Robert Brady.
Philip Bostol.

Corporals.

John Kilbey.
Mathias Amos, sick at Princetown.

Fifer.

Andrew Pouge.

Privates.

James Hammel.
Patrick Linn.
William Jones.
John Laughrey.
Robert Christy.
George Garth.
James Diviney.
Henry Harp.
James McElvain.
William Murphey.
Nicholas Delotte.
Archibald McFall.
Peter McSherry.
Peter Seneer.
Samuel Bugden.
Samuel Dixon.
John Shanks.
Andrew Kime.
Dennis McFall.
John Craven.
Charles McGarrel.
John Smith.
Alexander Grey, no arms.
George Wilson, Camp Colourman.
William McClane, sick, present; no arms.
John Eagleson, sick, present; no arms.
John Diviney.
Hugh Hughs, infantry.
Robert Fleming, infantry.
John Rogers, waiting on surgeon, Valley Forge.
Samuel Crawford, sick, Morristown.
William Graham, sick, present.

N. B. —The whole enlisted during the war.

BENJAMIN BARTHOLOMEW, *Captain.*

[Endorsed] Return of Captain Bartholomew's Company, Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment.

A Return of Captain Joseph Potts' Company of the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Francis Johnston, September 9, 1778.

Sergeants.

John Wolf.
John Parker.

Corporals.

James Berry, sick, present.
James Russell, infantry.

Drummer.

William McCowen.

Privates.

Jacob Short.
Laughlin Berns.
William Tennant.
John Wattson.
John Hannon.
John Little.
Samuel Smiley.
Richard Harin.
Hugh McGlaughlin.
George McGlaughlin.
John Falls.
William Gordon.
John Walker.
Hugh Robinson, no arms.
Timothy Kelly.
Mathias Laughman.
William McElvain.
John McGlaughlin.
John McCarter.
James Allison.
John Day.
William Irwin, infantry.
John M. Hinck, infantry.
John Kinny, infantry.
John McKissick.
George Q. Hager, no arms.
Samuel McCully, sick, Yellow Springs.
John McCullock, sick, present.

JOB VERNON, *Lieutenant.*

[Endorsed] Return of Captain Potts' Company, Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment.

A Roll of Captain John Christie's Company of the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Francis Johnston, September 9, 1778.

Sergeant.

Martin Bouter.

Corporals.

John Roads.
James Eavans.
Christopher Copland, wounded in Pennsylvania.

Drummer.

Conorad Raytor, enlisted for one year.

Fifer.

Joseph Hiatt.

Privates.

Thomas Dodson.
Samuel Holm.
Jacob Boyer.
Jacob Hill.
Richard Leonard.
Joseph Jackson.
Mathew Conner.
John Evans.
Baston Mershimer.
John Saylor.
William Rolls.
Peter Dell.
Isaac Jackson.
Erick Brimer.
John Connelly.
Henry Hoover.
Richard Statten.
Morley Deleney.
Michael Smith, two weeks command.
Benjamin Jackson, infantry.
John Simmers, driving team in regiment.
John Himmelwright, driving for commissary.
Michael McManus, Camp Colourman.
William Watts, sick at Bedford.
Henry Douterman, sick at Bedford.
Jacob Merts, sick at Trenton.
Samuel Watts, sick in hutts.

Lawrence Murphey, transferred to invalids last muster.
Christopher Still transferred to invalids last muster.

N. B.—The whole enlisted during the war, excepting one.

[Endorsed] Roll of Captain Christie's Company, Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment.

A Return of Captain Thomas Boude's Company in the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Francis Johnston, in the Service of the United States of America, September 9, 1778.

Sergeants.

John Speer, no arms.
Basil Gillmore.

Corporals.

John Sharp, sick, Yellow Springs.
Andrew Wilson, recruiting.

Drummer.

Joseph Humphreys.

Fifer.

George Chard.

Privates.

Samuel Johnston.
Mathew Jones.
John McClelland.
Peter Thomas, sick, present.
Patrick Connel.
John Blackwood, no arms.
Alexander Brown, in the light infantry.
Adam Hill, in the light infantry.
Francis Taylor.
James Calhoon.
Alexander Swindle.
Frans Jacobson, sick present.
Bernard Dougherty.
John Dunn, no arms; Camp Coulorman.
Nicholas Kennon.
James Martin.
Thomas Kelly.
William Hunter.

Thomas Baxter, no arms.
William Morgan.
Jeremiah McCarty, no arms.
Frederick Higgins.
Jonathan Dobbins, driving waggon.
Felix O'neal.
John Grisey.
John Woorlin.
George Poke.
Isaac Horsell, in His Excellency's guard.
John Connelly, sick, present.
John Daily.
Samuel Carson.
Isaac Vogan.
Zacharias Bayce.
Francis Minzes.
Peter Thomson.
John James.
Robert McDonald.
Mathew Derham.
Jacob Rosewell, no arms.
James Bailey, sick, present.
John Buckborough, sick at Princeton.
Alexander Garret, sick at Princeton.
Thomas Cunningham, at Yellow Springs.
David Hall, at Yellow Springs.

N. B.—The whole enlisted during the war.

THOMAS BOUDE, *Captain.*

[Endorsed] A return of Captain Thomas Boude's Company in the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment, 1778.

Roll of Captain William Oldham's Company and the Present State of the Same, Taken September 9, 1778.

Sergeant.

William Holt.

Corporal.

George Flack.

Drummer.

Adam Dale.

Fifer.

Armstrong Powel.

Privates.

Patrick Lintch.
James Sumers.
Daniel Kaikner.
Peter Ferry.
John McDonah.
Charles White.
Ezeakel Davice.
George Harris.
Arthur Orskin.
Jaram Williams, his time is up, but not discharged.
John Heel, in the infantry.
Isaac Fallis, on command for one week.
John Wilson, sick at Valley Forge.
Peter Linch, sick at Rocky Hill.
John Clark, sick at Sharers Town.
Henry Ray, sick at Spots Wood.
George Tripner, wayts on General Wayne.
Phillip Keepo, wayts on General Wayne.
John George Henery, on duty driving waggon for the brigade.

[Endorsed] Return of Captain Oldham's Company, September 9, 1778.

Roll of Captain Isaac Seeley's Company and the Present State of the Same, Taken September 9, 1778.

Sergeants.

James Neil.
Alexander McKinsey.
Thomas Mattison.

Corporals.

William Pink.
James Kennedy.

Drummer.

Samuel Pen.

Privates.

John Cornelius, confined by the Congress Regiment, 27th July; not yet restored.
John Flanigan.
Alexander Wright.

John Laird.
James Hall.
George Jacobson.
Mathew Newman.
Edward Waid.
John Lefavour.
Hugh McCowen.
Thomas Harrold.
Henery Jones.
James Caritherd.
Daniel Burns.
Nicholas Lipe.
Robert Garrett.
Thomas Humphries.
John Reynolds.
John Rollo.
George Antilus.
John Gill.
Benjamin Peck, on command.
Alexander Craig, infantry.
Alexander Vernon, infantry.
Phillip Barry, recruiting.
Robert Williams, sick at Morristown.
John Donnolley, sick at Bedford.
Thomas Sands, sick at Bedford.
Joseph Sidders, sick at the Yellow Springs.
George Hall, sick at the Yellow Springs.
John Emory, sick at the Yellow Springs.

JOHN BINGHAM,
Ensign, Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment.

[Endorsed] Return of Captain Seeley's Company, September 9, 1778.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOSIAH HARMAR, SIXTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

List of the Names of the Officers who have Served in the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment Since the First Day of January, 1777, to the Present Day, their Rank, Dates of Commissions, Promotions and Removals, August 27, 1778.

Colonel.

Robert McGaw, prisoner on parole.

Lieutenant Colonels.

Henry Becker, Colonel to ye Second regiment.
Josiah Harmar, June 6, 1777.

Majors

Jeremiah Talbot, September 25, 1777.
Samuel Benezette, February 15, 1777; resigned.

Captains.

John Nice, March 14, 1776; from ye Thirteenth regiment.
Hawkins Boon, October 4, 1776; from ye Twelfth regiment.
Jacob Humphrey, February 15, 1777; claims rank from ye 8th of September, 1776.
Jacob Bower, February 15, 1777.
John McCowan, February 15, 1777; out in the arrangement.
James Waugh, February 15, 1777; out in the arrangement.
Jacob Mouser, February 15, 1777; out in the arrangement.
Walter Cruise, February 15, 1777; out in the arrangement.
Luke Broadhead, February 15, 1777; out in the arrangement.
[Jeremiah] Laughery, Februry 15, 1777; deserted from his arrest.

First Lieutenants.

Thomas Bull, February 15, 1777; Captain November, 1777.
Edward Young, February 15, 1777; resigned.
John Savidge, February 15, 1777; Captain January 1, 1778.
Archibald Campbell, February 15, 1777.
John Thompson, February 15, 1777; dead, March 22.

Adjutant.

George Will, February 15, 1777; first lieutenant; resigned.

First Lieutenant.

William McElhatton, October 1, 1776; captain lieutenant in ye arrangement; from ye Twelfth regiment.

Second Lieutenants.

James Glentworth, February 15, 1777; first lieutenant 1st June, 1777; claims rank from March 22, 1777.
John Wallace, February 15, 1777; absent without leave since March last.
Greenbury Hughes, February 15, 1777; out in the arrangement.
[Nicholas] Garret, February 15, 1777; resigned.
Samuel Smith, February 15, 1777; resigned.
James Waddle, February 15, 1777; resigned.

Benjamin Lodge, March 1, 1777; first lieutenant October 4, 1777; from the Twelfth regiment.
Stewart Herbert, May 20, 1777; first lieutenant October 17, 1777; from the Twelfth regiment.

Ensigns.

Philip Gibbons, February 15, 1777; second lieutenant.
Hermon Lightheser, February 15, 1777; resigned.

Adjutant.

Danial Kennedy, ensign in the arrangement.

Ensigns.

James B. McPherson, February 15, 1777; claims rank of second lieutenant, October, 1777.
Joseph Cox, February 15, 1777; prisoner; out of the arrangement.
Earnest Green, February 15, 1777; resigned.
Edward Speer, May 8, 1777; from ye Thirteenth regiment.
John Merklin, August 20, 1777.
Philip Snider, August 21, 1777; out in the arrangement.
John Foster, August 22, 1777; out in the arrangement.
Charles Macknet, August 23, 1777; out in the arrangement.
William Baxter, out in the arrangement.
Thomas Dungan, August 1, 1778.
James Allan, August 1, 1778.

JOSIAH HARMAR,
Lieutenant Colonel, Commandant Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment.

[Endorsed] Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment; list of officers who served since January 1, 1777. Lieutenant Colonel Harmar.

A Return of Captain John Nice's Company of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Josiah Harmar, Esq., September 9, 1778.

Sergeants

Leonard Vandergrift.
John Colgan.
James Blackney, sick, present.

Corporals.

William Armstrong, sick, Yellow Springs.
James English.
Henry Cotton.

Drummer.

Daniel Fitzpatrick.

Fifer.

William Ferguson.

Privates.

Thomas Scoffield, sick, Rocky Hill.
John Fade.
John Anderson, light infantry.
Thomas Wallace.
John Gordon.
Daniel McManamy.
Patrick Mullen.
Barnabas Colgan.
Richard McPike.
Roger Phinney, light infantry.
Marmaduke Hanbon.
James Borres, on command.
John Haley.
Barnabas Colgan, Senior.
Robert Gorrel.
Samuel Nichol, sick, Bethlehem.
Ezekiel Price, sick, Lancaster.
William Fields, sick, Trenton.
Francis Reed.
George Parker.
James McLaughlin, on command.
William Provost.
John Graham.
William Flanagan.
John Hanley.
John Dunham, sick, present.
Peter Rester.
Julian Francis.
John Crawford.

A Return of Captain John Doyle's Company of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Josiah Harmar, Esq., September 9, 1778.

Sergeants.

James Carson.
Isaac Davis.

Michael Bourke.
George Eberly, on furlough to Lancaster.

Corporals.

John Donaldson.
Daniel Kenny.
William Mann.

Drummer.

James Moore.

Fifer.

George Summers.

Privates.

John Murray.
James Graham.
David Davidson.
John Wheeler.
John Wilson.
Tobias Beam.
James Anderson.
Conrad Will.
Alexander McCean, on command to Lancaster.
James Maroney.
Benjamin Lewis.
Leonard Printsell.
Robert Humphries.
Samuel Johns.
Jabez Lambert.
John Archer.
John McMurray.
Daniel McGuire.
John Miller, on command with ye Second Infantry.
William Brown, on command with ye Second Infantry.
James Patton, on command at Hackensack.
Nathan Leavy.
John Benn, on command at Lancaster
Michael Ballard, sick at Lancaster.
Adam Handell, on command, Baker General.
Abram Griffiths, on command, surveying.
Patrick Callaghan.
John Ward.

A Return of Captain Hawkins Boon's Company of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Josiah Harmar, Esq., September 9, 1778.

Sergeants.

John Sproul, on command.
John Allbright.
Dennis Carrol.

Corporals.

Samuel McCord.
Jacob Boyer.

Drummer.

Francis Parvin.

Fifer.

Jacob Utwalt, sick, present.

Privates.

Thomas Munday.
Thomas Johnson.
Thomas Jones.
Thomas Vardin.
Alexander Cunningham.
Samuel Campbell.
Richard Night.
Richard Lott.
John Cole.
Hamilton Martin.
Philip Ramsend.
Isaiah Willorick.
John Metz.
Jacob Limer.
Charles Bates.
Thomas Mitchell.
Samuel Boyer, sick, present.
David Gibson.
Christian Harley.
Peter Bricker.
William Stuart.
Jacob Bower.
Jacob Young.
Henry Hopper, sick, present.
John Vance.
Philip O'Brian.

A Return of Captain Jacob Humphrey's Company of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Josiah Harmar, Esq., September 9, 1778.

Sergeants.

Thomas Leadom.
Thomas Williams.
John Chester.

Corporals.

Henry Brown.
Samuel Craig.

Drummer.

Benjamin Helley.

Fifer.

Thomas Williams.

Privates.

Jacob Feddery.
Jacob Striker.
Evans Evans.
Joseph Palmer.
Philip McGuire.
William Jacks.
John Shade, on fourteen days command
William Martin.
David Owens.
Stacey Williams, on command, Berks county.
Mitchell Sitster.
William Frankes.
John Ketcham.
William Preston.
Edward Hellen.
William Felty.
Timothy Griffiths, sick, present.
John O'Brian.
John McElwain.
John Crawford.
John Hammersly.
Thomas Watson.
William Addams.
James Morelan, waggoner.
John Figh, surveying.
John Woolskill, recruiting.
Alex. McCombs, sick, Princeton.
Joseph Wilson, sick, Philadelphia

A Return of Captain Jacob Bowers' Company of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Josiah Harmar, Esq., September 9, 1778.

Sergeants.

Everhart Witmyer.
David Hisler.
James McGee.

Corporals.

Thomas Howard.
George Spear.
George Harvey.

Drummer.

William Felman.

Fifer.

Henery Henny.

Privates.

Charles Gordon.
Philip Oaks.
John McAffee
Peter Doyle.
Hennry Lutz.
Michael Shaffert.
Nicholas Coatsman.
William Ridge.
Sterling Cameron.
Jacob Smith.
Robert Ishmael, for three years.
Cornelious Hoffman.
John Grimes.
Ludwick Goodbread.
James McCay.
Jacob Smith.
Richard Robinson, sick, present.
George Ultz.
Jacob Abbot, light infantry.
Killen Kelly, light infantry.
Philip Hener, light infantry.
George Sweep, light infantry.
Adam Kock, light infantry.
John May, light infantry.
Daniel O'Harro, light infantry.

John Hesse, Philadelphia guard.
Samuel Ludwick, sick, Princeton.
Daniel Huggans, sick, Trenton.
Conrad Smith, sick, Reading.

A Return of Captain Thomas Bull's Company of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Josiah Harmar, Esq., September 9, 1778.

Sergeants.

James Holliday.
Michael Moran.
James Mathias, on command.

Corporals.

William Crofts.
William Davison, on command at the lines.

Drummer.

John McMulle

Fifer.

John Lastly.

Privates.

Alexander Rogers.
Michael Brown.
John Fortescue.
John Howard.
Jacob Driver.
Michael Zearn.
Felty Miller.
Jacob Crone.
George Wright.
Jacob Shrider.
Jacob Deidrick.
Michael Stenner.
Peter Leatherman.
Leonard Spangler.
James Jones.
John Lundey.
Robert Thompson.
Peter Standley.

Henry Kelghner.
Jacob Glassmyer, sick Princeton.
Jacob Young, sick, Berks county.
John Hawkins, sick, Yellow Springs.
Mathias Vansdurf, sick at quarters.
Adam Dickert, sick at Captain Moaser's.
Martin Shener, sick at Reading.

COLONEL WILLIAM IRVINE'S SEVENTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Return of the Officers Belonging to and who have Served in the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment since the first day of January, 1777.

Colonel.

William Irvine, January 9, 1776; prisoner on parole, exchanged and joyned the regiment May 4, 1778.

Lieutenant Colonel.

David Grier, October 4, 1776; resigned.

Majors.

Samuel Hay, October 5, 1776; promoted to lieutenant colonel February 2, 1778.

Francis Mentzges, October 7, 1776; joined this regiment June 21, 1778.

Captains.

Abram Smith, January 9, 1776; resigned March 20, 1777.

Jeremiah Talbot, January 9, 1776; promoted to major September 25, 1778; joined the Sixth Pennsylvania regiment January 1, 1778.

William Rippey, January 9, 1776; resigned March 20, 1777.

Moses McClaine, January 9, 1776; prisoner on parole and left out of the arrangement, March 20, 1777.

James A. Wilson, January 9, 1776; prisoner on parole and left out of the arrangement, March 20, 1777.

William Alexander, June 1, 1776.

Lewis Bush, June 23, 1776; appointed major in Colonel Hartley's regiment January 12, 1777.

First Lieutenants.

John McDonal, January 9, 1776; resigned March 20, 1777.

William Bratton, January 9, 1776; appointed captain (ought to have been appointed January 12, 1777) March 20, 1777.

John McDowell, January 9, 1776; appointed captain March 20, 1777; and resigned, February 2, 1778.

John Eddy, January 9, 1776; prisoner on parole and left out of the arrangement, March 20, 1777.

John Grier, January 9, 1776; prisoner on parole and left out of the arrangement, March 20, 1777; exchanged and desirous of serving again.

John Alexander, May 20, 1776; appointed captain March 20, 1777.

Alexander Parker, June 1, 1776; appointed captain March 20, 1777.

Samuel McFerran, June 23, 1776; prisoner on parole and left out of the arrangement, March 20, 1777.

Second Lieutenants.

Abdiel McAllister, January 9, 1776; prisoner on parole and left out of the arrangement, March 20, 1777.

John Brooks, January 9, 1776; resigned March 20, 1777.

Alexander Brown, January 9, 1776; resigned March 20, 1777.

Andrew Irvine, January 9, 1776; appointed first lieutenant March 20, 1777; appointed captain September 24, 1777.

John Hoge, January 9, 1776; prisoner on parole and left out of the arrangement, March 20, 1777.

Robert Wilson, January 9, 1777; appointed captain March 20, 1777; and re-signed March 1, 1778.

Samuel Montgomery, June 1, 1776; appointed captain March 20, 1777.

William Nichols, June 23, 1776; appointed captain in Colonel Hartley's regiment January 12, 1777

Ensigns.

William Graham, January 9, 1776; resigned March 20, 1777.

William Miller, January 9, 1776; appointed first lieutenant March 20, 1777, and appointed captain vice Captain McDowell, February 2, 1778.

William Lusk, January 9, 1776; appointed first lieutenant March 20, 1777.

Robert Hoops, January 9, 1776; appointed captain in Colonel Hartley's regiment January 12, 1777.

Samuel Kenneday, June 1, 1776; appointed first lieutenant March 20, 1777.

John Bush, June 21, 1776; appointed first lieutenant March 20, 1777.

John Hughes, Sr., June 23, 1776; appointed second lieutenant March 20, 1777, and resigned, May 13, 1777.

Thomas McCoy, August 1, 1776; appointed first lieutenant August 13, 1777.

First Lieutenants.

Samuel Brison, March 20, 1777.

James Young, March 20, 1777; resigned September 1, 1777.

James McMichael, June 20, 1777; late of the Thirteenth Pennsylvania regiment and joyned this regiment July 5, 1778.

Second Lieutenants.

Robert McPherson, January 20, 1777; appointed first lieutenant September 1, 1777.

Alexander Russell, January 20, 1777; appointed first lieutenant September 25, 1777.

Joseph Torrence, January 20, 1777.

John Blair, January 20, 1777.

James Williamson, March 19, 1777.

Robert Peebles, April 24, 1777.

William Kyle, May 13, 1777; resigned September 25, 1777.

Ensigns.

James Milligan, March 19, 1777; appointed second lieutenant September 1, 1777.

John McCullam, March 19, 1777; appointed second lieutenant September 25, 1777.

John Hughes, Jr., March 19, 1777; appointed second lieutenant September 26, 1777.

John Ross, February 2, 1778.

WILLIAM IRVINE, *Colonel.*

A Roll of Captain William Alexander's Company in the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel William Irvine, September 9, 1778.

Captain.

William Alexander.

First Lieutenant.

Samuel Kennedy, in ye light troops on ye lines.

Second Lieutenant.

John Hughes, acting quartermaster.

Sergeants.

William Gray.
Joseph Rawlins.
Joseph Waide.

Corporal.

Patrick Butler.

Drummer.

James Hamilton.

Fifer.

Peter Siddle.

Privates.

Cornelius Corrigan.
James Harkins.
James Dunivan.
John Sumervale.
James Berry.
John Brians, driving a regimental wagon.
John McCall.
Pattrick McCormick..
William Guthrie.
Pattrick McConaghy
William Courtny.
John McGinnis, a pioneer.
William Donaldson.
Henry Frut.
James Hutton.
Pattrick Nowlan.
William Wilkinson, in the light troops on the lines.
David Davis, in the light troops on the lines.
George Worley, in the light troops on the lines.
Adam Conn, on two days guard.
John Clemonds, on ye commissary's guard.
John McDonald, on guard.
James Richmond, sick in Philadelphia.
William Anguish, sick at Princeton.
A true state of the company September 9, 1778.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER, *Captain.*

[Endorsed] Company roll, Captain William Alexander, Seventh Pennsylvania regiment, September 9, 1778.

Roll of Captain William Bratton's Company in the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel William Irvine, September 9, 1778.

Captain.

William Bratton, recruiting.

First Lieutenant.

Thomas McCoy.

Second Lieutenant.

John McCullam, acting as adjutant.

Sergeants.

Timothy O'neal.
Amos Chapman.

Corporals.

John McGahan.
John Beaty, ending June, 1780.

Drummer.

Edward Steer.

Fifer

John Wann, recruiting.

Privates.

Francis Henry.
Peter Loyd.
David Hall.
Thomas Simonton.
Edward Edgerton.
Daniel Dunnovan.
John Ryan.
James Elliott.
Pattrick McDonnel.
Peter Roony.
Thomas Gillis.
Neal McCay.
Pattrick McCarter.
James Higgins.
Peter Martin.
Richard Loudon.
William Redstone, with the artillery.
Laurence Lanless, sick in the regimental hospital.
Pattrick Shockney, in the light corps.
Fergus Moore, in the light corps.

J. McCULLAM, *Lieutenant.*

A Roll of Captain John Alexander's Company of the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel William Irvine, September 9, 1778.

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Captain.

John Alexander, acting as paymaster.

First Lieutenant.

Alexander Russell, recruiting, Pennsylvania.

Second Lieutenant.

Robert Peebles.

Sergeant.

Robert Gregg.

Corporal.

John Shields, sick, present.

Drummer

Samuel Walker.

Fifer.

John Vincent, sick, present.

Privates.

Bryan McGlaughlan.
Andrew Pinkerton.
Michael Hogan.
Archibald McConey.
John Smith.
John Nicholson.
George Lucas.
John Bradley.
James Conroy.
John Drudge.
Samuel Still.
William Marshall.
Alexander Ried.
John Jones.
John Todd.
John Alexander, waggoning in camp.
George Patrick, waggoning in camp.
William Kelly, waggoning in camp.
John Benson, sick, present.
John Sulfridge, sick, present.
Thomas McCloud, sick at Downing's Town, Penna.
John Quin, on command light infantry.

JOHN ALEXANDER, *Captain.*

A Roll of Captain Alexander Parker's Company, Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel William Irvine, September 9, 1778.

———

Captain.

Alexander Parker, in the light corps.

First Lieutenant.

William Lusk.

Second Lieutenant.

John Blair.

Sergeants.

John Reniston.
John Hargey.

Corporals.

James McCown, in the light corps.
Michael Madden, sick, present.

Drummer.

Edward McGinnis, on recruiting service.

Privates.

Michael Shields.
Jacob Justice.
Andrew Cratty.
William Carman.
John Carney.
William Nickleson.
Pattrick Martin.
Robert George.
Alexander Caven.
John Wright.
Robert Elliot.
Alexander Denny.
John Hoar.
Anthony Spinhard.
Thomas McClain.
David McClain.
Hugh Call.
John Treble.
James Davison.
William Entrekin, sick, present.
George McPherson, sick, present.
Peter Shekle, sick, present.
Jacob Clows, pioneer.
Daniel McClain, on recruiting service.

Cumb'd. Hambleton, light corps.
Henry Garven, light corps.
John Winn, light corps.
John Johnston, at French Creek general hospital.
Barney McGuire, at French Creek general hospital.
A true state of the company.

WILLIAM LUSK, *Lieutenant.*

A Roll of Captain Samuel Montgomery's Company in the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel William Irvine, September 9, 1778.

———

Captain.

Samuel Montgomery.

First Lieutenant.

Samuel Brison, wounded, Germantown.

Sergeants.

Josias Willson.
James Maxwell.
William Roberts.

Corporals

Charles Reily.
Edward Davidson.

Drummer

Christian Cross.

Fifer.

Daniel Cogdale, srck, camp.

Privates.

William Bremigen.
Charles McConnel.
Thomas Johnston.
Thomas Dyke.
Garret Waggoner.
Francis Custee.
Thomas Brown.
William McCoy.
Ruddy McCoy.
Thomas Means.
William McIntire.
Charles Dugan.

James Graham.
William McDonald, sick, camp.
John Cavenagh.
James McClain.
Daniel McGaragan, sick, camp.
Robert Ellis, sick, camp.
Jerry Bannon, a regimental waggoner.
Samuel Pary, a pioneer.
John Hastings, duty at Bedford.
John Allen, sick, country.
James Muloy, light corps.
John Mellon, light corps.
Philip Brown, Yellow Springs hospital.
John Henery, Fish Kill hospital.

S. MONTGOMERY,
Captain, Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment.

A Roll of Captain Andrew Irvine's Company in the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel William Irvine, September 9, 1778.

Captain.

Andrew Irvine, sick in the country.

First Lieutenant.

Robert McPherson, on command at Yellow Springs.

Second Lieutenant.

Joseph Torrance.

Sergeants.

William Gibb.
Robert Hunter, in the light corps.
Thomas Whitely, on the recruiting service.
Hugh Thomson.

Corporals.

John Shoemaker.
James Garland.
Charles Conner.

Fifer.

Michael Wann.

Privates.

Thomas Colwell.
John McKinley.
William Foster.
Conrod Carcas.
James Glendenen.
George Cochran.
Pattrick Murray.
Charles Kelly.
John Johnston.
Michael Bleak.
James Rawls.
Andrew McGahy.
Matthew Cunningham.
John White.
Jacob Weaver, waggoner in camp.
Pattrick Doyle, in light corps.
Thomas Glenn, orderly at regimental headquarters.
James Lee, sick, present.
John Ferguson, sick, regimental hospital.
Francis O'hara, on command with Captain Irvine.
Felix O'neal, at French Creek hospital.

JOSEPH TORRENCE, *Lieutenant*

Roll of Captain William Miller's Company of the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment of Foot in the Service of the United States, Commanded by Colonel William Irvine, Camp White Plains, September 10, 1778.

———

Captain.

William Miller, command at Hackinsack.

First Lieutenant.

James McMichael.

Second Lieutenant.

James Gainer, York Town, recruiting

Sergeants.

Thomas Gainer, York Town, recruiting.
Adam Linn.

Corporal.

Denis Murphy.

Drummer.

Patrick Conner, recruiting.

Privates.

Murty Sullivan.
John Connelley.
Thomas Chesney.
Felix Duffield.
Edward Welch.
Andrew Kennedy.
James Johnson.
Roger Goff.
George Blackley.
Neal McGonagle.
William Bradshaw.
Matthew Smith.
Alexander McDonald.
James Welch.
Michael Shanley.
John Dugan.
John Hart.
Henry German, sick in camp.
John Welch, sick, York county.
Patrick King, detachment.
Edward Atchins, detachment.
Thomas Riley, detached to the artillery.

JAMES MCMICHAEL, *First Lieutenant.*

Roll of the Company Commanded by Lieutenant John Bush, Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel William Irvine, September 9, 1778.

First Lieutenant

John Bush.

Second Lieutenant.

James Williamson.

Sergeant.

John O Nail.

Corporal.

Josiah Galbreath.
John Gibney.

Privates.

John Bear.
James Chambers.
John Ferral.
Mathias Faw.
William Keas.
James Kilpatrick.
James McDonel.
Hugh McManas.
James Moor.
Daniel Murray.
Alexander Porter.
John Riland.
Patrick Roberts.
William Wiggans.
Joseph Rinn.
Edward McKillin, sick, Princeton hospital.
John Collans, sick, Princeton hospital.
Richard Cummins, on command at Valley Forge.
John Parker, in the light infantry.
John Miller, on command.
John McSorley, at Carlisle.
Thomas Apelbay, on command.

JAMES WILLIAMSON, *Lieutenant.*

COLONEL BRODHEAD'S EIGHTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Return of the Officers in the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, with their Rank and Dates of their Commissions and Claims to Preferment, December 10, 1777.

Captains.

David Kilgore, August 9, 1776; sick; absent.
Samuel Miller, August 9, 1776; supposed to be deserted.
Van Swearingen, August 9, 1776; on command with Colonel Morgan.
James Piggot, August 9, 1776; resigned October 22, 1777.
Windle Oury, August 9, 1776; resigned October 16, 1777.
James Montgomery, August 19, 1776; died July 26, 1777.
Michael Huffnagle, March 16, 1777; on command.
Matthew Jack, July 13, 1777; present.

First Lieutenants.

Thomas Cook, August 9, 1776; claims a captaincy vice Captain Montgomery, deceased.
Nehemiah Stokely, August 9, 1776; claims a captaincy vice Captain Oury, resigned.
John Finley, August 9, 1776; claims a captaincy vice Captain Piggot, resigned.
Basil Prather, August 11, 1776.
John Hughes, August 11, 1776; supposed to be deserted.
Richard Richardson, July 13, 1777; supposed to be deserted.
Samuel Smith July 13, 1777; killed at German Town, October, 4, 1777.
John Harden, July 13, 1777.

Second Lieutenants.

Gabriel Peterson, July 13, 1777, ; claims a first lieutenancy vice Lieutenant Cook, promoted.
Benjamin Neilly, July 13, 1777; claims a first lieutenancy vice Lieutenant Stokeley, promoted.
Daniel Mickey, July 13, 1777; claims a first lieutenancy vice Lieutenant Finley, promoted.
Andrew Finley, July 13, 1777; claims a first lieutenancy vice Lieutenant Smith, killed.
William Amberson, July 13, 1777.
Barnaby Owens, July 13, 1777.
John Stevenson, July 13, 1777; cashiered November 30, 1777.
Alexander Graham, July 13, 1777.

Ensign.

Robert Anthony McClain, July 13, 1777; killed September 27 by Ensign McBride.

DANIEL BRODHEAD,
Colonel, Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment.

First Lieutenants.

Thomas Cook, captain July 25, 1777.
Nehemiah Stokely, captain October 16, 1777.
John Finley, captain October 22, 1777.

Second Lieutenants.

Gabriel Patterson, first lieutenant July 26, 1777.
Benjamin Neily, first lieutenant October 4, 1777.
Daniel Mikey, first lieutenant October 16, 1777.
Andrew Finley, first lieutenant October 22, 1777.

Captains.

David Kilgore.
Samuel Miller.
Van Swearingen.
James Piggot..
Vendel Oury.
James Montgomery.
Michael Hoffnagle.
* Matthew Jack.

First Lieutenants.

Thomas Cook.
Nehemiah Stokely.
John Finley.
Basil Preather.
John Hughes.
* Richard Richardson.
* Samuel Smith.
* John Harden.

Second Lieutenants.

* Gabriel Peterson.
* Benjamin Neily.
* Daniel Mickey.
* Andrew Finly.
* William Amberson.
* Barnaby Owen.
* John Stevenson.
* Alexander Graham.

Ensign.

* Robert Anthony McClean.

Adjutant.

* John Crawford, February 3.

These marked thus * want Commissions, all of which are dated the 13th day of July, 1777.

[Endorsed] Names and Ranks of Officers in Colonel Brodhead's Regiment, Eighth Pennsylvania.

COLONEL RICHARD BUTLER'S NINTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Return of all the Officers who have served in the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment from the First Day of January, 1777, 'till this date, August 27, 1778.

Field Officers.

Colonel Athony James Morris, resigned in April or May, 1777.

Lieutenant Colonel George Nagel, promoted to colonel of the Tenth regiment February 7, 1777.

Major Matthew Smith, promoted to lieutenant colonel of the Ninth Pennsylvania regiment February 7, 1777; resigned February 16, 1777.

Colonel Richard Butler, June 7, 1777; promoted from lieutenant colonel of the First Pennsylvania regiment.

Lieutenant Colonel Caleb North, October 23, 1777; transferred from the Eleventh Pennsylvania regiment in the new arrangement.

Major Francis Nichols, February 7, 1777; promoted from captain.

Captains.

Francis Nichols, promoted to major of the Ninth Pennsylvania regiment February 7, 1777.

Joseph Irwin, November 15, 1776; left out of the new arrangement.

Joseph McClellan, November 15, 1776; claims rank July 15, 1776, as mentioned on the back.

Jacob G. Dircks, resigned March 3, 1777.

Thomas Bartholomew Bowen, November 15, 1776; claims rank September 2, 1776, as mentioned on the back.

Matthew Henderson, November 15, 1776; left out of the new arrangement.

John Davis, November 15, 1776.

John Nelson, cashiered May 15, 1777.

Thomas Gourley, March 3, 1777; resigned May 23, 1778; his commission should have been dated February 7, 1777, vice Nichols.

George Grant, June 19, 1777; claims rank March 3, 1777, vice Dircks.

First Lieutenants.

Thomas Gourley, promoted to captain March 3, 1777.

George Grant, promoted to captain June 19, 1777.

William Whitman, November 15, 1776; promoted to captain lieutenant in the new arrangement; prisoner on parole.

Samuel Davis, November 15, 1776; left out of the new arrangement.

William Brown, November 15, 1776; left out of the new arrangement.

Mor'd Morgan, November 15, 1776; left out of the new arrangement.

Benjamin Griffith, resigned November 30, 1777.

Nicholas Coleman, November 15, 1776; left out of the new arrangement.

John Bickham, March 3, 1777; left out of the new arrangement; he should have been promoted to first lieutenant February 7, 1777, vice Gourley, vice Nichols.

William Vanlear, July 22, 1777; claims rank March 3, 1777, vice Grant, vice Dircks.

Second Lieutenants.

John Bickham, promoted to first lieutenant March 3, 1777.

William Vanlear, promoted to first lieutenant July 22, 1777.

Robert McBride, November 15, 1776; left out of the new arrangement; he should have been promoted to first lieutenant May 15, 1777, vice Whitman, who ought to have succeeded Captain Nelson.

Joshua Bartholomew, dead March 16, 1778; should have been promoted to first lieutenant November 30, 1777, vice Griffith.

Jacob Vanderslice, November 15, 1776; continued a lieutenant in the new arrangement; claims first lieutenancy March 16, 1778, vice Bartholomew.

Stephen Stevenson, November 15, 1776; continued a lieutenant in the new arrangement.

Abel Rees, resigned August 14, 1777.

John Ashton, March 3, 1777; left out of the new arrangement; he should have been promoted to second lieutenant February 7, 1777, vice Bickham, vice Gourley, vice Nichols.

Daniel Darragh, August 5, 1777; left out of the new arrangement; he should have been promoted to second lieutenant March 3, 1777, vice Vanlear, vice Grant, vice Dircks.

Ensigns.

John Ashton, promoted to second lieutenant March 3, 1777.

Daniel Darragh, promoted to second lieutenant August 5, 1777.

John McKinney, April 29, 1777; continued lieutenant in the new arrangement; claims rank May 15, 1777, as second lieutenant, vice McBride, vice Whitman, vice Nelson.

Thomas Laverswyler, August 5, 1777; left out of the new arrangement; should have been promoted to second lieutenant March 16, 1778, vice Vanderslice.

William Thompson, adjutant since the first establishment of the regiment; appointed ensign in the new arrangement.

John Tate, paymaster; appointed ensign in the new arrangement.

George Knox, quartermaster; appointed ensign in the new arrangement.

William Dicky, resigned October 31, 1777.

John Llewellin, resigned July 11, 1777.

Nezer Swaine, resigned July 10, 1777.

John Hoge, left the service August 1, 1778.

Robert Miller, resigned October 25, 1777.

Henry O'neal, left the service November 1, 1777.

Robert White, left the service February 1, 1778.

Officers Transferred from Other Regiments to this in the new Arrangement.

Captains.

John Pearson, Eleventh Pennsylvania regiment.

William Mackey, Eleventh Pennsylvania regiment; prisoner of war on parole.

[Endorsed] A List of all Officers who have served in the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment since January 1, 1777, with the dates of their Commissions, Occurrences, Claims of Rank, etc.

[On back of Return of Officers of the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment, referred to therein.]

Captain Joseph McClellan and Captain Thomas Bartholomew Bowen of the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment found their claim of Rank, as Mentioned in the Within List, on the following Pretentions:

Early in 1776, Three Battalions of regular Troops Under the command of Colonel Miles, were raised for two years by the State of Pennsylvania, and were enter'd into the Continental Service, under the Denomination of State Troops. In these the Claimants receiv'd Commissions.

Mr. McClellan receiv'd a Captaincy on the 15th July, and Mr. Bowen as the Eldest Subaltern, should have succeeded to a Company vice Captain Peebles, who died in Captivity the 2d September, 1776, of the Wounds he receiv'd in the Battle of Long Island.

The Executive Power of the State of Pennsylvania having thought proper to reduce the three Battalions to one, left it to the choice of the Officers, whether they would continue in the State Service or accept Commissions in the Continental Regiments on the (then) New Establishment; and these Claimants, with other of the Senior Officers were (agreeable to their Choice) transferr'd.—Several Junior Officers were made Captains in that Regiment, and now take Rank of Captains Bowen and McClellan, by having Commissions of earlier dates; that Regiment having been made Continental, and the Officers receiv'd Commissions from Congress of the dates of their first Appointments in the Service of the State. These Claims were allowed by a Court of Inquiry, of which Lieutenant Colonel Bure was President, in January last, and the proceedings deliver'd to Major General Lord Sterling—A Copy of which (it is said) was transmitted to the Honorable the Board of War.

A Return of Captain Joseph McClellan's Company of the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Richard Butler. The whole enlisted during the war, Sept. 10, 1778.

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Sergeants.

Daniel Vanderslice.
Hugh Hearren, hospital, French Creek.
Sampson Dempsey, on command, Reading.

Corporals.

Samuel Woods, hospital, Princetown.
Christian Young.

Drummer.

George Stewart.

Privates.

George Alferd.
Henry Harper.
George Pention.
Thomas Sumner.
Adam Coch.
Daniel Salliday.
Daniel Benhart, hospital, Bedford.

Frederick Raimeck.
Jacob Powles.
Laughlin Morrison.
Thomas Powel, on command, light infantry.
Francis Matthews, on command, light infantry.
Patrick Rock, on command, light infantry.
Andrew Shafer, on command with General Armstrong.
Robert Eagen, hospital, French Creek.
James Haines, hospital, French Creek.
James Kallahan, hospital, Easton.
George Shafer, hospital, Easton.
John Connely, hospital, Easton.
Peter Mager, hospital, Shaferstown.

WILLIAM VANLEAR,
Lieutenant, Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment.

A Return of Captain Thomas B. Bowen's Company of the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Richard Butler. The whole enlisted during the war, September 10, 1778.

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Sergeants.

Richard Sparks.
Thomas Snowden, hospital, Princetown.
Thomas Brown.

Corporal.

Lawrence Trago.

Drummer.

John F. Conrad.

Fifer.

George Wolton.

Privates.

John Marshal.
John Reed.
John Carney.
Charles Cox.
Christopher Dugan.
Sylvester Hogan.
Roger Curry.
Dennis Kennedy.
Samuel Reeder.
Ambrose Connor.

John McAfee.
Francis Gowan.
John Reynolds.
Jacob Myers.
James Gordon.
Patrick McCrossan.
William Kelly.
Duncan McFarland.
John Newel.
Patrick McMallen.
Peter Phalan.
John Banghen.
John Cavenaugh.
William Chambers, on command, light infantry.
Thomas Hustler, on command, Philadelphia.
William May, hospital, Bedford.
Daniel Campbell, hospital, Lightfoot.
Michael Ryley, hospital, Lightfoot.
John Morton, hospital, Yellow Springs.

WILLIAM VANLEAR,
Lieutenant, Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment.

Roll of Captain John Davis' Company, Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Richard Butler. Whole of the men enlisted during the war.

Sergeant.

Charles Milling.

Corporal.

George Duffy.

Drummer.

John Zanes.

Privates.

Joseph Cochran.
Charles Hazard.
James Dougherty.
David Edgar.
Alexander McKinly.
William Miller.
Frederick Stillwaggon.
Michael Fleming.

Benjamin Twiney.
Paul Russel.
Joseph Welch.
John Miller.
John Maise, detached on infantry.
Edward Nelson, Yellow Springs hospital.
Stuffil Stillwagon, driving waggon in the regiment.
Abraham Doeland, driving for the infantry.
Charles Cooper, sick in camp.
George Dougherty, on His Excellency's guard.

JOHN DAVIS,
Captain, Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment.

Camp, September 10, 1778.

Roll of Captain George Grant's Company of the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Richard Butler. The whole engaged to serve during the war. September 10, 1778.

Sergeant.

Henry Cottingham, on furlough.

Corporal.

Samuel Jamison.

Privates.

John Cox.
Thomas Barton.
Samuel Blair.
James Newbury.
Nathaniel Moon.
George Heflinger.
Barney Murphy.
James Keith.
Thomas McCord.
Joseph Lamb, sick in camp.
Peter Keplinger, sick in camp.
Jacob Beaton, in infantry.
Joseph Bonner, on furlough.
Barney Cobler, sick in hospital, Reading.

JOHN MCKINNEY,
Lieutenant, Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment.

A Return of Captain Joseph Erwin's Company of the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Richard Butler. The whole enlisted during the war, Sept. 10, 1778.

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Sergeants.

James Graham.
John Sutherland, on command.

Corporals.

Edward Brooks, in light infantry.
John O'Neal.
Thomas Sloan.

Fifer.

John Eagen.

Privates.

Jacob Johnson.
Patrick Fernell.
David Walter.
James Campbell.
George Recroft.
Michael McCarty.
John Tracy.
Henderson Wright.
Thomas Duff.
John McBride.
John Kennedy.
John Pidgeon.
James Cochran.
James Jackson.
Alexander Moore.
Michael Weidner.
John Blackely.
Richard Hollowell.
Peter Davis.
Richard Kenedy.
Edward Armstrong.
William Mileham, on command, light infantry.
Michael Cartey, on command, light infantry.
Arthur Molloy, on command with General Armstrong.
Richard Ketchem, on furlough.
Roger Sullivan, hospital, French Creek.
Joseph Mileham, hospital, Bedford.
James Coney, hospital, French Creek.

John Nagel, hospital, Bethlehem.
James Caxdon, sick, French Creek.
James McCabe, sick, Trenton.

WILLIAM VANLEAR,
Lieutenant, Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment.

A Return of late Captain Henderson's Company of the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Richard Butler. The whole engaged to serve during the war. September 10, 1778.

Sergeants.

James Voris.
James Ashton.

Corporals.

Bartholomew Cain.
John Ross.
Robert Hamilton.

Fifer.

Thomas Flower.

Privates.

Richard Barnes.
Arthur Carry.
John Ellis.
John Harch.
John Smith.
William Rodman.
Zacharias Brandt.
George Hart.
Henry Holmes.
John Mills.
Peter Millar.
Francis Smith.
David Burns.
Robert Gore.
Thomas Phellan.
Thomas Peacock, in infantry.
Sebastian Spencer, in infantry.
Joseph Brooks, sick in camp.
James Rowland, on command and forage.

Anthony Holman, on command and forage.
Benjamin Harris, on command, Albany; driving forage wagon.
George Holman, sick.
William Page, sick, Peeks Kills.
Francis King, sick, French Creek hospital.
Philip Keas, sick, French Creek hospital.
Wickard Lavering, sick, Princetown.
John Cammeron, sick, Princetown.
George Rowland, sick, Princetown.
John Hitt, sick, Norristown.

JOHN MCKINNEY,
Lieutenant, Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment.

A Return of the Company, late Nichols, now under the Command of Lieutenant William Vanlear, of the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Richard Butler. The whole enlisted during the war, Sept. 10, 1778.

Sergeants.

Henry Crone.
John McGriff.

Corporal.

James Matthews.

Fifer.

John Kelly.

Drummer.

Robert Ledfard.

Privates.

Andrew Dunn.
Daniel Graham.
John Fourt.
John Carter.
Robert Donch.
Matthew Davis.
Owen Ellis.
William Jones.
Thomas Ardan.
John Craan.

Thomas Reed, waggoner.
John Brown, on command, light infantry.
Patrick, McGlasshan, on command with Major Nichols.
Abram Zane, on command with Captain Nagel.
James McCarrigher, hospital, Bedford.
William Figan, wagoner.

WILLIAM VANLEAR,
Lieutenant, Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment.

A Return of late Captain Gourley's Company, now under the Command of Captain Davis, Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Richard Butler. Whole of the men enlisted during war.

Sergeant.

Thomas Brown.

Corporal.

William Brooks.

Drummer.

James McCune.

Fifer.

James Kilpatrick.

Privates.

William Maud.
James Mahony.
James Jervey.
Dennis McGrorty.
William Collins.
John Welch.
Patrick Rogers.
Daniel Keys.
John Smith.
Henry Burlerton.
Joshua Tomkins.
Thomas Hixon.
Thomas Brown, Princetown hospital.
William Moody.
William Smith, Yellow Springs hospital.
Joseph Palmer, working at the armorers in camp.
John Kirgey, waiting on General Conway.

JOHN DAVIS.
Captain, Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment.
Camp, September 10, 1778.

COLONEL RICHARD HUMPTON'S TENTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

State of the Officers of the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment from the first day of January, 1777, to (June 24, 1778), the time it was Incorporated with Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment.

Colonel.

Joseph Penrose, resigned February 7, 1777.

Lieutenant Colonels.

George Nagel, promoted February 7, 1777, to colonel, vice Colonel Penrose, resigned (left out of the arrangement).

Adam Hubley, October 4, 1776.

Major.

Caleb North, March 10, 1777; promoted to lieutenant colonel in the Eleventh Pennsylvania regiment.

Captains.

James Grier, March 7, 1776; promoted to major October 23, 1777, vice Major North, promoted.

George Calhoon, November 13, 1776.

Thomas Herbert, December 4, 1776; resigned February 12, 1777.

Henry Shade, December 4, 1776; cashiered October 17, 1777.

John Stoner, December 4, 1776; resigned November 22, 1777.

James Lang, December 4, 1776.

Robert Sample, December 4, 1776; prisoner of war.

William Cox, December 4, 1776; left out of the new arrangement.

William Wirtz, December 4, 1776; resigned March, 1778.

First Lieutenants.

Harman Stout, December 4, 1776, promoted February 12, 1777, to captain, vice Captain Herbert, resigned.

David Schrack, December 4, 1776; promoted October 17, 1777, to captain, vice Captain Shade, cashiered; left out of ye arrangement.

Jacob Stake, December 4, 1776; promoted November 12, 1777, to captain, vice Captain Stoner, resigned.

Thomas M. Foreman, December 4, 1776; resigned.

Abraham Hargis, December 4, 1776; resigned August 1, 1778.

George Tripler, December 4, 1776; resigned November 1, 1777.

John Steel, December 4, 1776.

Richard Duff, April 18, 1777; never joined ye regiment.

Second Lieutenants.

Francis Adams, December 4, 1776; promoted April 18, 1777, to first lieutenant, and cashiered May, 1778.

Ebenazer Carson, December 4, 1776; promoted April 18, 1777, to first lieutenant, vice Lieutenant Duff; never joined ye regiment.

William Knox, December 4, 1776; promoted April 30, 1777, to first lieutenant, vice Lieutenant Foreman, resigned (left out of new arrangement).

Robert Patton, April 10, 1777; promoted October 17, 1777, to first lieutenant, vice Lieutenant Schrack, promoted.

Ensign.

Benjamin Carpenter, December 4, 1776; promoted April 18, 1777, to second lieutenant, afterwards to a first lieutenant, November 1, 1777, vice Lieutenant Tripler (now resigned).

Second Lieutenant.

Peter Drummond, April 18, 1777; promoted November 22, 1777, to first lieutenant, vice Lieutenant Stake, promoted (left out of new arangement).

Ensigns.

James Gordon, December 4, 1776; promoted April 18, 1777, to second lieutenant, vice Lieutenant Carson, promoted; since resigned.

Samuel Boude, December 4, 1776; removed to Colonel Proctor's artillery regiment.

Second Lieutenants.

Peter Shiles, April 20, 1777; wounded at Brandywine battle and died November 5, 1777.

William Skinner, April 22, 1777; never joined the regiment.

Robert Hooper, April 29, 1777.

Ensigns.

John Cole, December 4, 1776; promoted April 30, 1777, to second lieutenant, vice Lieutenant Knox, promoted (left out of new arrangement).

William Orr, December, 1776; promoted October 17, 1777, to second lieutenant (vice Lieutenant Patton, promoted), cashiered.

Thomas Shanks, December 4, 1776; cashiered.

Ezra Patterson, April 18, 1777; never joined the regiment.

Adam Keller, April 20, 1777; promoted November 1, 1777, to second lieutenant, vice Second Lieutenant Carpenter, resigned (since left out of arrangement).

George Weitzel, April 22, 1777; never joined the regiment.
David Cochran, April 24, 1777; resigned September 1, 1777.
Jacob Shindel, April 24, 1777; never joined the regiment.

Second Lieutenants.

Daniel Dennis, November 5, 1777; appointed in room of Second Lieutenant Shile, dead (left out of the arrangement).
Jacob Tolbert, November 7, 1777; appointed vice Second Lieutenant Skinner, who never joined the regiment (left out of the arrangement).

Staff Officers.

Francis O'Neal, surgeon; September 6, 1777.
Alexander Benstead, paymaster; December 1, 1776.
Joseph Banks, quartermaster.
James McLane, adjutant.

ADAM HUBLEY, Jr.,
Lieutenant Colonel, Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment.

N. B.—Major Grier was a captain in ye First Pennsylvania regiment and removed from them and promoted to major in the Tenth Pennsylvania regiment.

P. S.—Major Michael Ryan, appointed major to the regiment October 23, 1777, and Suspended that Rank, February the 19th, 1778, on account of his Appointment being adjud'd by a Board of General Officers to be irregular.

[Endorsed] Tenth Pennsylvania regiment.

Roll of Colonel Richard Humpton's Company of the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment of Foot, September 10, 1778. *Enlisted during the war.*

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Sergeants.

Elias Crisler, on furlough at Philadelphia.
George Dalton, in the field.
Thomas Scotland, in the field.

Corporals.

James Melvin, in the field.
Adam Rupport, in the field.
Levi Bateman, light corps.

Drum and Fife.

Nathaniel Thomas, in the field.
John Funner, in the field.

Privates.

Mark McCord, in the field.
Richard Jemison, in the field.
James Glen, in the field.
William Kuhn, in the field.
John Troxell, in the field.
Barny McGee, in the field.
Andrew Yeater, in the field.
James Rice, in the field.
John Lecrown, in the field.
Gasper Bates, in the field.
James Fowler, in the field.
Alexander Henderson, in the field.
Benjamin Wells, in the field.
Joseph Pringle, in the field.
Stephen Carven, in the field.
John Shoemaker, in the field.
William Heeler, in the field.
Chris P. Barnthisel, in the field.
Arnold Peters, in the field.
Thomas Howard, in the field.
James Story, in the field.
John Wilkinson, in the field.
John Bond, regimental baker.
William Pink, regimental waggoner.
John Booth, regimental waggoner.
John Read, light corps.
Patrick Donakin, at commissary general's.
Samuel Dewees, on command at Philadelphia.
Martin Benner, on furlough at Philadelphia.
Phelix McCarty, on furlough at Philadelphia.
John Wort, sick at Valley Forge.
John Farmer, sick at Lancaster.
George Lendersmith, sick at Lancaster.

Roll of Lieutenant Colonel Hartley's Company, Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Richard Humpton, September 10, 1778. *Enlisted during the war.*

Sergeants.

James Stuart, in the field.
Daniel Murray, in the field.
Joseph Heatherington, on furlough.

Corporal.

James McGaw, in the field.

Drum and Fife.

Frederick Fox, in the field.
Thomas Bourk, in the field.

Privates.

Thomas Perry, in the field.
Thomas Psalter, in the field.
James Hunter, in the field.
John Camp, in the field
Benjamin Davis, in the field.
Daniel McFatridge, in the field.
Henry Fitcher, in the field.
Edward Evins, in the field.
George Godfree, in the field.
John O'Mitt, in the field.
Peter Cross, in the field.
Thomas James, in the field.
George Stuart, in the field.
Thomas Davis, in the field.
Frederick Ritter, in the field
Jacob Lankell, in the field.
Archibald Mustert, in the field.
William Steel, in the field.
Matthew Dorsey, in the field.
John Permett, pioneer.
Ezikel Johnston, sick, present.
John Rodong, sick present.
Nicholas Hoofman, barber.
Levi Burns, negro, waiter.
Torrence Connel, on command.
John Beaver, on command.
Peter Cup, waggoner.
Henry Turner, on command.
Thomas Ready, on command.
William Campbell, sick, absent.
Christopher Panis, sick, absent.
Thomas Owens, sick, absent.
Patrick Morton, sick, absent.
John Smith, Senior, sick, absent.
John Smith, Junior, sick, absent.
Jacob Dealing, sick, absent.

A Roll of Major James Greer's Company of the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment, enlisted during the war, September 10, 1778. *Commanded by Colonel Richard Humpton.*

———

Sergeant.

William Hurton, in the field.

Corporals.

William Sharp, in the field.
William Fox, in the field.

Drums and Fifes.

William Scott, in the field.
Alexander McKinley, in the field.
John Smith, in the field.

Privates.

John Morgan, in the field.
John Brown, in the field.
Daniel Quin, in the field.
Samuel Beel, in the field.
Luke Jolly, in the field.
Leonard Grimes, in the field.
Peter Eclebergar, in the field.
John Duncan, in the field.
Casper Shitz, in the field.
Elijah Starr, in the field.
Peter Clayton, in the field.
John Young, in the field.
Matthias Young, in the field.
Aaron Penton, in the field.
Philip Morrison, in the field.
Samuel Fletcher, in the field.
Isaac McHose, in the field.
William Garehart, in the field.
William Duffy, in the field.
David Marshall, in the field.
Roger Lenard, in the field.
Philip Pliffenburgh, in the field.
Roger Griffin, in the field.
George Johnson, on command at lines.
George Deedaigh, on command at lines.
Stephen Smith, on command at Lebanon.
Matthias Ambrett, on command at Bethlehem.

Thomas Hamilton, on command, with Captain Scull.
George Rankins, on command, with Colonel Bradford.
Abraham Link, on command, with Colonel Nagle.
Andrew Shirk, on command, recruiting.
Dudley McGee, on command, waggoner.
William McKinley, on command, waggoner.
Thomas Evans, sick near the hutts.
Philip Coldwater, sick at Reading.
James Webb, deserted from the lines September 1, 1778.

Roll of Captain Calhoon's Company, Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Richard Humpton, September 9, 1778. The whole enlisted for during the war.

Sergeants.

Josephs Suydenspinner.
Thomas Hocraft, recruiting.

Corporals.

George Runyan.
Daniel Moore, command, light corps.

Drum and Fife.

Joseph Clay.
Thomas Powers.

Privates.

Moses Lyons.
William Hoskins.
Henry Mooney.
Ludwick Dovens.
John Quinn.
John Kellar.
John Peradley.
John Clark.
Michael Shaw.
William Kemplin.
Andrew Lormond.
James Sayerson.
Peter Robb.
Simon Sheleberger.
Frederick Wilts.
Jarret Envin.

Thomas Hamilton.
Michael Lynch.
Henry Pruinuer.
Richard Short.
John Dilanan.
Andrew Bird.
Mathew Templeton.
Jacob Grover, sick near camp.
Thomas Mortimer, on command at commissary's.
James Lehel, on command.
Revel Marmon, on command at shoe factory.
Robert Alexander, on command, a waggoner.
John Rankin, on command.
Morivan Wheeler, on light corps.
John Stone, on furlough.
Stephen Cradler, on furlough.
Charles Kissinger on furlough.

Roll of Captain James Lang's Company, Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Richard Humpton, September 10, 1778.

Sergeants.

Daniel McLean, in the field.
Thomas Filson, in the field.
Barny Shields, in the field.

Corporals.

John Smith, in the field.
James Tyre, in the field.

Drum and Fife.

Leonard Toops, in the field.
Andrew Cutler, in the field.

Privates.

Daniel Powers, in the field.
Samuel Green, in the field.
John Smith, in the field.
John Lockhard, in the field.
Adam Truby, in the field.
Daniel Hoy, in the field.

Simon Digby, in the field.
David Stinson, in the field.
Henry Falls, in the field.
James Sharplice, in the field.
Andrew Carvan, in the field.
John McBride, in the field.
Thomas Whelan, in the field.
Andrew McGrigan, in the field.
James Duncan, in the field.
Robert Hanna, in the field.
John Sulavan, in the field.
William Stage, in the field.
John Burnham, in the field.
Hugh Bradley, pioneer.
Bartholowrew Berrey, sick, present.
John McCarron, on command, lines.
William Douglass, artillery.
John Jones, light corps.
Robert Holston, light corps.
John Sigafuss, light corps.
David Griffin, regimental waggoner.
Edward Butler, armourer.
Samuel Lessley, on command at Lancaster.
Lawrence Gorman, on command at Lancaster.
Abraham Hornick, regimental baker.
Thomas Borland, on furlough.
Barney Burnes, sick, absent.

Roll of Captain Robert Sample's Company, Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Richard Humpton, September 9, 1778. The whole enlisted for during the war.

Sergeants.

John Green.
William Grear.
Daniel McGlynn, on command light corps.

Corporals.

James Tracey.
William Mallen.

Drum and Fife.

John Henry Camp, two weeks command.
John Stovers.

Privates.

George Williams.
William Pepper.
Henry Gardner.
Valentine Delahurst.
Thomas Bignol.
Thomas Barefoot.
Samuel Brown.
James McKinney.
Patrick Lafferty.
Barney Murray.
Jacob Lear.
Gabriel Hungaries.
Michael Haugentaubles.
David Daubenburger.
James Porter.
Jacob Tracey.
George Branigan.
Henry McCabe.
Richard Cole, camp.
Christopher Roke.
Thomas Davis, on command light corps.
James Rice, on command light corps.
Samuel Newcomb, on command light corps.
Robert Power, on command light corps.
Barney Valentine, on command at artillery.
Andrew Johnston, on command mowing.
Jacob Titter, on command at Valley Forge.
Godlip Myer, on command at Valley Forge.
Philip Morison, on command.
David Logan, sick, Reading.
Henry Matere, sick, Middletown.
James Welch, recruiting.
John Culket, sick, absent.

Roll of Captain Jacob Weaver's Company, Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Richard Humpton, September 10, 1778. *Enlisted during the war.*

Sergeants.

Michael Eberly, sick, present.
Andrew Fryer, in the field.

Corporals.

Frederick Koutz, in the field.
Michael Hause, in the field.

Fifer.

John Bourk, recruiting.

Drummer.

David Linton, recruiting.

Privates.

John Thomson, in the field..
Mark Guile, in the field.
Christian Nagle, in the field.
Christian Sinn, in the field.
Lodwick Cromer, in the field.
Michael Douling, in the field.
Francis Shover, in the field.
John Rock, in the field.
John Meakly, in the field.
Zacharias Hile, in the field.
William Getty, in the field.
Casper Shetzer, in the field.
Michael Shedler, in the field.
Samuel Deel, in the field.
John Galvin, in the field.
Michael Pels, in the field.
Joseph Sanders, in the field.
John Eigholtz, in the field.
Conrad Bourk, in the field.
John Ellington, detached to the light corps.
John Morice, detached to the light corps.
Samuel Spison, detached to the light corps.
Frederick Bladenberger, blacksmith for the regiment.
Owen Winters, pioneer.
Heronianus Bradagan, sick, present.
Benjamin Worrel, sick, present.
Michael English, sick, present.
James Forsyth, sick, present.
John Hasman, sick, present.
John Prees, sick at Lancaster.
Henry Wenger, sick at Lancaster.
Moses Keef, sick at Middletown.
William Barker, sick in general hospital.
Andony Petry, officers waiter.

A Roll of Captain Harman Stout's Company, Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Richard Humpton, Esq. Enlisted for during the war. September 9, 1778.

Sergeants.

Thomas Burns.
Thomas McFarland.
John Campbell.

Corporals.

Robert Marshall.
Abraham Riblet.

Drum and Fife.

Martin Shore.
Archibald McDonald.

Privates.

William Greenhill.
Michael Ryan.
Henry Henderson.
John Tolingir.
Timothy Donahoe.
Lawrence Keenan.
William Warren.
Peter Lish.
Samuel Insco.
James Fryer.
Peter Fochle.
William Lesly.
William Reed.
John Been.
Robert Humble.
John Noland.
Thomas Brady, Senior.
Edward Larner.
Peter Laughlin.
Francis Fennil.
Andreus Houke.
John McCarel.
George Crow.
John Laughrin
William Barns.
John McGreger, two weeks guard.
John O'Neile, camp colour man.
Abraham Cashaw, waggoner.
Andrew Mullen, artillery.

Thomas Brady, Junior, artillery.
Nathaniel Crout, light infantry.
John Thompson, sick at Shearerstown.
John Lewis, sick at Reading.

Roll of Captain Jacob Stake's Company, Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment, Commanded by Colonel Richard Humpton, September 10, 1778. *The whole enlisted during the war.*

Sergeants.

John Wynne, in the field.
Samuel Edger, in the field.
John Ray, in the field.

Corporals.

Michael Elly, in the field.
Martin Sullivan, in the field.

Drummer.

John Jeffrys, in the field.

Fifer.

Martin Ashburn, in the field.

Privates.

John Pierce, in the field.
James McCray, in the field.
Richard Coogan, in the field.
George Montgomery, in the field.
William Short, in the field.
Jacob Stillwell, in the field.
Nathaniel Webber, in the field.
Timothy McNamaro, in the field.
Charles Fulks, in the field.
John Gettiss, in the field.
William Leech, in the field.
Lawrence Sullivan, in the field.
Samuel Dickson, in the field.
James Pratt, in the field.
John Funk, in the field.
John Stammers, in the field.
Christopher Reily, detached to the light corps.
John Chappel, detached to the light corps.

William Williams, detached to the light corps.
Edward Helb, detached at Lebanon.
Rudolph Crowman, waggoner for the state.
Stephen Falkentine, waggoner for the regiment.
Daniel Forker, waiter for the captain.
Patrick Coyle, camp colour man.
James McLaughlin, sick, present.
William Grace, sick, present.
Benjamin Toy, sick, present.
Thomas Moore, sick, present.
Malcom Black, sick, present.
Patrick Collins, sick at Valley Forge.
Richard Harding, sick at Reading.
George Webb, blacksmith.
Bastion Maraquet, on furlough, Lancaster.

ELEVENTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

State of the Officers, Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment, Richard Humpton, Colonel. Raised September 27, 1776, and Incorporated with the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment June 24, 1778.

Field Officers.

Richard Humpton, colonel; September 27, 1776; lieutenant colonel July 16, 1776; by determination of a Board of General Officers, colonel October 1, 1776; command of Tenth Pennsylvania regiment, June 24, 1778.

Francis Gurney, lieutenant colonel, September 27, 1776; resigned October 30, 1777.

Francis Mentges, major, September 27, 1776; transferred to the Seventh Pennsylvania regiment June 24, 1778; by the above Board of General Officers, major October 7, 1776.

Captains.

Samuel Dawson, September 30, 1776; by a prior commission July 16, 1776; transferred to the Eighth Pennsylvania regiment, June 24, 1778.

John Coats, September 30, 1776; resigned September 7, 1777.

Adolph Hedrick, September 30, 1776; resigned October 30, 1777.

William Bradford, Junior, September 30, 1776; promoted in the commissary general of musters department April 11, 1777.

William Scull, September 30, 1776; promoted in the geographer's department July 1, 1778.

William Henderson, September 30, 1776; appointed paymaster, Colonel Moyland's regiment of cavalry, April 9, 1777.

John Douglass, September 30, 1776; resigned December 7, 1777.

William McKissick, September 30, 1776; taken a prisoner at Fort Washington; superceded March 28, 1777, for being a prisoner.

First Lieutenants.

William Thomas, September 30, 1776; resigned April 9, 1777.

John Cunningham, September 30. 1776; resigned April 21, 1777.

Samuel Deane, September 30, 1777; appointed captain April 9, 1777, vice Henderson, appointed paymaster to Colonel Moyland's regiment.

George Ross, Junior, September 30, 1776; appointed captain April 11, 1777, vice Bradford, promoted; resigned April 1, 1778.

John Pearson, September 30, 1776; appointed captain September 7, 1777, vice Coats, resigned.

William Leaver, September 30, 1776; resigned September 8, 1777.

William Mackey, September 30, 1776; appointed captain October 30, 1777, vice Hedrick, resigned; transferred to Ninth Pennsylvania regiment June 24, 1778; prisoner of war on parole.

Enoch Anderson, September 30, 1776; appointed captain December 7, 1777, vice Douglass, resigned: cashiered March 31, 1778.

Second Lieutenants.

Maybury Jolly, September 30, 1776; first lieutenant April 9, 1777, vice Dean, promoted; captain March 31, 1778, vice Anderson, cashiered.

Robert Patton, September 30, 1776; taken a prisoner at Fort Washington; superceded April 9, 1777, for being a prisoner.

John Stotesbury, September 30, 1776; first lieutenant April 9, 1777, vice Thomas, resigned; transferred to Eighth Pennsylvania regiment June 24, 1778; prisoner of war on parole.

Peter Jones, September 30, 1776; first lieutenant April 11, 1777, vice Ross, promoted; absent by leave June 24, 1778.

Benjamin Hammond, September 30, 1776; first lieutenant April 21, 1777, vice Cunningham, resigned; killed February 20, 1778.

Andrew Robinson, September 30, 1776; taken a prisoner at Fort Washington; superceded April 9, 1777, for being a prisoner.

Henry Boogh, September 30, 1776; first lieutenant September 7, 1777, vice Pearson, promoted; superceded February 1, 1778.

Thomas Lucas, September 30, 1776; appointed adjutant April 9, 1777; killed, Battle of German Town, October 4, 1777.

Ensigns.

Alexander Carmichael, September 30, 1776; second lieuenant April 9, 1777, vice Jolly promoted; killed at Battle of Brandywine September 11, 1777.

John McEldery, September 30, 1776; second lieutenant April 9, 1777, vice Stotesbury, promoted; resigned October 30, 1777.

Nathaniel Martin, September 30, 1776; second lieutenant April 9, 1777, vice Lucas, promoted; first lieutenant October 30, 1777; transferred to Eighth Pennsylvania regiment June 24, 1778; prisoner of war on parole.

Ralph Williamson, September 30, 1776; never joined the regiment.

James Wilcox, September 30, 1776; never joined the regiment.

John Henderson, September 30, 1776; appointed a cornet in Moyland's cavalry April 9, 1777.

Jacob Fiss, September 30, 1776; second lieutenant September 7, 1777; first lieutenant February 1, 1778; absent with leave June 24, 1778.

Giles Hicks, September 30, 1776; second lieutenant April 9, 1777; first lieutenant October 30, vice Mackey, promoted; transferred to Tenth Pennsylvania regiment June 24, 1778.

Officers who joyned the regiment after it was raised.

North, lieutenant colonel, vice Gurney, resigned; transferred to the Ninth Pennsylvania regiment June 24, 1778.

John Harris, captain, March 28, 1777, vice McKissack, superseded; absent by leave June 24, 1778.

James Mackey, second lieutenant, April 9, 1777, vice Patton, superseded; first lieutenant vice Lucas, resigned; absent by leave June 24, 1778.

Peter Martin, second lieutenant, April 9, 1777, vice Robinson, superseded; killed at Battle of Brandywine September 11, 1777.

Joshua Archer, second lieutenant, April 21, 1777; superseded January 1, 1778.

Lazarus Stow, ensign, April 9, 1777; second lieutenant September 8, 1777, vice Mackey, promoted; first lieutenant February 20, 1778, vice Hammond, killed; absent by leave June 24, 1778.

Adam Tate, ensign, April 21, 1777; second lieutenant April 11, 1777, vice P. Martin, killed; resigned October 25, 1777.

Aaron Norris, ensign, April 22, 1777; second lieutenan September 11, 1777, vice Carmichael, killed; resigned February 15, 1778.

Enos Reeves, ensign, May 1, 1777; second lieutenant October 25, vice Tate, resigned; first lieutenant March 31, 1778, vice Jolly, promoted; transferred Eighth Pennsylvania regiment June 24, 1778.

John Thumb, May 30, 1777; second lieutenant October 30, 1777, vice McEldery, resigned; superseded January 1, 1778.

William Levers, ensign, June 2, 1777; resigned October 6, 1777.

Anthony Fricker, ensign, June 14, 1777; resigned September 29, 1777.

Staff Officers.

Thomas Lucas, adjutant, April 9, 1777; killed at Battle of German Town October 4, 1777; Lieutenant Enos Reeves acting adjutant to June 24, 1778.

Henry Steits, quartermaster; appointed brigade forage master October 10, 1777; Francis White acting quartermaster to June 4, 1778; appointed an ensign Tenth Pennsylvania regiment, June 2, 1778.

Robert McMurdy, chaplain; resigned June 1, 1777; appointed brigade chaplain.

Abel Morgan, surgeon; appointed surgeon to the Eighth Pennsylvania regiment June 1, 1778.

Ezekiel Bull, S. mate; resigned February 13, 1778; assistant surgeon in the hospital at Reading.

Hugh Craig, paymaster; never joyned the regiment; Andrew Epplee appointed paymaster April 14, 1777; resigned March 1, 1778.

N. B.—Captain Samuel Dean and Captain Maybury Jolly are absent by leave June 24, 1778.

The officers mentioned absent by leave from June 24, are absent on account of the new arrangement.

Camp White Plains, August 30, 1778.

RICHARD HUMPTON,
Colonel, Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment.

[Endorsed] State of the Eleventh Pennsylvania regiment from its being first raised to June 24, 1778.

TWELFTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

List of the names of the Officers who have served in the Twelfth Pennsylvania Regiment since the first day of January, 1777, to the time it was incorporated with the Third Pennsylvania Regiment, about July 5, 1778.

Colonel.

William Cook, September 27, 1776; resigned.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Neigal Gray, September 27, 1776; dismissed the service June 2, 1778.

Major.

James Crawford, September 27, 1776; resigned November 10, 1777.

Captains.

Henry McKinley, October 1, 1776; left the regiment June 18, 1778, determined to resign.

Alexander Patterson, October 1, 1776; out in the arrangement.

Hawkins Boon, October 4, 1776; to the Sixth regiment.

John Harris, October 1, 1776; resigned March 1, 1777.

Nicholas Miller, October 4, 1776; out in the arrangement.

John Brady, October 1, 1776; resigned March 9, 1778.

Peter Withington, October 4, 1776; died May 11, 1777.

William Work, October 1, 1776; dismissed the service in March, 1777.

First Lieutenants.

Stephen Chambers, October 1, 1776; captain March 1, 1777; out in the arrangement.

Thomas Brandon, October, 4, 1776; dead April 4, 1777.

Christopher Gettig, October 1, 1776; prisoner May 10, 1777; lost one leg.

Hananiah Lincoln, October 4, 1776; captain May 20, 1777; resigned October 17, 1777.

John Reily, October 1, 1776; captain May 20, 1777; to the Third regiment; claims rank from May 10, 1777.

William McElhatton, October 1, 1776; captain lieutenant in the arrangement; to the Sixth regiment; claims a captaincy from Captain Lincoln's resignation.

William Sayres, October 1, 1776; resigned October 11, 1777.

John Henderson, October 1, 1776; captain lieutenant in the arrangement; to the Third regiment; claims a captaincy from Captain Bradford's resignation.

Second Lieutenants.

John Carithers, October 1, 1776; first lieutenant March 1, 1777; killed at Germantown October 4, 1777.

Robert King, October 1, 1776; first lieutenant May 20, 1777; to the Third regiment, but struck out of the muster rolls.

John Boyd, October 1, 1776; first lieutenant May 20, 1777; out in the arrangement.

Edward McCabe, October 4, 1776; first lieutenant March 28, 1777; resigned December 20, 1777.

James Williamson, October 4, 1776; first lieutenant May 20, 1777; resigned March ye 15, 1778.

Samuel Quinn, October 1, 1776; out in ye arrangement.

John Hays, October 1, 1776; dismissed the service January 13, 1778.

Ensigns.

Benjamin Lodge October 1, 1776; second lieutenant March ye 1, 1777; to the Sixth regiment; claims first lieutenancy from Captain Reily's promotion.

Thomas Hamilton, October 1, 1776; second lieutenant March 28, 1777; resigned January 26, 1778.

William Boyd, October 1, 1776; second lieutenant May 20, 1777; killed at Brandywine September 11, 1777.

Blackall William Ball, October 1, 1776; second lieutenant May 20, 1777; to the Third regiment; claims a first lieutenancy from Lieutenant Carithers' death.

Stewart Herbert, October 1, 1776; second lieutenant May 20, 1777; to the Sixth regiment; claims a first lieutenancy from Lieutenant Sayers' resignation.

Andrew Engle, October 1, 1776; to the Third regiment; claims a second lieutenancy from ye May 10, 1777, and a first lieutenancy from Captain Lincoln's resignation.

Robert Faulkner, resigned October 11, 1777.

Henry Thomas, resigned October 17, 1777.

John Seely, resigned August 20, 1777.

John Armstrong, May 20, 1777; to the Third regiment; claims a second lieutenancy from ye September 11, and a first lieutenancy from Lieutenant McCabe's resignation.

John Cook, May 22, 1777; dismissed the service January 30, 1778.

William Allison, May 20, 1777; resigned October 31, 1777.

To the Honourable the Board of Commissioners appointed by Congress to settle the rank of the officers of the Army, etc.

The above is a true State of the Names, Rank, Dates of Commissions, Promotions, Removals and Casualties of the Officers who have served in the Twelfth Pennsylvania Regiment from the first day of January, 1777, to the time it was incorporated with the Third Pennsylvania Regiment, in July, 1778.

JOHN HENDERSON,
Captain Lieutenant, Third Pennsylvania Regiment.
BENJAMIN LODGE,
Lieutenant, Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment.
B. W. BALL,
Lieutenant, Third Pennsylvania Regiment.
ANDREW ENGLE,
Ensign, Third Pennsylvania Regiment.

[Endorsed] Twelfth Pennsylvania Regment.

THIRTEENTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

The Following is a list of the Officers of the late Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiment from April 19, 1777, *at which time it was Arranged, until July* 1, 1778, *at which time it was Incorporated with the Second.*

Colonel.

Walter Stewart, June 17, 1777.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Lewis Farmer, supernumary.

Majors.

John Murray.
Francis Murray, supernumary.

Captains.

Patrick Anderson, March 14, 1776; suspended October 20, 1777.
John Marshall, March 14, 1776; joined Second regiment.
John Nice, March 14, 1776; transferred to Sixth regiment.
Matthew Scott, October 26, 1776; supernumary.
James Francis Moore, October 24, 1776; joined Eighth regiment.
John Spear, February 6, 1777; dead February 8, 1778.
John Clark, February 28, 1777; joined Eighth regiment.

Robert Gray, February 28, 1777; supernumary.
John Robb, April 18, 1777; supernumary.
James Carnahan, April 18, 1777; joined Eighth regiment.

First Lieutenants.

Joseph Finley, October 24, 1776; promoted October 20, 1777; resigned July 10, 1778.
Thomas Johnson, April 18, 1777; resigned June 20, 1777.
Jacob Metz, April 18, 1777; suspended October 20, 1777.
Thomas Boyd, April 18, 1777; resigned February 5, 1778.
Joseph Brownlee, April 18, 1777; joined Eighth regiment.
William Moore, April 18, 1777; joined Second regiment.
George Hoffner, April 18, 1777; suspended August 15, 1777.
Jacob Snider, April 18, 1777; joined Second regiment.
George Guyger, April 18, 1777; supernumary.
James Wiley, April 18, 1777; resigned January 25, 1778.

Second Lieutenants.

James McMichael, April 18, 1777; promoted June 20, 1777; joined Seventh regiment.
John Gregg, April 18, 1777; supernumary.
Samuel Kenny, April 18, 1777; supernumary.
Ambrose Crane, April 18, 1777; cashiered August 15, 1777.
William Harris, April 18, 1777; reisgned June 22, 1777.
William McCracken, April 18, 1777; resigned July 4, 1778.
John Vanpelt.

Ensigns.

Peter Boyl, April 18, 1777; promoted August 1, 1777; resigned April 18, 1778.
Robert Gregg, April 18, 1777; cashiered August 10, 1777.
James Bickham, April 18,1777; promoted August 1, 1777; joined Second regiment.
John Parks, April 18, 1777; promoted August 1, 1777; joined Second regiment.
James Dugan, April 18, 1777; resigned February 9, 1778.
Joseph Collier, April 18, 1777; joined First regiment.
John VanWinch, April 18, 1777; prisoner.
Patrick Fullerton, April 18, 1777; joined Second regiment.
Joseph Gorman, April 8, 1777; supernumary.
Abraham Bemper, April 18, 1777; resigned April 1, 1778.
Thomas Lincoln, August 1, 1777; resigned July 4, 1778.
Edward Spear, May 8, 1777; joined Sixth regiment.
William Johnston, May 8, 1777.
[Endorsed] List of the Thirteenth Regiment, Pennsylvania.

ARRANGEMENT

OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA LINE

IN

1777-1778-1780.

[From Documents in the possession of the Department of State, Washington City.]

[In several instances the arrangement of the Pennsylvania Line differs from that found in the "History of the Battalions and Line," and hence they are here given in full.]

ARRANGEMENT IN 1777.

FIRST PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Arrangement of the Officers of the First Regiment of Pennsylvania.

Colonel.

James Chambers, March 2, 1777.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Richard Butler, February 22, 1777.

Major.

Henry Miller, February 12, 1777.

Captains.

James Greer, March 7, 1776.
David Harris, March 7, 1776.
James Parr, March 9, 1776.
James Hamilton, March 9, 1776.
John Holliday, September 25, 1776.
Samuel Craig, January 16, 1777.
John Matson, January 16, 1777.
Michael Simpson, January 16, 1777.
James Willson, March 2, 1777.

First Lieutenants.

William Willson, September 25, 1776.
Thomas Buchanan, January 16, 1777.
Thomas Armor, January 16, 1777.
Peter Weiser, January 16, 1777.
John Dougherty, January 16, 1777.
David Ziegler, January 16, 1777.
Abraham Skinner, May 13, 1777.
James Holliday, May 13, 1777.
Benjamin Lyon, August 5, 1777.

Second Lieutenants.

John McClellan, May 13, 1777.
Samuel Smith, May 13, 1777.
George Stevenson, May 13, 1777.
Aaron Norcross, May 13, 1777.
Thomas Boyd, May 13, 1777.
John Hughes, May 13, 1777.
James Magill, May 13, 1777.
James McFarlane, May 13, 1777.
Martin Shugart, August 5, 1777.

Third Lieutenants.

Edward Butler, May 13, 1777.
William Glass, May 13, 1777.
William McDowell, May 13, 1777.
Edward Crawford, May 13, 1777.
David Hay, May 13, 1777.
David Hammond, May 13, 1777.
Robert Clifton, May 13, 1777.
William Bayard, August 27, 1777.

Adjutant.

Henry McCormick, April 16, 1777.

Paymaster.

Alexander Hunder, April 12, 1777.

Surgeon.

William Magaw, May 13, 1777.

SECOND PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Arrangement of the Officers of the Second Regiment of Pennsylvania.

Major.

William Williams, February 13, 1777.

Captains.

Joseph Howell, Junior, December 30, 1776
John Patterson, December 31, 1777.

Jacob Ashmead, January 1, 1777.
John Bankson, January 1, 1777.
Roger Stayner, January 1, 1777.
George Jenkins, March 3, 1777.
Christian Staddle, March 12, 1777.
Samuel Tolbert, March 31, 1777.

First Lieutenants.

Peter Gosner, January 1, 1777.
John Cobea, January 1, 1777.
Philip Clumberg, Junior, January 1, 1777.
John Stoy, April 24, 1777.

Second Lieutenants.

John Philip Debaas, January 1, 1777.
James Morris Jones, January 1, 1777.
Henry Piercey, January 15, 1777.
William Honeyman, January 15, 1777.
Benjamin Boyer, March 12, 1777.
Abel Morris, March 12, 1777.

Adjutant.

John Erwin, January 1, 1777.

Paymaster.

James Johnston, February 15, 1777.

Quartermaster.

Andrew Bankson, March 29, 1777.

Surgeon.

Samuel Cunningham, April 16, 1777.

Ensigns.

Philip Wagoner, February 5, 1777.
John Burton, February 5, 1777.
Berand Cicaty, February 5, 1777.
Charles Darragh, February 5, 1777.
Thomas Norton, March 12, 1777.
John Stricker, April 17, 1777.
Henry Purcell, April 18, 1777.

THIRD PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Arrangement of the Officers of the Third Regiment of Pennsylvania.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Thomas Craig, September 7, 1776.

Major.

Josiah Harmar, March 6, 1777.

Captains.

John Brisban, April 1, 1777.
John Huling, April 1, 1777.
John Reese, April 1, 1777.
Thomas Moore, April 1, 1777.
Samuel Moore, April 1, 1777.
James Cristie, April 1, 1777.
Thomas Butler, April 1, 1777.

First Lieutenants.

James Montgomery, April 1, 1777.
Henry Eppele, April 1, 1777.
William Craig, April 1, 1777.
James Black, April 1, 1777.
George McCully, April 1, 1777.
James Armstrong, April 1, 1777.
John Marshall, April 1, 1777.
Jacob Drake, May 1, 1777.

Second Lieutenants.

James Bird, April 1, 1777.
Nathan McMullen, April 1, 1777.
Daniel St. Clair, April 1, 1777.
Matthew Lukins, April 1, 1777.
Percival Butler, April 16, 1777.

Ensigns

James Lowes, April 1, 1777.
Samuel Coultas, April 1, 1777.

Donald McDonald, April 1, 1777.
John Young, April 20, 1777.
John Newby, April 21, 1777.
John Goldsmith, April 27, 1777.
William Russell, April 29, 1777.
Daniel Campbell.

FOURTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT

Arrangement of the Officers of the Fourth Regiment of Pennsylvania.

Colonel.

Lambert Cadwalader.

Lieutenant Colonel.

William Butler, February 24, 1777.

Major.

Marien Lamar, March 7, 1777.

Captains.

Edward Scull, January 3, 1777.
William Gray, January 3, 1777.
Benjamin Fishbourn, January 3, 1777.
John McGowen, January 3, 1777.
Benjamin Burd, January 3, 1777.
William Cross, January 3, 1777.
Robert Conolly, January 3, 1777.
John Means, January 3, 1777.

Adjutant.

Barnaby Owens, May 2, 1777.

Paymaster.

James Hunter.

Quartermaster.

John Davis, March 5, 1777.

First Lieutenants.

William Henderson, January 3, 1777.
John Dover, January 3, 1777.
William Calhoon, January 3, 1777.
David Brown, January 3, 1777.
William Sproat, January 3, 1777.
Edward F. Randolph, January 3, 1777.
Thomas Campble, January 3, 1777.
Abraham Lewis, May 15, 1777.

Second Lieutenants.

George Blewer, January 3, 1777.
Samuel Gray, January 3, 1777.
William Sims, January 3, 1777.
James Armor, January 3, 1777.
Isaac Coates, January 3, 1777.
John Elliott, January 3, 1777.
John Lewis, April 29, 1777.

Ensigns.

Erkurias Beatty, January 3, 1777.
Samuel Carpenter, January 3, 1777.
David Kar, January 3, 1777.
Matthias Pobb January 3, 1777.
Robert Steel, January 3, 1777.
Peter Sommers, January 3, 1777.
Jonathan Arnold, January 3, 1777.
James Willson, April 29, 1777.

FIFTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Arrangement of the Officers of the Fifth Regiment of Pennsylvania.

Colonel.

Francis Johnston, September 27, 1776.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Percifor Frazer, October 1, 1777.

Major.

Thomas Robinson, October 14, 1777.

Captains.

Thomas Church, January 1, 1777.
Frederick Vernon, January 1, 1777.
James Moore, January 1, 1777.
James Taylor, January 1, 1777.
Joseph Potts, January 1, 1777.
Alexander Johnston, January 1, 1777.
Benjamin Barthomew, January 1, 1777.
John Christie, January 1, 1777.
William Oldham, March 24, 1777.

First Lieutenants.

Samuel Smith, January 1, 1777.
Alexander McClintick, January 1, 1777.
Robert Gregg, January 1, 1777.
Isaac Seely, January 1, 1777.
Thomas Boud, January 1, 1777.
Charles McHenry, January 1, 1777.
Job Vernon, January 1, 1777.
John Bartley, January 1, 1777.

Adjutant.

John Harper, January 1, 1777.

Paymaster.

Michael Kimmel, March 27, 1777.

Second Lieutenants.

Levi Griffith, January 1, 1777.
Joseph Stanley, January 1, 1777.
Alexander Martin, January 1, 1777.
George North, January 1, 1777.
James Forbes, January 1, 1777.
James McCulloch, January 1, 1777.
William Skolfield, January 1, 1777.
Michael Crawford, April 1, 1777.

Ensigns.

David Marshall, January 1, 1777.
George Crow, January 1, 1777.
William Magee, January 1, 1777.
Abraham Wood, May 3, 1777.
James Johnston, June 1, 1777.
Jonathan Pugh, June 3, 1777.

SIXTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Arrangement of the Officers of the Sixth Regiment of Pennsylvania.

Colonel.

Robert Magaw.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Henry Bicker, August 22, 1776.

Major.

Samuel Benezet, February 15, 1777.

Captains.

Jacob Humphreys, February 15, 1777.
Jacob Bower, February 15, 1777.
John McCowan, February 15, 1777.
Walter Cruise, February 15, 1777.
James Waugh, February 15, 1777.
Jeremiah Lockry, February 15, 1777.
Jacob Moser, February 15, 1777.
Luke Broadhead, April 21, 1777.

First Lieutenants.

Thomas Bull, February 15, 1777.
Edward Young, February 15, 1777.
John Savage, February 15, 1777.
Thomas Gibson, February 15, 1777.
Archibald Campbell, February 15, 1777.
Stephen Hannah, February 15, 1777.
George Will, February 15, 1777.
James Glentworth, June 17, 1777.

Second Lieutenants.

Samuel Waddle, February 15, 1777.
Samuel Smith, February 15, 1777.
John Wallace, February 15, 1777.
Nicholas Garrett, February 15, 1777.
Isaac Thompson, February 15, 1777.
Greenbury Hughes, February 15, 1777.

Philip Gibbons, June 17, 1777.
Robert Lyon, July 8, 1777.

Ensigns.

Herman Leitheiser, February 15, 1777.
Farqueher McPherson, February 15, 1777.
Joseph Cox, February 15, 1777.
Ernst Greese, February 15, 1777.
John Markland, August 20, 1777.
Philip Snider, August 21, 1777.
John Foster, August 22, 1777.
Charles Mackinet, August 23, 1777.

Adjutant.

Daniel Kennedy, July 1, 1777.

Paymaster.

Enoch Morgan.

Quartermaster.

John Rhea, March 17, 1777.

SEVENTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Arrangement of the Officers of the Seventh Regiment of Pennsylvania.

Colonel.

William Irvine.

Lieutenant Colonel.

David Greer, February 21, 1777.

Major.

Samuel Hay, March 11, 1777.

Captains.

Jeremiah Talbot, March 20, 1777.
William Alexander, March 20, 1777.
William Bratton, March 20, 1777.
John McDowell, March 20, 1777.
John Alexander, March 20, 1777.

Alexander Parker, March 20, 1777.
Robert Willson, March 20, 1777.
Samuel Montgomery, March 20, 1777.

Adjutant.

Robert Elliott, March 20, 1777.

Paymaster.

John Knight, March 20, 1777.

Quartermaster.

James Gamble, March 20, 1777.

First Lieutenants.

Andrew Irvine, March 20, 1777.
William Miller, March 20, 1777.
William Lusk, March 20, 1777.
Samuel Kennedy, March 20, 1777.
John Bush, March 20, 1777.
John Brison, April 10, 1777.
James Young, April 10, 1777.
Thomas McCoy, August 13, 1777.

Second Lieutenants.

John Hughes, January 20, 1777.
Robert McPherson, January 20, 1777.
Alexander Russell, January 20, 1777.
Joseph Torrence, January 20, 1777.
John Blaire, January 20, 1777.
James Williamson, March 19, 1777.
Robert Peebles, April 24, 1777.
William Kyle, June 6, 1777.

Ensigns.

James Melligan, March 19, 1777.
John McCullum, March 19, 1777.
John Hughes, March 19, 1777.
John McGee, March 19, 1777.
William Willson, April 24, 1777.
Alexander McWheeling, April 24, 1777.
James Hannah, May 1, 1777.
William Armstrong, June 6, 1777.

EIGHTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Arrangement of the Officers of the Eighth Regiment of Pennsylvania.

Colonel.

Daniel Broadhead. March 1, 1777.

Major.

Stephen Bayard, March 9, 1777.

Captains.

Van Sweringen, August 9, 1776.
Samuel Miller, August 9, 1776.
James Piggot, August 9, 1776.
Wendal Owry, August 9, 1776.
David Kilgore, August 9, 1776.
Andrew Man, August 9, 1776.
James Montgomery, August 11, 1776.
Michael Hoofnagle, March 16, 1777.

First Lieutenants.

John Findley, August 9, 1776.
Matthew Jack, August 9, 1776.
Nehemiah Stokely, August 9, 1776.
Thomas Cook, August 9, 1776.
Bazil Prather, August 11, 1776.
John Hughes, August 11, 1776.

Second Lieutenants.

James Guthrie, August 9, 1776.
Richard Richardson, August 9, 1776.
Samuel Smith, August 9, 1776.
William Crawford, August 9, 1776.
John Hardin, August 11, 1776.
John Mackay, August 11, 1776.

Paymaster.

John Boyd.

Quartermaster.

Ephraim Douglass, August 9, 1776.

Ensigns.

Benjamin Neily, August 9, 1776.
Andrew Findley, August 9, 1776.
John Sims, August 9, 1776.
Gabriel Patterson, August 9, 1776.
Daniel Mickey, August 9, 1776.
William Amberson, August 9, 1776.

NINTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Arrangement of the Officers of the Ninth Regiment of Pennsylvania.

Lieutenant Colonel.

George Nagel, August 20, 1776.

Major.

Matthew Smith, December 5, 1776.

Captains.

Francis Nichol, November 15, 1776.
Joseph Irwine, November 15, 1776.
Joseph McClellan, November 15, 1776.
Thomas B. Bowen, November 15, 1776.
Matthew Henderson, November 15, 1776.
John Davis, November 15, 1776.
Thomas Gourly, March 3, 1777.
George Grant, June 19, 1777.

First Lieutenants.

William Whitman, November 15, 1776.
Samuel Davis, Junior, November 15, 1776.
William Brown, November 15, 1776.
Mordecai Morgan, November 15, 1776.
Benjamin Griffiths, November 15, 1776.
Nicholas Coleman, November 15, 1776.
John Bickham, March 3, 1777.
William Vanleer, July 22, 1777.

Second Lieutenants.

John Blair, November 15, 1776.
Joseph Bartholomew, November 15, 1776.
Robert McBride, November 15, 1776.
Abel Rees, November 15, 1776.
Jacob Vanderslice, November 15, 1776.
Stephen Stevenson, November 15, 1776.
John Ashton, March 3, 1777.
Daniel Darroch, August 5, 1777.

Ensigns.

William Dickey, November 15, 1776.
John Hoge, April 4, 1777.
John McKinney, April 29, 1777.
Robert Miller, July 8, 1777.
Benjamin Morris, August 4, 1777.
Henry O'Neal, August 4, 1777.
Robert Wight, August 5, 1777.
Thomas Laverswyler, August 5, 1777.

Adjutant.

William Thompson, November 15, 1776.

Paymaster.

John Tate, April 4, 1777.

Quartermaster.

Thomas Craig, January 1, 1777.

TENTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Arrangement of the Officers of the Tenth Regiment of Pennsylvania.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Adam Hubley, March 10, 1777.

Major.

Caleb North, March 10, 1777.

Captains.

Henry Shade, December 4, 1776.
John Stoner, December 4, 1776.
James Lang, December 4, 1776.
George Calhoon, December 4, 1776.
Robert Temple, December 4, 1776.
William Coxe, December 4, 1776.
William Wirts, December 4, 1776.
Herman Stout, March 12, 1777.

First Lieutenants.

David Shrack, December 4, 1776.
Jacob Stake, December 4, 1776.
Abraham Hargiss, December 4, 1776.
George Triesler, December 4, 1776.
John Steele, December 4, 1776.
Francis Adams, April 10, 1777.
Ebenezer Carson, April 10, 1777.

Second Lieutenants.

William Knox, December 4, 1776.
Robert Patton, April 10, 1777.
James Gordon, April 18, 1777.
Benjamin Carpenter, April 18, 1777.
Peter Drummond, April 18, 1777.
Peter Shile, April 20, 1777.
William Skinner, April 22, 1777.
Robert Hooper, April 29, 1777.

Ensigns.

John Cole, December 4, 1776.
William Orr, December 4, 1776.
Thomas Shanks, December 4, 1776.
Ezra Patterson, April 10, 1777.
Adam Keller, April 20, 1777.
George Weitzel, April 22, 1777.
David Cochran, April 23, 1777.
Jacob Shindel, April 24, 1777.

Adjutant.

Enoch Wright.

Paymaster.

Alexander Benstead.

Quartermaster.

Henry Small, April 20, 1777.

ELEVENTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Arrangement of the Officers of the Eleventh Regiment of Pennsylvania.

Colonel.

Richard Humpton, September 27, 1776.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Francis Gurney, August 21, 1776.

Major.

Francis Mentges, September 27, 1776.

Captains.

Samuel Dawson, September 30, 1776.
John Coates, September 30, 1776.
Adolphus William Heydrick, September 30, 1776.
William Scull, September 30, 1776.
John Douglass, September 30, 1776.
John Harris, October 1, 1776.
Samuel Dean, April 9, 1777.
George Ross, Junior, April 11, 1777.

First Lieutenants.

John Pearson, September 30, 1776.
William Levers, September 30, 1776.
William Mackay, September 30, 1776.
Enoch Anderson, September 30, 1776.
Maybury Jolly, April 9, 1777.
John Stotsbury, April 9, 1777.
Peter Jones, April 11, 1777.
Benjamin Hammond, April 21, 1777.

Second Lieutenants.

Henry Booga, September 30, 1776.
James Mackey, April 9, 1777.
Peter Martin, April 9, 1777.
Alexander Carmichael, April 9, 1777.
John McElderry, April 9, 1777.

Nathaniel Martin, April 9, 1777.
Giles Hicks, April 9, 1777.
Joshua Archer, April 21, 1777.

Ensigns.

Jacob Fiss, September 30, 1776.
Lazarus Stow, April 9, 1777.
Adam Tate, April 21, 1777.
Aaron Norris, April 22, 1777.
Enos Reeves, May 1, 1777.
John Thumb, May 30, 1777.
William Levers, June 2, 1777.
Anthony Fricker, June 14, 1777.

Adjutant.

Thomas Lucas, December 27, 1776.

Paymaster.

Andrew Eppele, February 15, 1777.

Chaplain.

Robert McMurdy, May 17, 1777.

Quartermaster.

Henry Stites.

TWELFTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Arrangement of the Officers of the Twelfth Regiment of Pennsylvania.

Colonel.

William Cooke, September 28, 1776.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Neigel Gray, September 28, 1776.

Major.

James Crawford, September 28, 1776.

Captains.

Henry McKinley, October 1, 1776.
Alexander Patterson, October 1, 1776.
Hawkins Boone, October 1, 1776.
Nicholas Miller, October 1, 1776.
John Brady, October 1, 1776.
Stephen Chambers, March 28, 1777.
Hananiah Lincoln, May 20, 1777.
John Reily, May 20, 1777.

Quartermaster.

Wilton Atkinson, January 11, 1777.

Surgeon.

Andrew Ledlie, January 18, 1777.

First Lieutenants.

William McElhatton, October 1, 1776.
William Sawyer, October 1, 1776.
John Henderson, October 1, 1776.
Edward McCabe, March 28, 1777.
John Caruthers, May 20, 1777.
Robert King, May 20, 1777.
John Boyd, May 20, 1777.
James Williamson, May 20, 1777.

Second Lieutenants.

Samuel Quinn, October 1, 1776.
John Hays, October 1, 1776.
Benjamin Lodge, March 1, 1777.
Thomas Hamilton, March 28, 1777.
William Boyd, May 20, 1777.
Blackall William Ball, May 20, 1777.
Stewart Herbert, May 20, 1777.

Ensigns.

Andrew Engel, October 1, 1776.
Robert Falconer, January 8, 1777.
Henry Thomas, February 1, 1777.
John Seley, February 3, 1777.
John Armstrong, May 21, 1777.
John Cook, May 22, 1777.
William Allison, May 22, 1777.

THIRTEENTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Arrangement of the Thirteenth Regiment of Pennsylvania.

Colonel.

Walter Stewart.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Lewis Farmer.

Majors.

John Murray.
Francis Murray.

Captains.

Patrick Anderson, April 18, 1777.
James Marshall, April 18, 1777.
John Nice, April 18, 1777.
Matthew Scott, April 18, 1777.
James Francis Moore, April 18, 1777.
John Spear, April 18, 1777.
John Clark, April 18, 1777.
Robert Gray, April 18, 1777.
John Robb, April 18, 1777.
John Carnagan, April 18, 1777.

First Lieutenants

Joseph Finley, April 18, 1777.
Jacob Mace, April 18, 1777.
Thomas Boyd, April 18, 1777.
Joseph Brownlee, April 18, 1777.
William Moore, April 18, 1777.
George Hoffner, April 18, 1777.
Jacob Schneider, April 18, 1777.
George Geiger, April 18, 1777.
Thomas Johnston, April 18, 1777.
James Wiley, April 18, 1777.

Second Lieutenants.

James McMichael, April 18, 1777.
John Gregg, April 18, 1777.
Samuel Kenny, April 18, 1777.
Ambrose Crane, April 18, 1777.

William Harris, April 18, 1777.
William McCraken, April 18, 1777.
John Vanpelt, April 18, 1777.
James Sutter, April 18, 1777.

Ensigns.

Peter Boyle, April 18, 1777.
Robert Gregg, April 18, 1777.
James Beckam, April 18, 1777.
John Parks, April 18, 1777.
James Dugan, April 18, 1777.
Joseph Collier, April 18, 1777.
John Vanwinckle, April 18, 1777.
Patrick Fullerton, April 18, 1777.
Joseph Gorman, April 18, 1777.
Abram Baamper, April 18, 1777.

PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY.

Arrangement of the Officers of the Regiment of Artillery.

Colonel.

Thomas Proctor, February 6, 1777.

Lieutenant Colonel.

John Martin Strohbogh, March 3, 1777.

Major.

Thomas Forrest, March 3, 1777.

Captains.

Isaac Craig, March 14, 1777.
Amos Wilkinson, March 14, 1777.
Joseph Rice, March 14, 1777.
Francis Proctor, March 14, 1777.
Bartholomew Van Heer, March 14, 1777.
Francis Proctor, Junior, July 16, 1777.

Captain Lieutenants.

Charles Turnbull, March 14, 1777.
Patrick Duffy, March 14, 1777.
William Ferguson, March 14, 1777.
John Brewer, March 14, 1777.
John Brice, March 14, 1777.
George Cotman, March 14, 1777.
Robert Coultman, March 14, 1777.

First Lieutenants.

Worsley Emes, October 5, 1776.
Laurence Allman, April 1, 1777.
Thomas Douglass, April 1, 1777.
William Ritter, April 1, 1777.
William Martin, April 1, 1777.
James Wells, April 20, 1777.
John Linderberger, April 20, 1777.

Second Lieutenants.

Jonathan F. Morris, March 14, 1777.
James Lloyd, March 14, 1777.
Christopher Paschka, March 14, 1777.
Joseph Barker, March 14, 1777.
Robert McConnell, March 14, 1777.
James Smith, March 14, 1777.
Ebenezer Blackson, March 14, 1777.

Third Lieutenants.

Jesse Crosby, April 1, 1777.
William Newbound, April 1, 1777.
John Stricker, April 1, 1777.
John Craig, April 1, 1777.
Archibald Lyons, April 1, 1777.
John Shute, April 1, 1777.
Jeremiah Fox, April 1, 1777.
James Morris, April 1, 1777.

[Endorsed] List of Pennsylvania Officers as appointed by the Council of Safety pursuant to the Resolution of Congress, dated September 16, 1776.

ARRANGEMENT IN 1778.

FIRST REGIMENT, PENNSYLVANIA LINE

Colonel.

James Chambers, September 28, 1776.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Thomas Robinson, June 7, 1777.

Major.

James Moore, September 20, 1777.

Captains.

James Parr, March 9, 1776.
James Hamilton, March 10, 1776.
Samuel Craig, October 1, 1776.
Michael Simpson, December 1, 1776.
James Wilson, January 16, 1777.
William Wilson, October 2, 1777.

Captain Lieutenant.

Thomas Buchanan, rank as captain; October 1, 1777.

Lieutenants.

John Daugherty, October 1, 1776.
David Ziegler, January 16, 1777.
Abraham Skinner, May 13, 1777.
Benjamin Lyon, July 6, 1777.
John McClellan, September 11, 1777.
Aaron Norcross, September 14, 1777.
Thomas Boyd January 14, 1777.
John Hughes, March 28, 1777.

Ensigns.

James McFarland, ranks as second lieutenant; May 13, 1777.
William McDowell, ranks as second lieutenant; July 6, 1777.

Edward Crawford, ranks as second lieutenant; September 11, 1777.
David Hammond, ranks as second lieutenant; September 11, 1777.
Andrew Johnston, quartermaster; ranks as second lieutenant; March 24, 1778.
Joseph Collier, April 18, 1777.
Samuel Beard, June 2, 1778.
Benjamin Chambers, June 2, 1778.

SECOND PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Colonel.

Walter Stewart, June 17, 1777.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Henry Miller, March 1, 1777.

Major.

John Murry, February 5, 1777.

Captains.

John Marshall, rank disputed; July 13, 1776.
George Tudor, rank disputed; July 13, 1776.
Jacob Ashmead, September 6, 1776; date not settled.
John Bankson, September 25, 1776; date not settled.
John Patterson, January 1, 1777; date not settled.
Samuel Tolbert, date not settled.

Captain Lieutenant.

Peter Gosner, ranks as captain; January 1, 1778.

Lieutenants.

John Cobea, January 1, 1777.
John Irvine, January 1, 1777.
John Stoy, January 1, 1777.
Jacob Snyder, January 1, 1777.
Henry Piercy, March 12, 1777.
James Morris Jones, March 12, 1777.
William Moore, April 18, 1777.
James Whitehead, June 2, 1777.

Second Lieutenants.

Philip Waggoner, March 12, 1777.
John Gregg, from Thirteenth regiment; April 18, 1777.
James Bickham, April 18, 1777.
Thomas Norton, quartermaster; April 24, 1777.
John Stricker, October 1, 1777.
Henry Purcell, October 4, 1777.
John Park, August 1, 1777.
Patrick Fullerton, April 13, 1777.
Jacob Mausier DeHart, June 2, 1778.

Surgeon.

Benjamin Parry.

Surgeon's Mate.

Robert Harris.

THIRD PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Colonel.

Thomas Craig, August 1, 1777.

Lieutenant Colonel.

William Williams, June 5, 1777.

Major.

David Lenox, June 8, 1777.

Captains.

Thomas Lloyd Moore, May 21, 1776
James Christie, August 9, 1776.
Thomas Butler, October 4, 1776.
John Reily, May 20, 1777.
Isaac Budd Dunn, June 1, 1777.
William Craig, July 4, 1777.

Captain Lieutenant.

John Henderson, October 1, 1776.

Lieutenants.

James Black, October 3, 1776.
George McCulloch, October 4, 1776.
James Armstrong, October 4, 1776.

John Marshall, January 10, 1777.
Daniel St. Claire, April 1, 1777.
Robert King, May 20, 1777.
John Boyd, May 20, 1777.
Persival Butler, September 1, 1777.

Ensigns.

Blackwell William Ball, ranks as second lieutenant; October 1, 1777.
Andrew Engle, ranks as second lieutenant; January 11, 1777.
John Armstrong, ranks as second lieutenant; September 11, 1777.
John Wigdon, paymaster; June 2, 1778.
Peter Smith, quartermaster; June 2, 1778.
Richard Fullerton, June 2, 1778.
Thomas Hewlings.

Surgeon.

James Tate.

FOURTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Colonel.

Lambert Cadwalader, September 7, 1776.

Lieutenant Colonel.

William Butler, September 30, 1776.

Major.

Thomas Church, March 1, 1777.

Captains.

Evan Edwards, March 23, 1776.
Edward Scull, January 3, 1777.
William Gray, January 3, 1777.
Benjamin Fishbourn, January 3, 1777.
John McGowen, January 3, 1777.
Benjamin Bird, January 3, 1777.

Captain Lieutenant.

William Henderson, January 3, 1777.

Lieutenants.

John Dover, January 3, 1777.
David Brown, January 3, 1777.
William Sprout, January 3, 1777.
Edward F. Randolph, January 3, 1777.
Thomas Campbell, January 3, 1777.
George Blewer, January 3, 1777.
Arcurias Beatty, June 2, 1778.
Peter Summers, quartermaster; June 2, 1778.

Ensigns.

Jacob Warren, ranks as second lieutenant; November 6, 1776.
George Boss, adjutant; June 2, 1778.
Giles Bevans, June 2, 1778.
Mathew Portan, to be an ensign from June 2, 1778.

FIFTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Colonel.

Francis Johnston, September 27, 1776.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Persifer Frazer, October 1, 1776.

Major.

Christopher Steuart, February 28, 1777.

Captains.

Benjamin Bartholomew, October 2, 1776.
John Christie, October 23, 1776.
Samuel Smith, March 1, 1777.
William Oldham, March 24, 1777.
Isaac Seely, September 20, 1777.
Thomas Boud, September 23, 1777.

Captain Lieutenant.

Michael Ryan, captain's rank: January 23, 1778.

Lieutenants.

Job Vernon, January 1, 1777.
John Barkley, January 1, 1777.

Levi Griffith, January 1, 1777.
Alexander Martin, January 1, 1777.
John Harper, January 1, 1777.
George North, January 1, 1777.
James Forbes, January 1, 1777.
James McCulloch, January 1, 1777.

Ensigns.

Andrew Lyttle, December 30, 1776.
David Marshall, December 30, 1776.
John Beckham, ranks as second lieutenant; June 2, 1778.
Henry Nankley, ranks as second lieutenant; June 2, 1778.

Surgeon.

James Davidson.

SIXTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Colonel.

Robert McGaw, January 3, 1776.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Josiah Harmar, June 6, 1777.

Major.

Jeremiah Tolbert, September 25, 1777.

Captains.

John Nice, June 13, 1776.
John Doyle, July 16, 1776.
Walter Finney, August 10, 1776.
Jacob Humphreys, February 15, 1777.
Jacob Bower, February 15, 1777.
Robert Wilkins, February 28, 1777.

Captain Lieutenant.

Thomas Bull, captain's rank; August 1, 1777.

Lieutenants.

William McElhaton, October 17, 1776.
Richard Collier, February 16, 1777.

Isaac Vanhorn, February 17, 1777.
James Gibbins, February 18, 1777.
James Glenworth, February 17, 1777.
Benjamin Lodge, October 11, 1777.
Garret Steddiford, October 12, 1777.
Stewart Herbert, January 9, 1777.

Ensigns.

Thomas Moore, second lieutenant; January 1, 1777.
Furqueher McPherson, second lieutenant; February 13, 1777.
Philip Gibbons, second lieutenant; October 17, 1777.
Edward Speer, second lieutenant; February 7, 1778.
John Markland, August 20, 1777.
Charles McKinet, October 23, 1777.
Daniel Kennedy, invalid; June 2, 1778.
Thomas Dungan, June 2, 1778.
James Allen, June 2, 1778.

Surgeon.

John McDowell.

SEVENTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Colonel.

William Irvine, January 9, 1776.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Samuel Hay, February 2, 1778.

Major.

Francis Mentzges, October 3, 1776.

Captains.

William Alexander, June 1, 1776.
William Bratton, January 12, 1777.
John Alexander, March 20, 1777.
Alexander Parker, March 20, 1777.
Samuel Montgomery, March 20, 1777.
Andrew Irvine, September 25, 1777.

Captain Lieutenant.

William Miller, captain's rank; February 22, 1778.

Lieutenants.

William Lusk, March 20, 1777.
Samuel Kennedy, March 20, 1777.
John Bush, March 20, 1777.
Samuel Bryson, March 20, 1777.
James McMichael, June 20, 1777.
Thomas McKoy, August 13, 1777.
Robert McPherson, September 1, 1777.
Alexander Russel, September 2, 1777.

Ensigns.

Joseph Torrence, ranks as second lieutenant; January 20, 1777.
John Blair, ranks as second lieutenant; January 20, 1777.
James Williamson, ranks as second lieutenant; March 19, 1777.
Robert Peeble, ranks as second lieutenant; April 27, 1774.
James Milligan, ranks as second lieutenant; September 1, 1777.
John McCullum, ranks as second lieutenant; September 25, 1777.
John Hughs, quartermaster; ranks as second lietuenant; September 25, 1777.
Thomas Alexander, brigade quartermaster; ranks as second lieutenant; June 2, 1778.

Surgeon.

John Reese.

Surgeon's Mate.

——— Berry.

EIGHTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Colonel.

Daniel Brodhead, September 29, 1776.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Stephen Bayard, September 23, 1777.

Major.

Frederick Vernon, June 7, 1777.

Captains.

Samuel Dawson, from Eleventh regiment.
Van Swearingen, August 9, 1776.
John Finley, August 9, 1776.

John Clark, from Thirteenth regiment; April 10, 1777.
James Francis Moore, from Thirteenth regiment; April 18, 1777.
James Carnagan, from Thirteenth regiment; April 18, 1777.

Captain Lieutenant.

Samuel Brady, July 17, 1776.

Lieutenants.

Basil Prather, August 9, 1776.
John Harding.
Gabriel Patterson.
John Stotsbury, from Eleventh regiment; April 9, 1777.
Joseph Brownlee, from Thirteenth regiment; April 18, 1777.
William Honeyman, from Second regiment; January 15, 1777.
Benjamin Boyer, from Second regiment; March 12, 1777.
Nathaniel Martin, from Eleventh regiment; October 30, 1777.

Ensigns.

William Amberson, ranks second lieutenant; August 9, 1777.
Alexander Graham, ranks second lieutenant; August 9, 1777.
John Crawford, adjutant; June 2, 1778.
Archibald Reed, late paymaster; June 2, 1778.

Surgeon.

Abel Morgan.

NINTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Colonel.

Richard Butler, June 7, 1777.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Caleb North, October 23, 1777.

Major.

Francis Nichols, February 7, 1777.

Captains.

Joseph McClellan, July 15, 1776.
Thomas B. Bowen, September 2, 1776.
John Davis, November 15, 1776.

George Grant, March 3, 1777.
John Pearson, from Eleventh regiment; September 7, 1777.
William Mackey, from Eleventh regiment; October 20, 1777.

Captain Lieutenant.

William Tilton, ranks as captain; October 31, 1777.

Lieutenants.

Andrew Forrest, July 16, 1776.
William Whitman, November 15, 1776.
John Woodside, November 15, 1776.
Henry Bicker, Jr., November 15, 1776.
William Van Leer, March 3, 1777.
Jacob Vanderslice, March 16, 1778.
Steven Stevenson, March 16, 1778.
John McKenny, March 18, 1778.

Ensigns.

William Thompson, adjutant; June 2, 1778.
Ephraim Douglass, June 2, 1778.
Edward Butler, June 2, 1778.
John Tate, paymaster; June 2, 1778.
George Knox, June 2, 1778.

Surgeon.

William McGaw.

Surgeon's Mate.

—— Black.

TENTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Colonel.

Richard Humpton, October 1, 1776.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Adam Hubley, October 4, 1776.

Major.

James Grier, October 23, 1777.

Captains.

George Calhoon, November 1, 1776.
James Lang, December 4, 1776.
Robert Semple, December 4, 1776.
Jacob Weaver, January 13, 1777.
Harman Stout, March 12, 1777.
Jacob Stake, November 12, 1777.

Captain Lieutenant.

Adam Bitting, captain's rank; August 10, 1777.

Lieutenants.

John Steel, December 4, 1776.
Ebenezer Carson April 18, 1777.
Robert Patton, October 17, 1777.
Giles Hicks, October 30, 1777.
William Feltman, November 2, 1777.
Peter Drummond, November 22, 1777.
Enos Reeves, March 31, 1778.
William McMurray, June 2, 1778.

Ensigns.

Joseph Banks, September 24, 1777.
James McLean, June 2, 1778.
Nicholas White, June 2, 1778.
Robert Rice, June 2, 1778.
Alexander Benstead, paymaster; June 2, 1778.
Francis White, June 2, 1778.
John Hambright, June 2, 1778.
John McCormick, June 2, 1778.

Surgeon

Francis O'Neal.

LIST OF UNPROVIDED OFFICERS.

First Lieutenants.

Daniel Topham, late Miles, will go to join Nichola's In. T.; April 6, 1776.
John Grier, Seventh regiment; January 9, 1776.

William Davidson, Fourth regiment; January 5, 1776.
John Morgan, Fifth regiment; January 5, 1776.
William Felton, Thirteenth regiment; July 13, 1776.

Captains.

Thomas Byles, late of Shea's, to have a brevett commission for major, dated the ninth day of June, 1777.
William McKissick, in the Eleventh regiment; November, 1776.
[Endorsed] Rank, Regiment and Officers in the Pennsylvania Line, September 2, 1778.

LIST OF INDEPENDENT COMPANIES,

Raised in the State of Pennsylvania.

Captain Steele.
Captain Irvine.
Captain Kearsley.
Captain James Calderwood.
Captain Wilkins.
Captain Burk.
Captain Hunter.

All Raised in Cumberland county—the Captains all Resigned except one and one that was Killed at Brandywine.
Eratas vide Third regiment.
Eratas vide First regiment.
Eratas vide Sixth regiment.
Eratas vide Fourth regiment.

The Pennsylvania State Troops were called into the Continental Service the 13th day of June, 1776.
Major ——— ——— promoted to Colonel July 17, 1776.

ARRANGEMENT IN 1780.

FIRST PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Colonel.

James Chambers, September 28, 1776.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Thomas Robinson, June 7, 1777.

Major.

James Moore, September 20, 1777.

Captains.

James Hamilton, March 10, 1776.
William McKissaick, September 30, 1776.
Samuel Craig, October 1, 1776.
Michael Simpson, December 1, 1776.
James Wilson, January 16, 1777.
William Wilson, January 2, 1777.

Captain Lieutenant.

Thomas Buchanan, October 1, 1777.

Captains.

John Dougherty, October 1, 1776.
David Ziegler, January 16, 1777.
Abraham Skinner, March 13, 1777.
Benjamin Lyon.
John McClelen, September 11, 1777.
Aaron Narcross, September 14, 1777.
Thomas Boyd, January 14, 1778.
John Hughes, March 20, 1778.

Ensigns.

John McFarland, rank as second lieutenant; May 13, 1777.
William McDowell, rank as second lieutenant; July 6, 1777.
Edward Crawford, rank as second lieutenant; September 11, 1777.

David Hammond, rank as second lieutenant; September 14, 1777.
Andrew Johnston, rank as second lieutenant; March 24, 1778.
Joseph Collins, rank as second lieutenant; April 18, 1779.
Samuel Beard, June 2, 1778.
Benjamin Chambers, June 2, 1778.

SECOND PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Colonel.

Walter Stewart, June 17, 1777.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Henry Miller, March 1, 1777.

Major.

John Murray, February 5, 1777.

Captains.

John Marshall, June 13, 1776.
George Tudor, June 13, 1776.
Jacob Ashmead, September 6, 1776.
John Bankson, December 24, 1776.
John Patterson, January 1, 1777.
Samuel Tolbert.

Captain Lieutenant.

Peter Gosner, January 1, 1778.

Lieutenants.

John Cobea, January 1, 1777.
John Irvine, January 1, 1777.
John Stoy, January 1, 1777.
Jacob Snider, January 1, 1777.
Henry Piercy.
James Morris Jones.
William More, April 18, 1777.
James Whitehead, June 2, 1778.

Ensigns.

Philip Wagoner, rank as second lieutenant; March 12, 1777.
John Gregg, rank as second lieutenant; April 18, 1777.
James Bickham, rank as second lieutenant; April 18, 1777.

Thomas Norton, rank as second lieutenant; April 24, 1777.
John Park, rank as second lieutenant; August 1, 1777.
John Strucker, rank as second lieutenant; October 1, 1777.
Henery Percival, rank as second lieutenant; October 4, 1777.
Patrick Fullerton, April 13, 1777.
Jacobus M. Dehart, June 2, 1778.

Quartermaster.

Thomas Norton.

Surgeon.

Benjamin Parry.

Surgeon's Mate.

Robert Harris.

THIRD PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Colonel.

Thomas Craig, August 1, 1777.

Lieutenant Colonel.

William Williams, June 5, 1777.

Major.

Thomas L. Byles, June 8, 1777.

Captains.

Thomas L. More, May 21, 1776.
James Christie, August 9, 1776.
Thomas Butler, October 4, 1776.
John Reily, May 20, 1777.
Isaac Bud Dunn, June 1, 1777.
William Craig, July 4, 1777.

Captain Lieutenant.

John Henderson, October 1, 1776.

Lieutenants.

James Black, October 3, 1776.
George McCullock, October 4, 1776.
James Armstrong, October 4, 1776.
John Marshall, January 4, 1777.

Daniel St. Clair, April 1, 1777.
Robert King, May 20, 1777.
John Boyd, May 20, 1777.
Percival Butler, September 1, 1777.

Ensigns.

Blackwell W. Ball, rank as second lieutenant; October 17, 1776.
Andrew Engle, rank as second lieutenant; January 11, 1777.
John Armstrong, rank as second lieutenant; September 11, 1777.
John Wigdon, June 2, 1778.
Peter Smith, June 2, 1778.
Richard Fullerton, June 2, 1778.
Thomas Hewlings, June 2, 1778.

Paymaster.

John Wigdon.

Quartermaster.

Peter Smith.

Surgeon.

Thomas Tate.

FOURTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Lieutenant Colonel Commandant.

William Butler, September 30, 1776.

Major.

Thomas Church, March 1, 1777.

Captains.

Evan Edwards, March 23, 1776.
Edward Scull, January 3, 1777.
William Gray, January 3, 1777.
Benjamin Fishbourn, January 3, 1777.
John McGowen, January 3, 1777.
Benjamin Bird, January 3, 1777.

Captain Lieutenant.

William Henderson, January 3, 1777.

Lieutenants.

Alexander Ramsay.
Daniel Brown, January 3, 1777.

William Sprout, January 3, 1777.
Edward F. Randolph, January 3, 1777.
Thomas Campbell, January 3, 1777.
George Blewer, January 3, 1777
Arcurias Beatty, June 2, 1778.
Peter Summers, June 2, 1778.

Ensigns.

Jacob Weaver, November 16, 1776.
George Boss, June 2, 1778.
Wilder Bevans, June 2, 1778.

Adjutant.

George Boss.

FIFTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Colonel.

Francis Johnston, September 27, 1776.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Francis Nichols, October, 1778.

Major.

Christopher Stewart, February 28, 1777.

Captains.

Benjamin Bartholomew, October 2, 1776.
John Christie, October 23, 1776.
Samuel Smith, March 1, 1777.
William Oldham, March 24, 1777.
Isaac Seely, September 20, 1777.
Thomas Boude, September 23, 1777.

Captain Lieutenant.

Michael Ryon, January 23, 1778.

Lieutenants.

Job Vernon, January 1, 1777.
John Barkley, January 1, 1777.
Levi Griffith, January 1, 1777.
Alexander Martin, January 1, 1777.
John Harper, January 1, 1777.

George North, January 1, 1777.
James Forbes, January 1, 1777.
James McCulloch, January 1, 1777.

Ensigns.

Andrew Lytle, rank as second lieutenant; December 30, 1776.
David Marshall, January 4, 1777.
James Bickham.
Henry Hockley.

Surgeon.

James Davidson.

SIXTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Colonel.

Robert McGaw, January 3, 1777.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Josiah Harmar, June 6, 1777.

Major.

Jeremiah Tolbert, September 25, 1777.

Captains.

John Nice, June 13, 1776.
Walter Finney, July 13, 1776.
John Doyle, July 16, 1776.
Jacob Humphreys, February 15, 1777.
Jacob Bower, February 15, 1777.
Robert Wilkins, February 28, 1777.

Captain Lieutenant.

Thomas Bull, August 1, 1777.

Lieutenants.

William McElhaton, October 17, 1776.
Richard Collier, February 16, 1777.
Isaac Vanhorn, February 17, 1777.
James Gibbons, February 18, 1777.
James Glentworth, June 17, 1777.
Benjamin Lodge, October 11, 1777.
Garret Stedeford, October 12, 1777.
Stewart Herbert, January 9, 1778.

Ensigns.

Thomas Doyle, rank as second lieutenant; January 1, 1777.
Furgethur McPherson, rank as second lieutenant; February 15, 1777.
Philip Gibbons, rank as second lieutenant; October 17, 1777.
Edward Speer, rank as second lieutenant; February 7, 1778.
John Mackland, August 20, 1777.
Charles Mackinit, October 23, 1777.
Thomas Dungan, June 2, 1778.
James McAllen, June 2, 1778.

Surgeon.

John McDowell.

SEVENTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Colonel.

William Irvine, January 9, 1776.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Samuel Hay, February 2, 1778.

Major.

Francis Mentzges, October 3, 1776.

Captains.

William Alexander, June 1, 1776.
William Bratton, January 12, 1777.
John Alexander, March 20, 1777.
Alexander Parker, March 20, 1777.
Samuel Montgomery, March 20, 1777.
Andrew Irvine, September 25, 1777.

Captain Lieutenant.

William Miller, February 2, 1778.

Lieutenants.

William Lusk, March 20, 1777.
Samuel Kennedy, March 20, 1777.
John Bush, March 20, 1777.
Samuel Bryson, March 20, 1777.
James McMichael, June 20, 1777.

Thomas McKoy, August 13, 1777.
Robert McPherson, September 1, 1777.
Alexander Russell, September 25, 1777.

Ensigns.

Joseph Torrence, rank as second lieutenant; January 20, 1777.
John Blair, rank as second lieutenant; January 20, 1777.
James Williamson, rank as second lieutenant; March 19 1777.
Robert Peeble, rank as second lieutenant; April 24, 1777.
James Milligan, rank as second lieutenant; September 1, 1777.
John McCallum, rank as second lieutenant; September 25, 1777.
John Hughes, rank as second lieutenant; September 25, 1777.

Surgeon.

John Rose.

Mate.

——— Berry.

EIGHTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Colonel.

Daniel Broadhead, September 9, 1776.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Stephen Bayard, September 23, 1777.

Major.

Frederick Vernon, June 7, 1777.

Captains.

Samuel Dawson, July 16, 1776.
Van Swearingen, August 19, 1776.
James Francis More, April 10, 1777.
John Clarke, April 18, 1777.
James Carnagan, April 18, 1777.
Joseph Finley.

Captain Lieutenant.

Samuel Brady, July 17, 1776.

Lieutenants.

Basil Prather, August 9, 1776.
John Harding, July 13, 1776.

Gabriel Patterson, April 9, 1776.
John Stotsbury, April 9, 1777.
John Crawford, April 18, 1777.
William Honeyman, January 15, 1777.
Benjamin Neily, October 4, 1777; March 12, 1777.
Nathaniel Martin, October 30, 1777.

Ensigns.

William Amberson, rank as second lieutenant; August 9, 1777.
Alexander Graham, rank as second lieutenant; August 9, 1777.
James Reed, June 2, 1778.

Paymaster.

Archibald Reed.

Adjutant.

John Crawford.

Surgeon.

Abel Morgan.

NINTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Colonel.

Richard Butler, June 7, 1777.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Caleb North, October 23, 1777.

Major.

James Parr, October 23, 1778.

Captains.

Joseph McClellan, July 15, 1776.
Thomas B. Bowen, September 2, 1776.
John Davis, November 15, 1776.
George Grant, March 3, 1777.
John Pearson, September 7, 1777.
William Mackey, October 30, 1777.

Captain Lieutenant.

William Tilton, October 31, 1777.

Lieutenants.

William Whitman, November 15, 1776.
Andrew Forest, November 16, 1776.

John Woodside, November 16, 1776.
Henery Bicker, November 16, 1776.
William Van Leer, March 3, 1777.
Jacob Vanderslice, March 16, 1778.
Stephen Stephenson, March 16, 1778.
John McKenney, March 18, 1778.

Ensigns.

William Thompson, June 2, 1776..
Ephraim Douglass, June 2, 1776.
Edward Butler, June 2, 1776.
John Tait, June 2, 1776.
George Knox, June 2, 1776.

Paymaster.

John Tait.

Adjutant.

William Thompson.

Surgeon.

William McGaw

Surgeon's Mate.

- Black.

TENTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Colonel.

Richard Humpton, October 1, 1776.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Adam Hubley, October 4, 1776.

Major.

James Greir, October 23, 1777.

Captains.

George Calhoon, November 13, 1776.
James Lang, December 4, 1776.
Robert Simple, December 4, 1776.
Jacob Weaver, December 13, 1777.
Harman Stout, March 12, 1777.
Jacob Stake, November 12, 1777.

Captain Lieutenant.

Adam Betting, August 10, 1777.

Lieutenants.

John Steele, December 4, 1776.
Ebenezer Carson, April 18, 1777.
Robert Patton, October 17, 1777.
Giles Hicks, October 30, 1777.
William Feltman, November 2, 1777.
Peter Drummond, November 12, 1777.
Enos Reeves, March 31, 1778.
William McMurray, June 2, 1778.

Ensigns.

Joseph Banks, September 24, 1777.
James McClean, June 2, 1778.
Nicholas White, June 2, 1778.
Robert Rice, June 2, 1778.
Alexander Benstead, June 2, 1778.
Francis White, June 2, 1778.
John Hambright, June 2, 1778.

Paymaster.

Alexander Benstead.

Surgeon.

Francis O'Neal.

ELEVENTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

Colonel.

Thomas Hartley, January 1, 1777.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Morgan Connor, April 9, 1777.

Major.

Joseph Prowell, January 1, 1778.

Captains.

Benjamin C. Stoddert, January 13, 1777.
George Bush.

James Forrester, November 19, 1777.
Samuel Kearsley, February 28, 1778.
Andrew Walker, June 1, 1778.
Joseph Davis, June 5, 1778.

Captain Lieutenant.

Abraham Claypole, rank and pay as captain; June 11, 1778.

Lieutenants.

Isaac Sweeney, rank and pay as captain; July 23, 1778.
Henry Carbury, rank and pay as captain; November 30, 1778.
Jeremiah Jackson, January 14, 1777.
Septimus Davis, July 7, 1777.
Martin Eichelberger, September 19, 1777.
Edward Burk, October 4, 1777.
John Mahon, June 1, 1778.
William Lemon, July 28, 1777.

Ensigns.

William McCurdy, rank as second lieutenant; May 10, 1777.
Samuel Morrison, rank as second lieutenant; May 11, 1777.
Benjamin Street, rank as second lieutenant; May 11, 1777.
James Pettigrew, rank as second lieutenant; June 1, 1778.
William Houston, rank as second lieutenant; June 2, 1778.
Robert Allison, rank as second lieutenant; October 1, 1778.
Jeremiah Thornbury, rank as second lieutenant; October 2, 1778.

OFFICERS ON SUPERNUMERARY LIST.

FIRST REGIMENT.

To be Specially Recommended.

Lieutenant Thomas Armor.
Ensign Robert Clifton.

SECOND REGIMENT.

To be Specially Recommended.

Roger Styner.

Not Recommended.

Colonel H. Becker
Captain Christopher Staddle.
Captain George Jenkins.
Charles Darragh.

THIRD REGIMENT.

To be Specially Recommended.

Major John Hewling.
Captain Samuel Moore.

FOURTH REGIMENT.

To be Specially Recommended.

Lieutenant William Davidson.

FIFTH REGIMENT.

To be Specially Recommended.

Captain Joseph Potts.

Not Recommended.

Captain Robert Gregg.
Captain Charles McHenry.
Lieutenant William Schoffel.

SIXTH REGIMENT.

To be Specially Recommended.

Captain John McCowan.
Lieutenant Archibald Campbell.
Lieutenant John Morgan.
Captain Nathaniel Vansant.

Not Recommended.

Captain James Waugh.
Ensign Philip Snyder.
Ensign William Baxter.
Ensign John Foster.

SEVENTH REGIMENT.

To be Specially Recommended.

Captain J. A. Wilson.
Lieutenant John Eddie.
Lieutenant John Hoge.

Not Recommended.

Captain McClain.
Captain Grier.
Lieutenant McCabe.
Lieutenant McFerran.

NINTH REGIMENT.

To be Specially Recommended.

Lieutenant Samuel Davis.
Lieutenant Mord. Morgan.

Not Recommended.

Lieutenant William Brown.
Captain Matthew Henderson.
Lieutenant John Beckham.
Lieutenant Nicholas Coleman.
Lieutenant Robert McBride.

TENTH REGIMENT.

To be Specially Recommended.

Captain David Schraick.
Lieutenant Robert Hooper, Jr.
Lieutenant Jacob Tolbert.

Not Recommended.

Colonel George Nagle.
Lieutenant John Cole.
Lieutenant William Knox.
Lieutenant Adam Keller.

ELEVENTH REGIMENT.

To be Specially Recommended.

Captain L. Keene, sick.

Not Recommended.

Captain B. Eichelberger.
Captain W. Bicker.
Lieutenant Jacob Weitzell.

MISCELLANEOUS ROLLS

OF

ASSOCIATORS, MILITIA

AND

FLYING CAMP.

1776-1783.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY MILITIA.

BATTALIONS CALLED OUT BY AN ORDER FROM COUNCIL DATED JULY YE 28, 1777.

FIRST BATTALION.

Colonel.

James Dunlap.

Lieutenant Colonel.

William Clark.

Major.

Samuel Irwin

Captain.

Thomas Askey.

First Lieutenant.

Adam Bratton.

Second Lieutenant.

Samuel Walker.

Ensign.

John Johnson.

Privates.

William Hamilton.
Peter Hockenbury.
James McMean.
Robert McMain.
Samuel Witherow.
James Fleak.
Samuel Quigly.
John McClean.
Joseph Ferguson.
Robert Sharp.
James Harvey.
John Murray.
John Holmes.
John Bell.
John McClelland.
John Quigly.
John Hunter.
James Cavin.
Andrew McLean.
James Hamilton.

James Mickey.
John Torrence.
Samuel Brackenridge.
Walter Davis.
Adam Hawthorn.
John Fulloon.
John Patterson.
Alex. Richey.
Joseph McKibbin.
Gabriel Gordon.
Andrew Walker.
James Dunlap.
John Stall.
William Young.
Samuel Hannah.
John Akeman.
William Legate.
David Hannah.
Andrew McCune.
James Colivell.

Captain.
Matthew Gregg.

First Lieutenant.
John Gordon.

Second Lieutenant.
William Stewart.

Ensign.
Jacob Sailor.

Privates.

Jacob Jumper.
John McNelly.
John Bowman.
Robert Watson.
James McClaren.
Lodowic Jinger.
Hugh Strain.
Jacob Harwick.
John Watters.
Thomas Dunbar.
James Kinkead.
Moses Blackburn.
John McKee.
Thomas Kennedy.
Thomas Musgrove.
Joseph Davidson.
Matthew Glenn.
Thomas Ewing.
Christ Lanferry.
John Hall.
James Smith.
William Gillespie.
John Kerr.
Thomas Woods.
William Holmes.
Thomas Bricelin.
Alexander McGighen.
Samuel Tate.
John Carothers, Jr.
William Rogers.
John Hart.
William Piper.
James Matthews.
William Lemon.
Joseph Gord.
James Irwin.

Captain.
John McTeer.

First Lieutenant.

Joseph Junkin.

Second Lieutenant.

George Dickey.

Ensign.

Samuel Long.

Privates.

John McMean.
James Young.
John Steer.
James Crockett, Jr.
Thomas Craighead.
John Greer.
Joseph McLeary.
James Humes.
Randle McAlister.
Patrick Flanegan.
Thomas Garven.
Thomas White.
William Waddle.
John Caulins.
Philip Snider.
Thomas Guthrie.
Samuel McCallagh.
Anthony Book.
Daniel Bachos.
Daniel Henderson.
John Corithers.
Samuel Henderson.
John Woodard.
John Switchalm.

———

Captain.

John Williams.

First Lieutenant.

Jacob Fleming.

Second Lieutenant.

John Brown.

Ensign.

Henry Gillespie.

Privates.

William Graham.
Joseph McCoy.
Ezekiel Bowan.
John Harris.
Thomas Jefferys.
Charles Berger.
Philip Strouse.
James Black.
James Willson.
James Reed.
Neal McCoy.
Andrew Morrow.
Thomas Dillen.
Alexander Glasford.
Benjamin Cowan.
John Boner.
John McNeal.
Hugh Hardy.
James Fenton.
Jacob Buck.

John Riddle.
James Forsythe.
Samuel Otter.
Isaac Lewis.
Michael Smith.
Matthias Kipler.
John Kipler.
James Patten.
Michael McCollum
John McClure.
William Harris.
Hugh Shannon.
John Crampton.
Henry Martin.
Andrew Kidlinger.
Silvanus Moos.
Gabriel Fry.
Jack Kipler.
Samuel Tennis.
John Calver.
Nathaniel Dickey.
Jesse Fry.
Matthew Ferguson.

———

Captain.

Alexander McCoy.

First Lieutenant.

James McClure.

Second Lieutenant.

Thomas Moore.

Ensign.

William McClelland.

Privates

Alexander Brown.
William Willson.
Robert McCelley.
John Morelan.
John Davis.
Henry McWilliams.
David Elder.
Moses Kirkpatrick.
Samuel McKitchen.
Samuel Holliday.
Arthur Nugent.
Samuel Wayborn.
Thomas Thompson.
Edward Bratten.
James Logan.
James Gold.
William Adams.
Christ. Martin.
Abraham Stanaford.
James Lyon.
Moses Moreland.
John Dunlap.
Henry Tailor.
Edmond Richardson.
Thomas Donnoley.
William Baird.
Joseph Graham.
William Ross.
William Jenkins.
Robert Elliott.
John Fergue.
Edward Drake.
Benjamin Brown.
James McBride.
James Alexander.
John Blakney.
John Mitchell.

Captain.

George Crawford.

First Lieutenant.

Benjamin McClure.

Second Lieutenant.

David Shields.

Ensign.

John Dickey.

Privates.

Robert Wallace.
Samuel Mosgrove.
Joseph Glassce.
Alexander McCoy.
Andrew Bigard.
Samuel Harding.
Hugh Gibson.
John McCalvey.
John Newell.
Joseph McKenny.
Andrew Ellison.
James Leonard.
James Morrison.
Thomas Greer.
James Dunlap.
James McCoy.
John Kennedy.
Thomas Watson.
John Stuart.
William Martin.
John Davis.
Paul Kerr.
Jacob Pitser.
Airs French.
William McCamon.
Andrew Snider.
James Dickey.
Samuel Walker.
Robert Stockdon.
Daniel Early.
Josh Dail.
Andrew Sterrett.
John Smith.
James Hustone.
James Erwin.
John McMullin.
Hugh McKee.
Patrick Nox.
Robert Stephenson.
William Waddle.

Captain.

James Fisher.

First Lieutenant.

Daniel Marshall.

Second Lieutenant.

John Simerton.

Ensign.

Allen Neessbit.

Privates.

John Montgomery.
James Baxter.
Francis McGarvey.
William Robertson.
Patrick Cree.
Hugh Evans
Alexander Akins.
George Brown.
Ross Mitchell.
James Shields.
Samuel Hutchinson.
James Gaudy.
Benjamin Chambers.
James Edmondstone.
James Roddey.
James Menoch.
Edward Nicholson.
Thomas McIntire.
William Ferguson.
John Black.
Matthias Sweezy.
Robert Boggs.
Thomas Williams.
John Campbell.
James Rhea.
Robert Purdy.
Isaac Somers.
Robert Walker.
Robert Chew.
Robert Heatly.
James Ardery.
John Piper.
George Biddle.

———

Captain.

Samuel Royer.

First Lieutenant.

James Brotherton.

Second Lieutenant.

Jacob Stottle.

Ensign.

Robert Snodgrass.

Privates.

Joseph Moore.
Abraham Gabriel.
Philip Nauss.
Josias Ramage.
William Cook.
Ephraim Latta.
Peter Longinare.
Alexander Stuart.

SECOND BATTALION.

———

Colonel.

John Davis.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Robert Cuthbertson.

Major.

Robert Taylor.

———

Captain.

Robert Shannon.

First Lieutenant.

David Anderson.

Second Lieutenant.

William Alexander.

Ensign.

Thomas Martin.

Privates.

John Hamilton.
James McMullin.
John McCashlin.
Samuel Porterfield.
James Neely.
Nathaniel McCallah.
David Dunbar.
Jacob Milleron.
Joseph McGaffoge.
George Wear.
William Campbell.
John Comius.
Hum. Montgomery.
John Allison.
William Williams.
William Woods.
Hugh Grimes.
Andrew McWean.
James Brogle.
Hugh McHeney.
James Shannon.
James Harvey.
John Mairs.
John Johnstone.
William Gladstone.
Thomas Nicholas.
James Gold.
John Work.
James Smith.
William Wallace.
John Brownfield.
James Henderson.
George McNeely.
Aaron Wear.
William Perry.
Thomas Clark.

———

Captain.

Thomas Kennedy.

First Lieutenant.

James Douglas.

Second Lieutenant.

William Curry.

Ensign.

William Woods.

Privates.

William Smiley.
Charles Rowan.
John McDowell.
William Reed.
Richard Wood.
John Moore.
John Dougherty.
Stophel Miller.
Henry Evey.
Francis Snakinberger.
William Armor.
George Neeman.
Gilbert Searight
John Tweed.
Gabriel Glenn.
Jeremiah Jacobs.
Conrad Jumper.
William McClure.
George McClure.
Jacob McDill.
Henry Hasfetter.
John Gray.
Matthew McConnell.
Ramsey McGee.
Henry Hay.
Jacob Singer.
Abram Loughridge.
John Gibson.
Robert Tilford.
Andrew Patterson.
Alexander Atchinson.
James Harper.

Captain.

John Trindel.

First Lieutenant.

Christ. Quigley.

Second Lieutenant.

Daniel McNeal.

Ensign.

John Ford.

Privates.

John Work.
James McDonald.
William McTeer.
Paul Concle.
Martin Harman.
William Barker.
William McCune.
Charles Wingler.
Samuel Littale.
Samuel Dickey.
Joseph Mehaffey.
John Pryson.
William McMean
George Myers.
William Bore.
Abram Adair.
Josiah Armstrong.
Alexander Corithers
Christian Manysmith.
Thomas Donaldson.
John Shannon.
William Hustone.

James McCormick, Jr.
William Miller.
Thomas Henderson.
James Lambric.
John McGaughan.
James Willson.
Peter Beakan.
Robert Robinson.
Simon Smalley.
Samuel Patterson.
John Patterson.
John Pauley.
Andrew Coulter.
James Donaldson.
John Baird.
John Parkison.
Brice Smith.
Alexander Snodgrass.
David Steel.
William Ross.
Frederick Swegerty.
John Bower.
Thomas Jordan.
William McArtney.
Robert Patterson.
Thomas Armstrong.

———

First Lieutenant.

William Graham.

Second Lieutenant.

Samuel Hulings.

Ensign.

Abram Willson.

Privates.

Thomas P. Turner.
George Graham.
Amos Mercer.
Samuel Shaw.
David Boys.
John Cunningham.
William Shaw.
Abram Parker.
William Work.
Thomas McRoy.
James Irwin.

———

Captain.

William Wilson.

First Lieutenant.

Andrew Briggs.

Second Lieutenant.

Hezekiah Dunn.

Ensign.

Elisha Caswell.

Privates.

John McDadd.
William Armstrong
Robert Meharg.
John Oliver.

Edmund Swiney.
William Moreland.
Matthias Ralph.
Duncan Cameron.
Joseph Adams.
John Cooper.
William Boyd.
William Dickson.
John Beatty.
Jacob Burch.
James Brattan.
John Brown.
James Brown.
William Miller.
James Dickson.
David Evans.
John Siglar.
Andrew Sherra.
Samuel Hoey.
Hugh Hassen.
Gabriel Vought.
William Martin.
John Harbison.
Alexander McKinstrey.
George Gilstone.
John Little.
Archibald Stuart.
John Johnstone.
Samuel Brown.
Samuel Anderson.
Robert Ellison.
William Robertson.
John Bell.

———

Captain.

Patrick Jack.

First Lieutenant.

John Orbison.

Second Lieutenant.

John Welsh.

Ensign.

William Ramsey.

Privates.

William Duffel.
Robert Leeper.
William Thompson.
Thomas Ramsey.
Hugh Donaldson.
Benjamin Jenkins.
William McConnell.
Joseph Dunlap.
James McColloch.
John Thomas.
James Mitchell.
Robert Bard.
John Moore.
William Swan.
William Mitchell.
John Blair.
John Humphreys.
James McCalmash.
James Bigger.
Joseph Miller.
Nathaniel Mitchell.
John Nelson, Jr.

———

Captain.

James Power.

First Lieutenant.
Thomas Fisher.

Second Lieutenant
William Murray.

Ensign.
Archibald Loudon.

Privates.

David Carson.
Andrew Shaw.
James Smith.
William Elliott.
William McConnell.
John Crawford.
John Hunter.
Thomas McKee.
William McCoy.
John McCoy.
George McLeve.
David Baird.
Samuel Byars.
Archibald Kinkead.
Andrew Everhart.
Robert Creigh.
James Horn.
John McNaughton.
Alexander Fullerton.
Daniel Mulhollin.
John Barker.
Daniel McClintock.
Samuel Glass.
James White.
Robert Johnstone.
John Phillips.
Benjamin Hillhouse.
Patrick Killain.
Richard Taylor.

———

Captain.
John Jack.

First Lieutenant
[Vacancy.]

Second Lieutenant.
James McWilliams.

Privates.

Robert McClelland.
Henry Black.
Adam George.
Michael Whitmore.
Leonard Stall.
William Young.
Andrew Russell.
Thomas Dunlap.
Simon Chunk.
Charles Gallacher.
James Long.
James Stuart.
John Ferguson.
Valentine Henderson.

THIRD CLASS.

———

Colonel.

William Chambers.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Thomas Turbit.

Major.

James Carnahan.

———

Captain.

Noah Abraham.

First Lieutenant.

Conrad Beemar.

Second Lieutenant.

Richard Coulter.

Ensign.

Nathaniel Stephenson.

Privates.

John McLean.
John Stitt.
David Erwin.
James Hamilton.
James Harvey.
James Montgomery.
William Cartey.
James More.
Stephen Winslow.
Thomas Coffey.
William Walker.
Archibald Hauk.
John Mahaun.
Neal Dougherty.
William Mahaun.
Adam Huffman.
John Symons.
Roger Morning.
Benjamin Briggs, Sr.
Isaac Lacey.
Thomas Nox.
Andrew Bell.
David Starret.
Francis Elliott.
Robert Hamel.
James Russell.
George Cravenstine.
Robert Walker.
Alexander Laugland.
William Dougherty.
John Engle.
John Cuthbertson.
Robert Hannah.
Robert McColloch.
James Clark.
John Woods.

Samuel Wherry.
Samuel Strahaun.
Hugh Brady.
John Clark.
John McClay.
William Turner.
Edward Sergeant.
John Robertson.
James Rhea.
William Lindsey.
David Semple.
Andrew Murfey.
Lodowick Long.
William Minstone.

———

Captain.

William Donaldson.

First Lieutenant.

Thomas Bricelan.

Second Lieutenant.

Thomas Guy.

Ensign.

John Brown.

Privates.

George Hudson.
Nicholas Bush.
James McClure
William Huston.
George Loudermelch.
John McGuffy.
George Ottenberger.
William Grier.
John Blackburn.
John Patton.
William Allison.
William Laughlin.
Andrew Kinkead.
John Thompson.
James Officer.
James Woodburn.
Moses Watson.
John Guthrie.
John Dunbar.
Samuel Kilgore.
Yargle Coiner.
Arthur Neal.
Hugh Patten.
James Harper.

———

Captain.

James Laird.

First Lieutenant.

Timothy Lee.

Second Lieutenant.

John Graham.

Ensign.

Martin Longstaff.

Privates.

James Graham.
James Crawford.
William Byars.
John Myars.
William Walker.
George Hacket.
David Dickey.
Nathaniel Fish.
Alexander Hamilton.
William Gibson.
Andrew Armstrong.
James Oliver.
Andrew Erwin.
Samuel Gatis.
Samuel Dunning.
David Roan.
William Fleming.
George Crane.
James Garvin.
James Laughlan.
Robert Cunningham.
James Laird.
Jeremiah Rice.
Michael Boor.
John McKinly.
Andrew Mehaffy.
Samuel Hoge.
Charles Dougan.
John Wormly.
Richard Gibson.
David Boyd.
Joseph McClure.
James McKinstry.
Hugh Martin.
Jacob Rupley.
John Lamberic.
John Stuart, Sr.
David Christy.
Samuel Dodds.

———

Captain.

John Elliott.

First Lieutenant.

Samuel Fields.

Second Lieutenant.

Neal McCoy.

Ensign.

George Hays.

Privates.

Christopher Erwin.
Samuel Davidson.
John Dunning.
Samuel Reed.
Martin Cain.
Matthew Bolan.
James Rodman.
Thomas Rider.
John Willson.
William Kinney.
John Wood.
James Wooward.
Martin Crozier.
John Dixson.
John Phillips.
John Christy Goose.
William McCormick.
Phillip Walker.
John Ewing.
George Miller.

Jacob Luke.
James Ross.
Robert Patterson.
Alexander White.
James Starr.
George Blair.
Henry Lieth.
David Martin.
James Henderson.
Archibald Taylor.
John McKeever.
Daniel Cookson.
Felty Eckleberger.
Abel Morgan.
Robert McCormick.
Daniel Hurly.
Thomas Holden.
William Sharon.

Captain.
Henry Taylor.

First Lieutenant.
James Dixson.

Second Lieutenant.
Thomas Blair.

Ensign.
Richard Johnson.

Privates.

John Gamble, Jr.
James Dixson.
Robert Boyl.
Robert Davis.
John Taylor.
David Walker.
Jos. Gallaway.
Anthony Jenkins.
John Johnston.
William Anderson.
William Smith.
Jos. Reed.
Jos. Wisby.
Samuel Kever.
Robert Hutchinson.
John Lyon.
William Harper.
Benjamin Caswell.
John Willson.
John Graham.
William Armstrong.
Gordon Howard.
William Call.
William Coll.
Robert Kennedy.
Robert Campbell.
William Carson.

Captain.
Samuel Patton.

First Lieutenant.
Thomas McDowell.

Second Lieutenant.

Hugh McKee.

Ensign.

Francis Gordon.

Privates.

John Scott.
William Lemon.
David Caldwell.
John McDowell.
William Patterson.
Ez. Harden.
John Willson.
William Rankin.
David Huston.
William Robertson.
Samuel Thompson.
Elliott Williamson.
Nathaniel McDowell.
Robert Dickey.
*William Campbell.
Oliver Anderson.
Michael Hoge.
David Hoge.
John Baird, Sr.
Matthew Shields.

*Has this after his name; "Served in Westmoreland County."

Captain.

William Sanderson.

First Lieutenant.

James Blaine.

Second Lieutenant.

Robert Scott.

Ensign.

John Kirkpatrick.

Privates.

William Murray.
George Dixson.
George Wallace.
Michael Kirkpatrick.
Thomas McTee.
Robert McKebe
William Miller.
William Chain.
David Hartnis.
Samuel Galbreath.
William Carns.
John Sanderson.
John McLean.
John McCown.
David Miller.
Thomas Noble.
David McClure.
George Brown.
Thomas Adams.
Alexander McCaskey.
Thomas Hamilton.
Thomas Smiley.

James Gaily.
John Sedgwick.
Robert McCabe.
William Gardner, Jr.
John Neeper.
John Devin.
Hance Ferguson.
John Ewing.
James Maxwell.

Captain.

James Poe.

First Lieutenant.

Adam Harmone.

Ensign.

James Drumin.

Privates.

James Crawford.
Samuel McColloch.
James McCormick.
Samuel Grass.
John Gibson.
Adam Stump.
Samuel Snodgrass.
David Long.
Alexander Cunningham.
Jacob Nigh.
Richard Right.
Gabriel Young.
James McCanley.
William Gibson.
Samuel Riniks.
Alexander Young.
James Clark.

IN SERVICE OCTOBER, 1777.

FOURTH CLASS.

Colonel.

Samuel Lyon.

Lieutenant Colonel.

David Bell.

Major.

John Brooks.

Captain.

Alexander Peoples.

First Lieutenant.

Archibald Elliott.

Second Lieutenant.

Robert McComb.

Ensign.

William Alder.

Privates.

William Maffet.
Andrew Blackhart.
James Alexander.
George Spealman.
Matthew Horner.
Matthew Thompson.
Robert Mickey, Jr.
James Aikins.
James Laughlin.
William Scott.
Alexander Starrit.
William Trimble.
Robert Clark.
Adam Cunningham
James Mitchell.
George McVane.
George Wire.
John Buchanan.
John Porterfield.
Frederick Shehole.
Samuel Rippey.
George Fry.
James Scroggs.
William McFarland.
William Herron.
George Goosman.
Peter Shuff.
William George.
Francis Neesbit.
John Mitchell.
Samuel Hannah.
John Hannah.
John Martin.

———

Captain.

Andrew McKee.

First Lieutenant.

Matthew Laird.

Second Lieutenant.

Alexander Lital.

Ensign.

[Vacancy.]

Privates.

John Cochran.
Thomas Gordon.
Thomas Finney.
Andrew Harvey.
John Parker.
Andrew Donaldson.
John Wearham.
Frederick Dooey.
John White.
George Lital.
William McClure.
William Sprout.
John Watson.
Pence Long.

John McKee.
Hugh Kennedy.
Samuel Laird.
Samuel Reed.
Philip Miller.
George Coiner.
James Ralston.
Allen Leeper.
William Appleby.
Robert Stephenson.
William French.
James Love.
Simon Linger.
Thomas Williamson.
Robert Weakly.
Jacob Hutchinson.
Rawlin Scroggs.

Captain.

John Lamb.

First Lieutenant.

James Floyd.

Second Lieutenant.

[Vacant.]

Ensign.

William Hartnis.

Privates.

Hugh Stoop.
Samuel Orr.
James Hoge.
Thomas Beagly.
James Sands.
Samuel Paxton.
Henry Wise.
Jacob Wingler.
Phillip Kimble.
Hartley Wormley.
Samuel Sloan.
John McGill.
John Buchanan.
Samuel Calhoon.
Samuel Mann.
James Logan.
George Switshelm.
Andrew Emminger.
Thomas Carmichael.
Nicholas Bore.
John Barr.
John Mehaffy.
Abram Hide.
William Patterson.
Adam Critzer.
Samuel More.
John Huston.
William Sloan.
James McTeer.
Matthew Kennedy.
John Johnston.
George Rupley.
Jeremiah Robertson.

Captain.

Phillip Matthias.

First Lieutenant.

Alexander Robertson.

Second Lieutenant.

John Reed.

Ensign.

Joseph McCoy.

Privates.

John McKee.
James Kerr.
John Chain.
Michael Fouts.
James Crosby.
William Bell.
William Henderson.
James Robertson.
George Crane.
James Kerr.
Aaron Coulter.
James McCollum.
Daniel Barton.
William Stuart.
John Riddle, Sr.
Jacob Sellers.
Samuel Barnet.
William Black.
James McCutchin.
James McMeath.
Adam Reed.
James Dickey.
Joseph McConnell.
James Erwin.
David Cargill.
William Crocket.
Robert Patterson.
Richard Willson.
John Lyon.
John Curry.
John Little.
Benjamin Kipler.
Thomas Such.
Alexander McGee.
Jacob Plants.
Thomas Connor.
James Bonar.
Henry Carson.
James Thompson.
Andrew Ferrier.
Thomas McKee.
Robert Moneypenny.
William Upton.

———

Captain.

James Addams.

First Lieutenant.

John Fleming.

Second Lieutenant.

John Willson.

Ensign.

John Holt.

Privates.

Lodwick Yator.
David Steel.
James Davidson.
John Oliver.

William Hooft.
Robert Barnhill.
Elijah Caswell.
James Armstrong.
John Carlisle.
John Moore.
Solomon Palmer.
John Tunner.
John Wason.
James Limbo.
Robert Smith.
George Bratten.
James McCoey.
Samuel Frampton.
Thomas Mitchell.
Alexander McNit.
John Kite.
Matthew Taylor.
William Kerr.
William Drinin.
James Thompson.
Thomas Collins.
Matthew Alder.
David Walker.
John Hagin.
John Marsden.
Andrew Johnston.
James Caswell.
William Young.

———

First Lieutenant.

John Eaton.

Ensign.

William Flannegin.

Privates.

David Collins.
David McBriar.
James Guthrie.
John Conrod Miner.
Henry McCartney.
Alexander Cunning.
James Ervin, Jr.
John Golding.
James Kelly.
James Boyd.
Henry Reed.
William Steel.
David Russell.
Andrey Dickey.
John McKerny.
Thomas Claney.
James Raukin.
Robert Gordon.
John Robison.

———

Captain.

William Blaine.

First Lieutenant.

George Black.

Second Lieutenant.

Samuel Shaw.

Ensign.

Joseph Sharp.

Privates.

James Gameron.
Michael Marshal.
John McCallaster.
John Ardery.
John Baker.
Joseph Childers.
Charles McCarty.
William Galbreath.
Robert Boyd.
Robert McClurg.
James Findley.
John Douglass.
Hugh Gormly.
John Marshal.
William McClintock.
James McClure.
John Smith.
William Brown.
Robert Galbreath.
Abram Johnston.
John McBride.
David Martin.
William Cunningham.

———

Captain.

William Long.

First Lieutenant.

Joseph Patton.

Second Lieutenant.

Daniel McClain.

Ensign.

Peter Shaver.

Privates.

Michael Rign.
Joseph Davis.
William Aker.
Richard Kain.
James Robison.
Andrew Miller.
William Crooks.
James Nicholson.
William Newel.
Hugh Bartley.
Josiah Cole.
Joseph Lowry.
George Smith.
John McNulty.
Charles Hart.

FIFTH CLASS.

———

Colonel.

Arthur Buchanan.

Lieutenant Colonel.

John Work, "back from Lan^{r}."

Major.

David Mitchell.

Captain.

Patrick Jack.

First Lieutenant.

Samuel Crawford.

Second Lieutenant.

William Moorhead.

Ensign.

Archibald Johnston.

Privates.

Andrew Miller.
John Hockinbury.
Joseph Kelly.
Andrew Giffen.
John Neelson.
Samuel Gibson.
John Willson.
John McClelland.
William Harvey.
Edward Taylor.
Cord Brady.
William Hodge.
Adam Carnahan.
John Jones.
Andrew Young.
John Smith.
Samuel McHeney.
Matthew Hannah.
Phillip Bradley.
William Bryan.
Patrick Murphy.
Patrick Sullivan.
Robert Gillespie.
William Hunter.
Andrew McClintock.
William Gibson.
Andrew Hemphill.
Robert Tate.
James McGaffog.
Patrick Gilgore.
William Glass.
John McCown.
John Blithe.
William Montgomery.
John Wills.
Samuel Duncan.
James Blair.
Richard Stephens.

Captain.

William McClure.

First Lieutenant.

Thomas Kennedy, "ordered not to march."

Second Lieutenant.

John Carver, "ordered not to march."

Ensign.

Samuel Donnald.

Privates.

Aaron Penwel.
Solomon Nighcap.
Frederick Rinehart.
William Armstrong.
Archibald Campbell.
James McGranahan.
John Davidson.
William Davis.
Jacob Swanger.
Thomas Appleby.
Thomas Gourley.
William Abercromby.
Joseph Mercer.
Phillip Wearham.
Robert Forbis.
John Thompson.
Andrew Corithers.
John Cook.
Henry Brooks.
John Anderson.
Thomas Morgan, "sick with the small-pox."
John Clark, "press wagoner."

———

Captain.

[Vacant.]

First Lieutenant.

John Clandinin.

Second Lieutenant.

Francis Watts.

Ensign.

[Vacant.]

Privates.

Thomas Campbell.
Peter Smith, "pressed wagoner."
John Brownlee.
Samuel Mehaffey.
Thomas Wharton.
Richard Parkison.
Thomas Anderson.
Thomas Rairdon.
John Poorman.
David Brooks.
Adam Calhoon.
Christ. Huston.
Patrick Davidson.

———

Captain.

John Hamilton.

First Lieutenant.

William Williams.

Second Lieutenant.

John McConnell.

Ensign.

John Henderson.

Privates.

James Howel.
John Parker.
John Moody.
James McRoy.
John Taylor
George Sweesy.
William Brown.
Thomas Anderson.
John Anderson.
James Campbell.
Robert Willson.
William Thompson.
Richard Rankin.
Abram Kipler.
William McFarson.
William Frederick.
Charles Cunningham.
Joseph Stuart.
John Johnstone.
John Brisen.
Hugh McCallister.
Andrew Bogle.
James Taylor.
Matthew Stall.
John Purdy.
George McCollough.
Robert McDonnald.
William Gillespy.
John Bringham.
Daniel Sweesy.
John Kingright.
Robert Brown.
William Willson.
Samuel Wharton.
Epenetus Hart.
William Ranison.
Richard Earl.
William Riddle.
George Troxsell.
William Jones.
James Machlan.
Thomas Patterson.
John Gray.
Nicholas Gooshorn.
George Green.
James Armstrong.
James Harris.
James Purdy, Jr.
Francis George.

Captain.

Thomas Thompson.

First Lieutenant.

Robert Samuels.

Second Lieutenant.

Robert Barr.

Ensign.

James Means.

Privates.

Frederick Comb.
John Caum.
Adam Lauchland.
Samuel Mitchell.

Robert McKnitt.
William Thompson.
James Ewing.
David Adams.
John Cunningham.
William McDonnald.
James Brattin, Jr.
John Caul.
William Little.
Richard Cox.
Richard Limbs.
James McKain.
William Willson
Jacob Adams.
Thomas Sinque.
James Baily.
Peter Smitsman.
James Galloway.
James Stuard.
Anthony Liply.
James Bratten.
Samuel Cawl.
Stephen Shyhawk.
Henry Fleming.
Joseph Wood.
John Bartholomew.

———

Captain.

Joseph Cuthbertson.

First Lieutenant.

William Elliott.

Second Lieutenant.

Samuel Dunwoody, "sick with small-pox."

Ensign.

James Caldwell.

Privates.

John Smith.
Alexander Cuttehan.
Samuel Parks.
Charles Jipper.
John McCashlin.
William Martin.
John Martin.
Richard Bard.
James Gordon
Alexander Miller.
Adam Cashner.
John Cochy.
William Hannah.
John Laird.
William McCashlin.
William Newell.
John Cunningham.
James Maxwell.
John Brooky.

———

Captain.

Frederick Taylor.

First Lieutenant.

Thomas McCoy.

Second Lieutenant.

James Ewing.

Ensign.

John Gardner.

Privates.

Hans Kilgees.
Edward O'Donald.
Pattrick Grant.
Robert McClintog.
James Wymer.
Matthew Merrot.
Richard Morrow.
William Watson.
Hugh Miller.
Clifton Bowen.
Richard Stewart.
Robert Huey.
William Williams.
Daniel Graham.
Hugh Gibson.
Joseph Nelson.
Andrew Kinkead.
William Spottwood.
Thomas Shedswick.
Andrew Linch.
Robert Irwin.
Hugh McCraghan.
James Miller.
Thomas Purdy, Jr.
William Taylor.
James Maxwell.
William Martin.
Andrew Irwin.
John Faddon.
Samuel Glass.
Robert Adams.
William Neeper.
William Adams.
John Gardener.

———

Captain.

James Young.

Second Lieutenant.

John Hart.

Ensign.

Hugh Wylie.

Privates.

William Rhea.
James Stitt.
William Marshall.
William Beatty.
John Lindsey.
John Ralphsnyder.
Henry Stall.
John Nicholas.
James Stuart.
John Stoops.
John McCormick.
Humphrey Fullerton.
David English.
Thomas Shannon.
Robert McCray.
Jacob Gallowdy.
William Marshall.

IN SERVICE JANUARY, 1778.

SIXTH CLASS.

Colonel.

Samuel Cuthbertson, "ordered back from Lancaster."

Lieutenant Colonel.

Alexander Brown.

Major.

John Johnston, "ordered back from Lancaster."

Quartermaster.

Archibald Irwin.

Captain.

John Campbell.

First Lieutenant.

William Boyd.

Second Lieutenant.

Adam Scott.

Ensign.

David Simmervill.

Privates.

John McBride.
Henry Hockenburg.
Arthur Starr.
Alexander McClintock.
Samuel Britton.
Charles Gibson.
Robert Barnhill.
Robert Coffey.
Andrew McVean.
William Bryson.
Humphrey Montgomery.
Frederick Dellinger.
William Lather.
John McClure.
Francis Donald.
Alexander Elliott.
James Burns.
William Machin.
Ebenezer Ferguson.
William Barren.
John Mourn.
Robert Erwin.
James Kirkpatrick.
William Herron.

James Herron.
Robert Peoples.
John Tarrel.
John McCarrel.
Robert Layson.
Samuel McCune.
Patrick Kinslow.

— ——

Captain.

Thomas Gibson.

First Lieutenant.

John Carothers.

Second Lieutenant.

John Ewing, "ordered back.

Ensign.

Conrad Coiner.

Privates.

James Watson.
William Harvey.
Robert Donaldson.
Joseph Sindolph.
Nathan Hay.
Alexander Parker.
Henry McCune.
Samuel McMurry.
George Riley.
George Deel.
William Parker.
Adam Clelland.
Robert Beveard.
John Thompson.
James Lital.
James Wallace.
Thomas Connor.
Robert More.
Samuel Ferguson.
Anthony Harwick.
Moses Kirkpatrick
Robert Henry.
John Patton, Sr.

——— —

Captain.

James Sample, "sick."

First Lieutenant.

Richard Rodgers.

Second Lieutenant.

James Fleming.

Ensign.

Henry Miller.

Privates.

Alexander Boyd.
David Hoge.
David Walker, "pressed wagoner."
James Sawers.
Samuel Welch.
Samuel Clendening.
William McCormick.
William Carothers.
William Henry.
John Dodds.
Robert McMean.
Phillip Gillen.
John Crouse, "pressed wagoner."
James McMullen.
William Duning.
John Hening.
Alexander Mortland.
William Agnew.
Alexander Sanderson.

———

Captain.

Jonathan Robeson.

First Lieutenant.

James Duncan.

Second Lieutenant.

Andrew Neelson.

Ensign.

John Bell.

Privates.

Thoph McDonald.
Charles Morrah.
James Gilfillen.
William White.
Samuel Davidson.
David Clayton.
John Dever.
David Moody.
Malcom Wright.
Jacob Whitehead.
William McCracken.
William Crossin.
Thomas Pauley.
Michael Quigley.
Brice Collins.
Jont. Hutton.
Robert Gray.
Joseph Boyle.
Alexander Cochran.
William Huston.
James Smith.
Alexander Reed.
Thomas Bole.
Matthew McTeer.
Charles Pollock.
Joseph Mullin.
John Ross.
John Burns.
John Sturgeon.
William Cook.
John Rankin.
Alexander Patterson.
Benjamin Smaley.
James Gallagher.
James McCulty.
Daniel Anderson.
John Kelly.
James Glenn.
George More.
James McVenan.
James Coon.
William McCallaster.

FIFTH BATTALION.

Captain.

Samuel Holliday.

First Lieutenant.

Josh Brown.

Second Lieutenant.

Robert Means.

Ensign.

John Campbell.

Privates.

John Anderson.
James White.
James Willson.
David Neely.
Jacob Kisler.
Robert Landrum.
Samuel Wharton.
James Galloway.
Walter Beatty.
William Derbin.
Alexander Jacobs.
James McGlachlin.
David Johnston.
William Fleming.
James Haslot.
Gilbert Crumb.
James McCord.
Jonas Balm.
William McKnitt.
John Neely.
Samuel Millegan.
David More.
Robert Graham.
John Cummin.
John Atlin.
George Calhoun.
Richard Gunsolo.
John Montgomery.
John Huston.
John Camon.
John Galbreath.
Patrick Connoly.

SIXTH BATTALION.

Captain.

William Huston.

First Lieutenant.

John Barr.

Second Lieutenant.

George Stephenson.

Ensign.

Walter McKinny, "on a journey."

Privates.

John Hamilton.
John Dickey.
Peter Hawa.
John Bard.
Robert Crawford.
James Knox.
Hugh Wiley.
George Hunter.
William Montgomery.
James Walker.
William Hays.
William Dean.
William Bard.

SEVENTH REGIMENT.

Captain.

Edward Grimes.

First Lieutenant.

Daniel Harr.

Second Lieutenant.

John Neelson.

Ensign.

Benjamin Junkin.

Privates.

William Cree.
William Lucas.
Francis McQuoan.
John Coulter.
Thomas Boyd.
Matthew White.
Hugh Law.
William McKee.
James Kerr.
Thomas Barnet.
Robert Dawson.
Samuel Ewing.
John Jamison.
Henry Heatly.
Alexander Brown.
John Kellem.
James Nelson.
Thomas Shaw.
Joseph Gormely.
John Marshall.
Michael Marshal.
William Carson.
William Blaine.
Hugh McClintock.
John Rea, Jr.
John Elliott.
John Smylie.
Alexander Gaely.
Moses Hays.
Edward West.
Henry Glass.
Alexander McCoy.
James Thompson.
John Nelson.
John Nelson, Jr.

EIGHTH BATTALION.

Captain.

[Vacancy.]

First Lieutenant.

Daniel Smith.

Second Lieutenant.

[Vacancy.]

Ensign.

[Vacancy.]

Privates.

Thomas Johnston.
Jacob Grindle.
James McKee.
Thos Beard.
Michael Greenwalt.
Martin Cook.
John Points.
James McIntire, Sr.
Hugh McIntire.
Samuel Cochran.
Emanuel Statler.
William Neesbit.
David Adams.
John Andrew, "commissary of purchases."
Phillip Gooshead.
John Reed.
James McIntire.
Matthew Sharp.

IN SERVICE MARCH, 1778.

SEVENTH CLASS.

Colonel.

Frederick Watts.

Lieutenant Colonel.

James Johnston.

Major.

——— McHatten.

FIRST BATTALION.

Captain.

Joseph Brady, "W. M."

First Lieutenant.

Isaac Miller.

Second Lieutenant.

James Stuart.

Ensign.

Jacob Miller.

Privates.

Samuel Baker.
Joseph Sacket.
John McCray.
Alexander Nickle
Robert Bratten.
Daniel Lavery.
James Allen.
George Berry.
David McCune.
Daniel Neevans.
Samuel Cooe.
James Hays.
Charles Maclay, Senior.
Robert Gibbs.
John Anderson.
Robert Lather.
Joseph Alder.
James McComb.
Henry Cowen.
David Jenkins.
John Calhoun.
William McGoffog.
Robert Montgomery.
Samuel Montgomery.
Robert McClean.
John Maclay.
Samuel Walker.

SECOND BATTALION.

Captain.

Walter Denny.

First Lieutenant.

Samuel Mather.

Second Lieutenant.

John Love.

Ensign.

Henry Brooks.

Privates.

Christian Sansebaugh.
Samuel Willson.
Henry Jenger.
James Willson.
James Johnston.
William Gray.
Daniel Gregory.
David Lusk.
John Erwin.
James Graham.

Andrew Cline.
Jacob Kigly.
David Allen.
John Sharp.
Michael Miller.
John Lemon, Jr.
Hugh Dougal.
Henry Singer.
William Blair, "commissary of purchases."
Alexander Cook.
Alexander Sprout.

THIRD BATTALION.

First Lieutenant.

James Irwin, "ordered not to march."

Second Lieutenant.

John Willson, "went to the enemy."

Ensign.

John McCormick.

Privates.

James Bryson.
Alexander McIntire.
Andrew Bone.
Matthew Allison.
John Miller.
William Marshall.
Joseph Willson.
Thomas Williamson.
James Gutery.
John Walker.
Samuel Martin.
William Cochran.
Alexander McCollum.
Nathan Willson.

FOURTH BATTALION.

Captain.

James McConal.

First Lieutenant.

David Neelson.

Second Lieutenant.

James Bogle.

Ensign.

William Airbuckle.

Privates.

Matthew McTeer.
Samuel Barnet.
John George.
Levy Bowen.
Charles Murray.
Samuel Beatty.
John Organ.
Robert Little.
Joseph Gordon.
John Gall.
Hugh Robertson.
Abram Wells.
Joseph Poultney.
Jacob Easord.
John Martin.
John Knox.
David Walker.
Peter Lantner.
Charles Blair.
James Thompson.
Thomas Peel.
Alexander Reed.
James Stuart.
John Whitmore.
Robert Campbell.
John Field.
Thomas Howard.
John White.
Charles Clark.
John Mellan.
George Albright.
George Shafton.
William Stuart.
Samuel Best.
David Clay.
William Campbell.
John Anderson.
Paul Trimer.
Samuel Wiley.
Moses Woods.
James Thompson L.
William Reed.

FIFTH BATTALION.

Captain.

Thomas Alexander.

First Lieutenant.

John Means.

Second Lieutenant.

John Wakefield.

Ensign.

Aaron More.

Privates.

James Martin.
Robert Buchanan.
Thomas Brown.
Joseph McKibben.
William Mitchell.
William Brown.
John Blair.
John Martin.
James Scott.
William Galloway.
James Martin.
James Reed.

David Brown.
Abram How.
Alexander Jacobs.
Landy Junken.
Alexander McDonald.
Richard Johnston.
William Johnston.
William Hero.
Hugh McClellan.
Robert Gardner.
George Mitchell.
John Keever.
John Mitchell.
Thomas Crumb.
John Craig.
Tobias Devers.
William Bratten.
George Galbreath.
Robert Fergue.
John Gillespie.
William White.
Jacob Server.
David Coulter.
Joseph Brown.
John Role.
George Meek.
Jonathan Wallace.

SIXTH BATTALION.

Captain.

Robert McCoy.

First Lieutenant.

Joseph Stevenson.

Second Lieutenant.

William Cessna.

Ensign.

Robert Kyle.

Privates.

Phillip Davis, "between the two lines. S. M."
Robert Patton.
Alexander Bigger.
Thomas Allison.
James Patterson.
Adam Willson.
Samuel Erwin.
James Calhoun.
Alexander Matthers.
John Cock.
James Moor.
Robert Dickey.
John Gibson.
John Morrison.
William Dunwoody.
Matthew Willson.
Thomas Hogge.
John Shields.
Robert Stephenson.

SEVENTH BATTALION.

Captain.

John Buchanon.

First Lieutenant.

Joseph Neeper.

Second Lieutenant.

Matthew McCay.

Ensign.

George Smiley, "ordered not to march."

Privates.

Samuel McClelland.
Daniel Stuard.
James Hodkins.
John Riddle.
Matthew Keir.
John Miller.
James Hamilton.
Samuel Neesbit.
John Cowburn.
William Shehan.
Joseph Kirkpatrick.
John Smith.
David McKee.
Henry Kellry.
Alexander Kelly.
John Ross.
George Logan.
John Cord.
James Byard.
Samuel Fisher.
Robert Graham.
John Camble.
Daniel Marrit.
Thomas Elliott.
Patrick Kain.
Alexander Murray, Esq.
William Erwin.
Henry Savage.
Moses Kirkpatrick.
Peter Patterson.
William McKee.
Archibald Marrin.
Robert Cumins.
Thomas Willson.
John Kinkead.
Andrew Kinkead.
Robert Neelson.

EIGHTH BATTALION.

Captain.

William Findley.

First Lieutenant.

Albert Torrence.

Second Lieutenant.

John Carr.

Ensign.

[Vacancy.]

Privates.

Henry Good.
William Beatty.
Benjamin Davis.
Jacob Snider.
Patrick Sullivan.
William Neal.
John McNeal.
Thomas Drennan.
Robert Erwin.
John Purveons.
Samuel Henry.
Robert McNoe.
Robert Thompson.
William McClenan.
William Long.
John Gaff.
William Drenan
George Lowry.
John Cochran.
David Parks.
James Moorhead.
William Torrence.
Thomas Cowen.

EIGHTH CLASS IN SERVICE, 1778

Colonel.

Abraham Smith.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Samuel Ross.

Major.

James McCamant.

First Battalion.

Captain.

Charles Maclay.

First Lieutenant.

Robert Quigley.

Second Lieutenant.

William Strain.

Ensign.

John Lauchland.

Privates.

Thomas Morrah.
James Lather.
William Kelly.
William Thompson.

William Donald.
William Gilmore.
James Mackey.
Neal Judge.
Jacob Fry.
Alexander Morran.
James Wright.
John McCune.
David Wills.
Robert Mitchell.
John White.
Richard Morrah.
William Steel.
John Carlisle.
John Wallace.
Alexander Happer.
David Mahaun.
John Erwin.
William Montgomery.
Abraham Smith.
Thomas McClelland.
David Wherry.
Samuel Mitchell.
Thomas Snodgrass.
Archibald Mahaun.
Robert Johnson.

SECOND BATTALION.

Captain.

Charles Leeper.

First Lieutenant.

[Vacancy.]

Second Lieutenant.

John McGinnes, "ordered not to march."

Ensign.

Samuel Davidson.

Privates.

Hugh Trusdale.
William Lindsay.
Andrew Gallowy.
John Pollock.
William Brown.
William Love.
George Smyth.
William Henry.
Andrew Mitchell.
James McFarlin.
Joshua Marlin.
Ralph Lawson.
Jacob Kigly.
John Henry.
Francis Burck.
William Deney.
John Mitchell.
James Lemon.

THIRD BATTALION.

Captain.

Robert Sanderson.

First Lieutenant.

Samuel Agnew, "ordered not to march."

Second Lieutenant.

Samuel Huston.

Ensign.

—— Brooks, "ordered not to march.

Privates.

William Gordon.
James Barr.
Andrew Crocket.
Archibald Kerr.
Robert Young.
John Gilkison.
Henry Wharton.
James Kennedy.
John Orr, Jr.
John Love.
Alexander Willson.
John Simpson.
John Martin.
John Calhoun.
Barnabas Laverty.
William Drinnen.

FOURTH BATTALION.

Captain.

Robert McTeer.

First Lieutenant.

John McMahan.

Second Lieutenant.

Samuel Arbuckle.

Ensign.

William Reay.

Privates.

Thomas Adams.
David Ralston.
William Connel.
Thomas Woodart.
Aquar Burchfield.
David Ellison.
Adoras Scouten.
John Brown.
Daniel McCleland.
John Anderson.
William Mark.
John Buchanan.
John McCoy.
William Thompson.
William Orr.
Christopher Berackman.
James Moor.
John Collens.
John Crain.
William Chenet.
Denis Christie.
Edward Erwin.
George White.
George Gray.

Niclas Marten.
Ebenezer Lormer.
James Coner.
James Riddle.
John Carbrie.
Thomas Gallahar.
John Morgan.
Robert Walker.
Samuel Mitchell.
William Carnahan.
James Taylor.
James Patterson.
Samuel McElvane.
Isaac Cowan.
Thomas Rowland.
John Steger.
John Evans.
James Riddle, Sr.
James Wells.
John Anderson.
James Innes.
John Stone.
Hugh Henderson.
Hugh McCormick.
William Marten.
Robert McCalmant.
James Gibson.

FIFTH BATTALION.

Captain.

George Bell.

First Lieutenant.

Joseph Young.

Second Lieutenant.

Marshal Stanley.

Ensign.

John Bell.

Privates.

Robert Martin.
Thomas Wade.
Robert Chambers.
James Connely.
George Shining.
Charles McCaven.
Benjamin Hall.
David Gordon.
William Thompson.
John Millegan.
Samuel Grier.
Joseph Westbrook.
Joseph Corbit.
James Johnston.
Emanuel Gonslow.
Thomas Brigg.
Alexander Blair.
Francis Clark.
Adam Willson.
James McDowell.
Hugh Beard.
Moses Thompson.
Andrew Small.
James Adams.
Joseph Millegan.
John Alford.
James Corithers.
Patrick Nugent.
Henry Montooth.
Peter Allen.

John Brown.
Samuel Grier.
William Huston.
John Crily.
John Campbell.
William Kelly.
Caleb Parschal.
Matthew Keiley.
Robert Anderson.
John Wood.
Robert Kindsay.
Alexander Mahaun.
Alexander Robertson.
Robert McClelland.
David Barr.
Simon Wauh.
John Frampton.
John Robertson.
Hugh Megill.

SIXTH BATTALION.

Captain.

John McConnel.

First Lieutenant.

Joseph Irwin.

Second Lieutenant.

James McFarline.

Ensign.

Hugh Allison.

Privates.

Joseph Richey.
Benjamin Jefferies.
William Huston.
Christian Fryly.
William Joice.
Charles Harden.
William Coburn.
Thomas Kennedy.
William McKnitt, Jr.
Matthew Vanlear.
Robert Caldwell.
George Pomery.
John Kirkpatrick.
John Bard.
James Greer.
John Walker.
Alexander Gilgrist.
Edward Welch.
John Henderson.
John McCray.
Jeremiah Rankin.
William Huston.
John Baird.
Joseph Mitchell.
Alexander Robertson.
Robert Henry.

SEVENTH BATTALION.

Captain.

Thomas Clark.

First Lieutenant.

William Neelson.

Second Lieutenant.

Samuel Whitacre.

Ensign.

Thomas Watson.

Privates.

James Officer.
George Morrah.
Robert Wiley.
Samul Barnhill.
James Carson.
John McKebe.
William Kerr.
Henry Skivinton.
Robert Murray.
John McCurry.
Joseph Kilpatrick.
William Murphy,
Matthew McBride.
Michael Walters.
John Wright.
William McKebe.
William Logan.
Thomas Townsley.
George Douglas.
John Cree.
Robert Holliday.
Robert Garrett.
John Mitchell.
Joseph Patten.
Joseph Shields.
Matthew Mcrrison.
Michael Baskins.
Alexander Maxwell.
George Miller.
Richard Stuard.
John White.
Andrew McKee.
Jamse McKebe.
Thomas McIntire.
Joseph Sharp.
John McClintoch.

EIGHTH BATTALION.

Captain.

John Rea.

First Lieutenant.

Thomas Wallace.

Second Lieutenant.

[Vacancy.]

Ensign.

Henry Ralfsnider.

Privates.

Joseph McClintock.
Robert Foreman.
——— Caldwell.
William Still.

Matthew Jordan.
William Rankin.
Robert Stuard.
William Gass.
James McCray.
James Hart.
John Willson.
Robert Work.
Torrence Campbell.
Peter Fry.
Jacob Stephens.
John Long.
John Wallace.

IN SERVICE JULY, 1778.

By order of Council for ye first and second Classes ye second Tour for Three hundred Men to ye Standing Stone. Dated at Philadelphia, July 14, 1778.

Field Officers.

Colonel.

Samuel Dunlap.

Major.

Samuel Erwin.

FIRST BATTALION.

Captain.

Thomas Askey.

First Lieutenant.

Alexander Nicholas.

Second Lieutenant.

Samuel Walker.

Privates.

Thomas Martin, W. S.
George Hamilton.
John Brown.
Joseph Ferguson.
Robert Anderson.
John Eagelby.
William Stiphinson.
John Reed.
Samuel Witherow.
Michael Miller.
Walter Davis.

SECOND BATTALION.

Captain.

James Douglas.

Privates.

Jacob Jumper.
Joseph Mitchel.
James McClaron.
William Chesnut.
Thomas Dunbar.
Andrew Shitly.
John Blackwood.
John Hall.
William Gillespie.
John Kerr,
Asa Hill.
John Carithers, Jr
Thomas Mosgrove.

THIRD BATTALION.

Captain.

John McTeer.

First Lieutenant.

Joshua Junkin.

Second Lieutenant.

John Ford.

Ensign.

Samuel Long.

Privates.

John McMeen.
James McKinly.
Anthony Book.
Joseph Adair.
Thomas Garven.
James Young.
Moses Brown.
Barnabas Donald.
Samuel Henderson.

FOURTH BATTALION.

Captain.

John Williams.

First Lieutenant.

Jacob Hayning.

Second Lieutenant.

John Brown.

Ensign.

Henry Gillespie.

Privates.

Thomas Diller.
Benjamin Cooen.
John Boner.
Hugh Hardy.
John Riddle.
Henry Martin.
Andrew Kidlinger.
Sylvanus Moss.
William Thompson.
Mathias Kissler.
James Patten.
John McClure.
Alexander Glasford.
Charles Berger.
Jonathan Moor.
James Wilson.
James Forsythe.
Samuel Otter.
Isaac Lewis.
Philip Clinton.
Gabriel Fry.
Jacob Kissler.
John Calver.

FIFTH BATTALION.

Captain.

Alexander McCoy.

Privates.

John Davise.
William Baird.
Robert Elliot.
James Gold.
Edmund Ritcheson.
Arthur Nugent.
Benjamin Brown.
Christian Martin.

SIXTH BATTALION.

Second Lieutenant.

David Shields.

Ensign.

John Dickey.

Privates.

John Kirk.
Nicholas Tintone.
James Irvine.
Robert Gray.

Andrew Snider.
John Newell.
William Thompson.
James Leonard.
James Irvine.
John Stewart.
John Cunningham.
James Guttrey.
William Stephson.
John Smith.
John McMullen.

SEVENTH BATTALION.

Captain.

James Fisher.

First Lieutenant.

David Marshal.

Second Lieutenant.

John Simonton.

Ensign.

Allen Neesbit.

Privates.

William Robertson.
Alexander Aikins.
Hugh Evans.
Robert Purdy.
Robert Walker.
James Baxter.
George Biddle.
Robert Boge.
John Campbell.
George Brown, Jr.
Isaac Samos.
James Ardery.
James Meanah.
Edward Nicholson

EIGHTH BATTALION.

First Lieutenant.

James Brotherinton.

Ensign.

Robert Snodgrass.

Privates.

William Jack.
William Morrow.
Nicholas Leek.
Jacob Lawman.

IN SERVICE JULY, 1778.

Colonel.
Thomas Gibson.

Lieutenant Colonel.
Robert Cuthbertson.

Major.
Robert Taylor.

FIRST BATTALION.

Captain.
Samuel Fenton.

First Lieutenant.
David Anderson.

Second Lieutenant.
William Alexander.

Ensign.
Thomas Morton.

Privates.

Andrew McVane.
William Clark.
John Garrel.
James Shannon.
Nathan McColloch.
John Cummins.
Isaac Miner.
Thomas Clark.
William Guin.
Hugh McHeney.
John Mair.
John Work.
William Woods.

SECOND BATTALION.

First Lieutenant.
James Davidson.

Ensign.
William Woods.

Privates.

William Smiley.
Charles Roan.
William McClure.
William Reed.
Robert Tilford.
Conrod Jumper.
Joseph Edmonson.
George McClure.
William Galbreath

THIRD BATTALION.

Privates.

John Brison.
Martin Herman.
Thomas Henderson.
William McMeen.
Joshua Armstrong.

FOURTH BATTALION.

Captain.
David Bowl.

Second Lieutenant.
Samuel Huling.

Ensign.
Abram Willson.

Privates.

George Grimes.
Ranold Chambers.
Thomas McRoy.
James Erwin.
David Steel.
Simon Smaly.
John Patterson.
Anthony Trimer.
Abraham Parker.
William Work.
George Foots.
John Cunningham.
Frederick Swagerty.
John Bowen.
Samuel Hull.
John Robertson.

FIFTH BATTALION.

First Lieutenant.
Andrew Briggs.

Privates.

John McDade.
John Oliver.
William Moreland.
Duncan Cameron.
William Martin.
Edward McSwine.
James Brown.
William Miller.
John Sigler.
Robert McHarg.
Andrew Shara.
Hugh Hason.
Gilbert Vaugh.
William Boyd.
John Brown.
James Calhoun.
Robert Allison.
John Scott.

SIXTH BATTALION.

Captain.

Patrick Jack.

First Lieutenant.

John Orbison.

Second Lieutenant.

John Welsh.

Ensign.

William Ramsey.

Privates.

Thomas Kirk.
William Thompson.
David Long.
Andrew Walker.
Thomas McHeny.
Nathaniel Mitchel.
Archibald Fouler.
Robert Sloan.
John Hawes.
William Mitchel.
Johnston Ellot.
James Mitchel.
James Mitchel, 3d.

SEVENTH BATTALION.

Captain.

James Power.

First Lieutenant.

Thomas Fisher.

Second Lieutenant.

William Murray.

Ensign.

Archibald Loudon.

Privates.

George Hamilton.
William Elliot.
Daniel Mulhollen.
Alexander Clark.
Daniel McClintock.
Samuel Glass.
David Baird.
Samuel Byers.
Robert Clark.
James Smith.
William McConnel.
John Craford.
John Barker.
Thomas McKee.
William McCoy.
Benjamin Hillhouse.
Patrick Killham.
Archibald Kincade.

EIGHTH BATTALION.

Captain.

John Jack.

First Lieutenant.

Jacob Foreman.

Second Lieutenant.

James McWilliams

Privates.

Robert Erwin.
Samuel Moose.
George Gordon.
James Boreland.
John Freese.
James Lang.
William McWright.
Samuel Statler
James Greer.
John Greer.
Charles Garacher.
Abraham Craft.
Leonard Stal.

IN SERVICE JULY, 1778.

Field Officers.

Colonel.

William Chambers.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Thomas Torbett.

Major.

——— Carnahan.

FIRST BATTALION

Captain.

Noah Abraham.

First Lieutenant.

Richard Coulter.

Ensign.

Nathan Stevenson.

Privates.

Thomas Nox.
Andrew Ball.
James Montgomery.
James Russel.
Robert Walker.
Neal Daugherty.
Robert Turner.
James Hamilton.
William Love.
Patrick Daugherty.
John Millerons.
John Mahaun.
John Robeson.

SECOND BATTALION.

Privates.

John Blackburn.
John McCurdy.
William Lyon, Esq.
George McGonnegle.

THIRD BATTALION

Captain.

James Floid.

Privates.

Robert Cunningham.
Samuel Cuthbertson.
James Laird.
Alexander Crocket.
James Oliver.
Andrew Armstrong.
Richard Gilstene.
James Sloan.
William Walker.
Simon Pinnage.
Andrew McHaffey.
John Wormly.
Andrew Erwin.
Joseph McClure.
David Boyd.
William Gaddis.

FOURTH BATTALION.

Second Lieutenant.

Neal McCoy.

Privates.

John Irwin.
John McKeever.
John Williams.
Daniel Hurley.
Daniel Hurley.
Joseph Carbury.
George Blair.
James Henderson.

FIFTH BATTALION.

First Lieutenant.

James Dickson.

Second Lieutenant.

Thomas Blair.

Privates.

James Dickson.
Robert Boyle.
John Baird.
Robert Kenady.
Joseph Wissbey.
Joseph Colter.
John Taylor.
Robert Hutcheson.
John Lyon.
Joseph Galloway.
Robert Campbell.
David Carswell.
Samuel Caver.

SIXTH BATTALION.

Captain.

Samuel Patten.

Second Lieutenant.

Ezekiel Sample.

Privates.

Moses Daugherty.
William Patterson.
John Matthias, weaver.
Nathan McDowell.
Thomas Howard.
William Speir.
Benjamin Elliot.
William Lowre, Jr.
Abraham Rosenbury.
Gideon John.
Joseph Armstrong.
Thomas Kinkead.
John Brand.
Henry Williamson.
Henry Marshal.
John McKinney.
William Robertson.

SEVENTH BATTALION.

Captain.

Robert Sanderson.

Privates.

Robert McKeb
David McClure, Esq.

EIGHTH BATTALION.

First Lieutenant.

Adam Harmony.

Privates.

Samuel McColloch.
William Sharp.
George Lamb.

IN SERVICE JULY, 1778.

Lieutenant Colonel.

David Bell.

FIRST BATTALION.

Captain.

Alexander Peoples.

First Lieutenant.

Archibald Elliot.

Second Lieutenant.

Robert McCombe.

Ensign.

William Alder.

Privates.

Joshua Anderson.
John McMullen.
Stephen Cissna.
Robert Peebles.
George Wier.
John Kenedy.
Frederick Shele.
John Admiston.
David Maughan.

SECOND BATTALION.

Captain.

Asa Hill.

Privates.

William Sprout.
Samuel Green.
Hugh Kenedy.
James Pollock.
Edward Kain.
Samuel Laird.
John Brown.
John Turner.
Robert Stephenson.
William Kenney.
Simeon Singer.
James Sloan.
Jacob Atchinson.
Samuel Mitchel.

THIRD BATTALION.

First Lieutenant
George Dickey.

Second Lieutenant.
Matthew Loudon.

Privates.

Moses Frazer.
John Hoge.
James Hoge.
James Huston.
James McGill.
Thomas Carothers.
Matthew Tracy.
Samuel Orr.
William Richey.
William Sloan.
Samuel Calhoun.

FOURTH BATTALION.

First Lieutenant.
Alexander Robertson.

Second Lieutenant.
John Reed.

Ensign.
Joseph McCoy.

Privates.

William Bell.
William Henderson.
John Lyon.
Anthony Tennes.
Richard Willson.
James Robertson.
Jacob Plants.
William Ranken.

FIFTH BATTALION.

Captain.
Richard Coulter.

First Lieutenant.
John Fleming.

Second Lieutenant.

John Willson.

Ensign.

John Holtt.

Privates.

James Dickson.
William Holtt.
Ludwick Yeter.
Matthew Taylor.
Thomas Collens.
David Walker.
Robert Smith.
James McCoy.
Samuel Frampton.
David Steel.
John Brown.
Alexander McNitt.
Elijah Carswell.
John Tanner.
John Hugans.
John Marsden.
Thomas Mitchell.

SIXTH BATTALION.

Captain.

James Patten.

Privates.

Frederick Daras.
George Benefield.
Robert Kerr.
James Swan.
Andrew Baird.
Charles Cummins.

SEVENTH BATTALION.

Second Lieutenant.

Samuel Shaw.

Privates.

John McCallester.
James McCalster.
Moses Letheren.
Isaac Winn.

EIGHTH BATTALION.

Private.

Hugh Gaff.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY MILITIA, 1778

[Persons in actual service, chiefly as substitutes, during three several calls or times in the year 1778.]

FIRST CALL.

First Battalion.

John Harmone.
William Carrel.
Thomas Seckett.
John Barnhill.
Archibald Martin.
William Clark.
Joseph Alexander.
Patrick Boland.
William Balmer.
Joseph Sackett.
John Stitt.
Patrick Welding.
William Kelly.
John Gordon.
Andrew Cummins.
John Tate.
Alexander McCormic.
James Justice.
David Morrison.
Robert Barnhill.

Second and Third Battalions.

William McDonald.
Daniel Dougherty.
Adam Junkin.
Joseph Enslow.
Henry Postel.
Joseph Kirk.
Archibald Campbell.
Thomas Campbell.
Matthew Rogers.
Evan Minscal.
Matthew Cummins.
Andrew Donnald.
James Stafford.
William Willson.
Patrick Laverty.
John Moor.
John Poorman.
Samuel Miller.
Robert Mitchel.
William Gillespie.
James Cupples.
Samuel McGee.
Archibald Martin.
Thomas Cunningham.
Nicholas Bray.
Daniel Murphy.

Fourth and Fifth Battalions

John Anderson.
A. Glass.
Robert Carnahan.
John McClean.
Charles McGowan.
Mark McDowel.
George Dorman.
Charles Clark.
David Clayton.
Captain Williams.

Sixth Battalion.

Richard Cunningham.
Matthew Neely.
Hans Lackey.
Patrick Higgins.

Seventh Battalion.

Patrick Killen.
Bartholomew Davis.
John Cole.
Joseph Davis.
Neal McCoy.
Thomas Adam.
Alexander Reed.
Alexander Eakman.
Samuel Cole.
John Davis.
John Pickens.
John Meloy.
Thomas Woodward.

Eighth Battalion.

David Jenkins.
John Wigal.
James Burns.
George Lowdon.
Alexander Gordon.
James Robertson.
Patrick Cowen.
Robert Clark.
William Ellwood.
Robert Stuard.
William Smith.
William Jones.
William Mentooth.
Moses McGrew.
Nathaniel Points.
George McHeney.
David Linch.
Robert Dorman.
Walker Sess.
Daniel Lavery.

SECOND CALL.

First Battalion.

Thomas Herr.
William Witherow.

Second and Third Battalions.

William Jameson.
Joseph Messer.
Christian Branen.
Thomas Conner.
John Armstrong.
John Thompson.
William Love.
William Thomas.
David Cochran.

Fourth and Fifth Battalions.

John Killen.
Nathaniel Moon.

Sixth Battalion.

John Caghey.
James Brown.

Seventh Battalion.

Samuel Findlev.

Eighth Battalion.

Thomas Drinen.
William Harde.
Edward Mener.
John Neal.
James McGraw.
Peter Curtain.
Abraham Fisher.
Joseph Clark.
Neal Dougherty.

THIRD CALL.

First Battalion.

Samuel Miller.
Archibald Martin.
Joseph Haltree.
Andrew Donald.
John Gudtner.
Andrew Galbreath.

Second and Third Battalions.

Robert Cue.
Robert Nelson.
Patrick Laverty.
William Burnsides.
John Stuart.
James Black.

Fourth and Fifth Battalions.

Peter Daily.
James Ross.
Robert Garrel.
John McNair.
John Dever.
Charles Murray.

Seventh Battalion.

John Caswell.
Thomas McIntire.
Archibald Marron.
John Campbell.
Alexander Ogden.
Thomas McCollom.
Joseph Sharp.

Eighth Battalion.

Thomas Crotte.
William McNab.
John Berry.
Robert Foreman.
Isaac Bran.
Morris McGraw.
Robert Stoops.
George Lowden.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY MILITIA OFFICERS, 1778.

Colonels.

James Dunlap.
Arthur Buchanan.
Frederick Watts.
Samuel Cuthbertson.
Thomas Gibson.

Lieutenant Colonel.

John Work.

Majors.

Samuel Erwin. James McCamon.

Quartermaster.

John Scott.

Captains.

Alexander Peoples.	Patrick Jack.
Matthew Gregg.	Alexander McKay.
John Williams.	Thomas Askey.
George Crawford.	Samuel Royer.
John Trindle.	Noah Abraham.
William McClure.	John Campbell.
William Huston.	Joseph Cuthberson.
Thomas Gibson.	Jonathan Robertson.
Robert Sanderson.	John Jack.
William Grimes.	Robert Shannon.
Thomas Kenedy.	James Power.
John Lamb.	James Laird.
William Donaldson.	William Sanderson.
William Blaine.	John Elliot.
James Adam.	Philip Mathias.
Walter Denny.	Charles Leeper.
Charles McClay.	William Findley.
——— Rhea.	James McConnal.
——— Bole.	James Fisher.
Frederick Taylor.	Henry Taylor.
Edward Graham.	Robert McTeer.

Lieutenants.

John Barr.	Joseph Junkin.
Isaac Miller.	John Nelson.
William Williams.	

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR ASSOCIATORS OF PHILADELPHIA.

[The paper following is a copy of the original subscription form issued in May, 1775, by the City Committee of Inspection and Observation for Philadelphia, the object being to provide a fund for the support of the Battalions then recently organized. As a part of the history of the war for Independence it is worth preservation in this connection.]

Committee Chamber, *May* 24, 1775.

Whereas the public Burthens, in support of the Association lately entered into in this city fall very heavy and partially on the liberal and spirited: Resolved, therefore, that it is the Duty of every Freeman (those who are conscientiously scrupulous only excepted) either to join in Military Assocations, or to contribute to the support and assistance of those who do; and for that Purpose the Members of this Committee taking to their assistance such officers, in their respective wards, as will attend them on this service do offer to each Housekeeper, or other able Person, the following subscriptions:

We, the supscribers, do promise to pay to Lambert Cadwalader, Captain of The Company, of Said ward the sums of money annexed to our respective names, to be paid over into the hands of a Treasurer, to be appointed by the Field officers of all the Battalions; by him to be divided into three equal Parts, one to each Battalion, and then applied by the Field officers of such Battalion, according to the Exigency of their respective companies, in paying the several Persons for Instruction and Attendance, Colours, Drums, Drummers and Fifers, in the first place; then in assisting those Associators who are unable to provide themselves with Arms, Accoutrements, and Clothing.

We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do agree to the above, and do respectively promise to pay the several sums annexed to our names, for the uses and Purposes above expressed.

Persons Names.	*Sum per Week.*	*Sum Advanced.*
Thomas Cadwalader,	10s.	Three pounds.
Captain Charles Stuart,	2s.	20 Shillings.
Mrs. Johnson,	2s. 6d.	20 Shillings.
Miss Johnson,	2s. 6d.	20 Shillings.
Miss Watson,	2s. 6d.	5 Shillings.
Patrick Miller,	1s.	5 Shillings.
John Cottringer	3s.	30 Shillings.
Mrs. Ritchie,	2s. 6d.	22s. 6d. Three Dollars.
Mrs. Hopkinson,	2s. 6d.	7s. 6d. One Dollar.
Mr. Humphreys,	7s. 6d.	Three pounds.
Mr. Jones,	1s.	Ten Shillings.
Daniel Smith,	3s.	Thirty Shillings.
Cash,	5s.	Forty-five Shillings.
Captain Timmons,	2s. 6d.	Twenty Shillings.
John Lad Howell,		Three Pounds.
James Hamilton, Esq.,		Twelve Pounds.
J—L. P—n,		Twelve Pounds.
Charles Marshall,		Three Pounds.
	Total,	£47. 15s.

Please to pay to Captain Dulany the sum of forty-seven pounds fifteen shillings, the collection for South Ward as above.

JOHN CADWALADER.

To Mr. JOHN NESBIT,
April 15, 1776.

CAPTAIN ROLAND'S COMPANY—1775.

The Associators of Leacock township, Lancaster county, belonging to Captain Roland's Company. Associated 5th day of July, 1775.

James Scott [in Leacock].
Henry Swope.
George Lyne.
Abraham Lyne.
Stofle Weaver.
Sicmont Shower.
Daniel Swope.
Joseph Biggart.
David Benter.
William Lyne.
Peter Eby.
Peter Eby, Jr.
Jacob Hamer.
Emanuel Carpenter [of Earl township].
William McCormick [listed]
John Creake [in Lampeter township].
William Shellar [in Lampeter township].
John Eby.
Jacob Swope.
David Lyne.
Henry Foltz, Jr.
John Maxvel.
Bolsar Rombarger.
Marteen Maxvel, Jr.
James Hamilton.
Henry Wenger [Sener].
Peter Barngut.
John Roland.
John Moor.
Adam Swope.
Henry Foltz.
George Finfrock.
Martin Hillar.
Adam Rombarger.
Jacob Bear [listed].
John Botts.
Adam Hoofstetter.
Samuel Eby.
John Hiller.
Henry Eby.
Patrick Connel [of Leacock township].
John Scott [in Lampeter township].
David Crawford [in Lampeter township].
George Lambert.
John Snavely.
Jacob Barngut.
Aphraem Bear.
Philip Shower.
Hugh McDonel.
Jacob Maxvel.
George Bard.
James Kearns [listed].
John Foltz.

Endorsed. "Mr. JOHN FERREE, CORNEL."

CAPTAIN HAYS' COMPANY—1776.

From "An account of money paid by Captain Hays" of Northampton county, "to his company in the City of Philadelphia of their monthly wages paid December 27, 1776," we have the following roll of his company:

Captain.

Robert Hays.

Lieutenant.

William Caruthers, discharged January 9, 1777.

Ensign.

Thomas Horner.

Privates.

James Doak.
William Maffit.
Alexander Vauhan.
John Clyde, discharged January 17, 1777.
James Lattimore.
Benjamin Stuart.
Moses Campbell, discharged January 17, 1777.
John McFadden.
James Boyd.
George Gray.
Moses Cangleton.
Rev. Mr. John Rossbrugh, discharged January 3, 1777.
Robert Lattimore.
Michael Malloy.
William Kairns.
Thomas Herron.
John Horner.
John Walker.
Joseph Likens.
Daniel McMullin.
Robert Doak.
John Overshimer.
John Humes.
Moses Cronklton.
John Brisban, discharged January 14, 1777.

[In addition to the above account we have what follows, as of importance in this connection.]

December 25, 1776.

An account of money paid for salt to my company, Fifteen bushels, to the undernamed persons at 7s. 6d. bushel and the carriage 1s. 6d. from Philadelphia to Allen township.

Colonel Sigfried, to ½ bushel.
Adjutant Boid, to ½ bushel.

Lieutenant Caruthers, to ½ bushel.
Ensign Horner, to ½ bushel.
James Doak, to ½ bushel.
Moses Cangleton, to ½ bushel.
William Kairns, to ½ bushel.
William Hart, to ½ bushel.
John Clyd, to ½ bushel.
Robert Lattimore, to ½ bushel.
George Gray, to ½ bushel.
Thomas Herron, to ½ bushel.
James Lattimore, to ½ bushel.
John Walker, to ½ bushel.
William Maffit, to ½ bushel.
Benjamin Stuart, to ½ bushel.
Joseph Likens, to ½ bushel.
Moses Campbell, to ½ bushel.
Daniel McMullin, to ½ bushel.
Michael Milloy, to ½ bushel.
Robert Doak, to ½ bushel.
Patrick Ryan, to ½ bushel salt.
John Overshimer, to ½ bushel.
John McFadden, to ½ bushel.
William McConnel, to ½ bushel.
John Horner, to ½ bushel.
Alexander Beard, to ½ bushel.
John Humes, to ½ bushel.
Alexander Vauhan, to ½ bushel.

Memorandum of the Time that a Part of Colonel Tresspauh Battalion of Militia under Command of Lieutenant Colonel Siegfried entered the service. Lieutenant Colonel & all that Division of Said Battalion entered the service the 14th day of December, 1776. Such persons only excepted as is aftermentioned.

John Humes, the 31st of December, 1776.
Alexander Beard, the 6th day of January, 1777.
William Morrison, the 16th day of January, 1777.
Time of entry of Lieutenant Robert Hays' company was January 6, 1776.

" THE FLYING CAMP."—1776.

[Although Pennsylvania furnished, apart from the three State Regiments, four thousand five hundred troops for the so-called "Flying Camp," it has been impossible up to the present time to find the names of more than five hundred officers and men. It is hoped, however, that with the increased interest recently taken in hunting up the records of a patriotic ancestry, much may be discovered and preserved It is greatly to be regretted that the information herewith given is so meagre.]

FIRST LANCASTER COUNTY BATTALION.

First Battalion of the Flying Camp of Lancaster county, Pennsylvania—1776.

Colonel.

James Cunningham.

Lieutenant Colonel.

William Hay.

Major.

Thomas Edwards.

Adjutant.

John Davis.

Surgeon.

William Smith.

Quartermaster.

James Porter, p. t.

First Company.

Captain.—Robert Clark.
First Lieutenant.—William Steel, promoted captain.
Second Lieutenant.—James Turner.
Third Lieutenant.—William Nelson.

Second Company.

Captain.—James Watson.
First Lieutenant.—Thomas Lindsay.
Second Lieutenant.—Robert Coleman.
Third Lieutenant.—Matthew Swan.

Third Company.

Captain.—Jacob Klotz, promoted.
First Lieutenant.—Thomas Robinson, promoted.
Second Lieutenant.—John Campbell.
Third Lieutenant.—Andrew Boggs, discharged on account of wounds received at Long Island
Third Lieutenant.—Thomas Whitmore, promoted from sergeant.

Fourth Company.

Captain.—George Graeff.
First Lieutenant.—Conrad Connor.
Second Lieutenant.—Dorrington Wilson.
Third Lieutenant—William Calhoun.

Fifth Company.

Captain.—John Reed.
First Lieutenant.—James Collier.
Second Lieutenant.—John Gilchrist, discharged August 14, 1776, on account of wound in right arm.
Third Lieutenant.—Thomas Johnston, promoted second lieutenant.
Third Lieutenant.—John Cochran, from sergeant.

Sixth Company.

Captain.—Daniel Oldenbruck.
First Lieutenant.—Ludwig Meyer, promoted to Klotz's company.
Second Lieutenant.—William McCullough.
Third Lieutenant.—Benjamin Fickle, discharged on account of wound.
Third Lieutenant.—John Rohrer, from sergeant.

Seventh Company.

Captain.—Joseph Work.
First Lieutenant.—Patrick Hays, discharged for disability.
Second Lieutenant.—William Patterson, reported killed or taken prisoner at Long Island.
Third Lieutenant.—Richard Keys, discharged for disability.
Third Lieutenant.—James Barker, from sergeant.

Eighth Company.

Captain.—Timothy Green.
First Lieutenant.—William Allen, wounded at Long Island.
Second Lieutenant.— —— Weiser.
Third Lieutenant.—John Barnett.

Ninth Company.

Captain.—John McKown.
Second Lieutenant.—John Bishop.
Third Lieutenant.—Henry Buehler.

Sergeants.

———- Davis.
James Barber, promoted third lieutenant.
——— Kerr.
Andrew Boggs, promoted third lieutenant.
William Hunter.
James Harkness.
John Smilie.
Mark McCord.
——— Scott.
John Driver.
John Ellison.
George Princely.
Frederick Charles.
Lawrence Dowling.
Charles Connor.

Corporals.

Peter Cipher.
Patrick Donnelly.
Christopher Ketley.

Privates

Christopher Taylor.
Samuel Boude.
John Barber.

———

Detachment of Captain Watson's Company.

William Steel.
Alexander Scott.
William Walker.
John McKnight.
John Polk.
John Steel.
William Robb.
James Calhoon.
Andrew Cummings.
John Pegan.

John Thompson.
Daniel Carmichael.
John Miller.
Robert Black.
Samuel Ankrim.
John Clark.
Hugh Caldwell.
Pettis Hanlin.
John Post.
William McGriger.

SECOND LANCASTER COUNTY BATTALION.

Second Battalion of the Flying Camp of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1776.

Colonel.

Matthias Slough.

CAPTAIN JACOB KLOTZ'S COMPANY,

of Colonel Matthias Slough's Battalion of the Flying Camp, July 8, 1776.

Lieutenant.

Ludwig Meyer.

Privates.

Laurence Manning.
George Clay.
Nicholas Hutchison.
William Long.
Henry Illiger.
Jacob Hacketswiller.
Andrew Bower.
John Hysinger.
Anthony Ament.
Jacob Moss.
Jacob Baxler.
Jacob Hustater.
John Laub.
Matthias Keller.
Henry Miller.
John Burg.
Christopher Shertzer.
Philip Klime.
John Johnson.
John Parcifull.
Abraham Ribblet.
John Favourite.
George Wallace.
Henry Bose.
Jacob Ferree.
Jacob Lubly.
Adam Dambach.
John Weller.
Daniel Glazier.
Benjamin Fickle.
Christopher Bower.
Peter Dunkle.
William Keller.
John Shertzer.

Hugh McGloughlin.
John Wygant.
Andrew Shrenk.
Jacob Brandt.
Philip Kutz.
John Mark.
George Wolfe.
John Bellough.
Stephen Rine.
John Philips.
Edward Kindry.
Christian Puttenstone.
David Dukart.
James Turner.
Christian Eberman.
Peter Galley.
Joseph McCurdy.
Philip Grupe.
Barnet Martin.
James Burk.
Adam Goodingberger.
Samuel Carson.
Michael Trislar.
Jacob Springer.
Edward Madden.
John Funk.
Christopher Ling.
Adam Lohrman.
John Hoffman.
John Murray.
John Dougherty.
Alexander Hill.
Zacharias Hill.
Simon Yandes.
Sebastian McWart.
Thomas Williams.
Ludwick Miller.
Matthias Hoke.
Christian Sternman.
John Meyer.
John Rickle.
James Burace.
Casper Peter.
James Steward.
John Fisler.
Christian Grube.
John Rutzel.
Robert McCurdy.

BERKS COUNTY BATTALION.

A Return of Officers in Colonel Haller's Battalion of the Flying Camp, October 5, 1776.

Colonel.

Henry Haller.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Nicholas Lotz, prisoner August 26, 1776; discharged September 10, 1779.

Major.

Edward Burd, prisoner, August 26, 1776.

Quartermaster.

Lieutenant Paul Kerber, recruiting at Amboy.

First Company.

Captain.—Joseph Hiester.
Ensign.—Nicholas Brown, at home, sick.

Second Company.

Captain.—Jacob Graule.

Third Company.

Captain.—George May.
Ensign.—Jacob Dick.

Fourth Company.

Captain.—Jacob Maurer, taken prisoner at Long Island.

Fifth Company.

Captain.—John Ludwig.

Sixth Company.

Captain.—John Old.

Seventh Company.

Captain.— —— Douglass.
Lieutenant.—John King.

Eighth Company.

Captain.—Peter Decker, prisoner August 26, 1776.

[Officers lost in the engagement on Long Island: Lieutenant colonel, major, three captains and one lieutenant.]

BUCKS COUNTY BATTALION.

Officers in the Bucks County Battalion of the Flying Camp, July 9, 1776.

Colonel.

Joseph Hart.

Surgeon.

Joseph Benton, Jr.

Chaplain.

Rev. Robert Keith.

Adjutant.

John Johnson.

Quartermaster.

Alexander Benstead.

First Company.

Captain.—John Folwell.
First Lieutenant.—John Kroesen.
Second Lieutenant.—Abram DuBois.
Ensign.— —— McKissack.

Second Company.

Captain.—William Roberts.
First Lieutenant.—Henry Darrah.
Second Lieutenant.—James Shaw.
Ensign.—William Hines.

Third Company.

Captain.—William Hart.
First Lieutenant.—Hugh Long.
Second Lieutenant.—Jacob Drake.
Ensign.—Joseph Hart, Jr.

Fourth Company.

Captain.—Valentine Upp.
First Lieutenant.—Philip Trumbower.
Second Lieutenant.—Samuel Deane.
Ensign.—Stoffel Keller.

Fifth Company.

Captain.—John Jamison.
First Lieutenant.—Teunis Middleswarth.
Second Lieutenant.—John Irwin.
Ensign.—John McCammon.

Sixth Company.

Captain.—William Neely.

Seventh Company.

Captain.—Robert Ramsey.

NORTHAMPTON COUNTY BATTALION.

A portion of the Officers and Men who served in the Northampton County Battalion of the Flying Camp in 1776.

Captain Miller's Company (Hamilton Company).

Peter Kachlin.
Henry Bush.
Henry Bush, Jr.
Conrad Bittenbender.
Frederick Gephart.
Isaac Berlin.
Jacob Kachlin.
Peter Lahr.
Frederick Rieger.
John Bush.
Peter Righter.
Matthias Steininger.
Thomas Seybert.
Henry Shouse.
Paul Reeser.
John Shuck.
Henry Allhouse.
Adam Yohe.
Andrew Herster.
Lawrence Erb.
Joseph Mimm.

Captain Arndt's Company (Forks' Company).

Christian Stout.
Abram Geter.
Michael Kealer.
Henry Stocker.
Isaac Koon.
John Smith.
Jacob Fraunfelder.
John Yent.
John Fallstich.
Philip Reeser.
Cornelius Weygandt.
Jacob Dufford.

Captain Dull's Company (Plainfield Company).

John Hopple.
Jacob Andrew.
Adam Bortz.
Peter Kern.
Conrad Metz.
Henry Siegle.
Henry Freetz.
Joseph Keller.
Lewis Collins.
Jacob Engler.
Nicholas Deal.
Peter Byer.

Captain Santee's Company (Eighth Company

Conrad Smith.
Jacob Creider.
Jacob Neihardt.
John Wolf.
Christian Road.
George Essig.
Valentine Yent.

Captain Nelson or Neilson's Company (Mount Bethel Company).

Robert Scott.
Eleza Cranford.
Benjamin De Sul.
John Middagh.
Samuel McFarren.
John Ross.
James Symenton.
Joseph Martin.
Samuel Currey.
John McFarren.
Robert Lyle.
Alexander Sillyman.
Thomas Miller.
Peter Middaugh.
Richard Overfield.
James Hyndshaw.

Captain Sayler's Company (Captain Adam Stahler).

Andrew Keifer.
George Onangst.
Philip Arndt.
Henry Weidnecht.
John Keller.
Isaac Shoemaker.
Frederick Wilhelm.
George Sheively.
M. Gress.
John Arndt.
Barnet Miller.
Joseph Chass.

YORK COUNTY BATTALION.

Officers of the Flying Camp of York County, Pennsylvania.

Colonel.

Michael Swope.

Lieutenant Colonel.

Robert Stevenson.

Major.

William Bailey.

First Company.

Captain.—Michael Schmeiser.
First Lieutenant.—Zachariah Shugart.
Second Lieutenant.—Andrew Robinson.
Ensign.—William Wayne.

Second Company.

Captain.—Gerhart Graeff.
Lieutenant.— —— Kauffman.
Ensign.—Daniel McCollom.

Third Company.

Captain.—Jacob Dritt.
First Lieutenant.— —— Baymiller.
Second Lieutenant.— —— Clayton.
Ensign.—Jacob Mayer.

Fourth Company.

Captain.—Christian Stake.
First Lieutenant.—Cornelius Sheriff.
Second Lieutenant.—Jacob Holtzinger.
Ensign.—Jacob Barnitz.

Fifth Company.

Captain.—John McDonald.
First Lieutenant.—William Scott.
Second Lieutenant.—Robert Patten.
Ensign.— —— Howe.

Sixth Company.

Captain.—John Ewing.
Ensign.—John Paysley.

Seventh Company.

Captain.—William Nelson.
First Lieutenant.— —— Todd.
Second Lieutenant.—Joseph Welsh.
Ensign.—Alexander Nesbit.

Eighth Company.

Captain.— —— Williams.

PHILADELPHIA ASSOCIATORS—1776.

Officers and men "Belonging to the City and Liberty," in service December 24, 1776.

John Bayard, Jr.
Cuthbert Landers.
John Grinler.
Adam Brunner.
Christian Rerap.
Charles Wharton.
Fenix Hughes.
Thomas Mensas.
Charles William Peale.
William McSparren.

Abraham Dubois.
Justinian Fox.
Joseph Foster.
John Curtis.
John Fromberger.
John Dickey.
John Read.
James Scott.
Samuel Murray.
John Sourwater.
Henry Land.
Edward Roberts.
John Alexander.
Zebudiah Davids.
Samuel Blayer.
John Carr.
Peter Letelier.
John Riley.
William Means.
Marshal Banton.
Daniel Hannah.
James Welch.
Nicholas Pallas.
Thomas Fisher.
Joh's Willis.
John Govan.
Thomas Dickson.
John Tatem.
Nathan Dawson.
Aaron Vanhorn.
Michael Gitts.
John Callenham.
John Bearing.
Lawrence Burney.
Daniel Van Voorhis.
Andrew Nelson.
Samuel Tate.
Edwin Miles.
John Gillard.
John Brooks.
William Smith.
Thomas Cummings.
John Davis.
William Wood.
John Bryan.
Daniel Mickham.
John Baker.
James Odean.
George Shale.
Thomas Morgan.
John Alexander.
William Haverstick.
George Dowey.
Samuel Lacock.
Nicholas Garret.
Jeremiah Jackson.
Peter Rambo.
Christian Owl.
John Barker.
Chamson Wood.
John Willis.
Eli Askill.
Cornelius Calahan.
Thomas Wylie.

CAPTAIN DANIEL EYSTER'S COMPANY.

From York county. *In service in the Jerseys from September, 1776, to January, 1777.*

Philip Miller.
Peter Kiefer.
John Shiver.
Jacob Becker, Jr.
George Foulk.
Jacob Long.

Paul Drüy.
Valentine Starr.
Herman Oberdorff.
John Scheiter.
Nicholas Meyer.
Jacob Geiger.
Christian Grieft.
Casper Werfel.
Anthony Zidnier.
Abraham Herb.
George Reber.
Matthias Frey.
Jacob Pott.
Jacob Delong.
George Shiver.
Henry Hefner.
Adam Huber.
Christian Reiff.
George Reiss.
George Gerber.
Henry Sowasch.
Melchior Schaum.
Jacob Hefner.
Andrew Helwig.
Michael Satler.
Jacob Langalt.
Michael Carl.
George Oberdorff.
Adam Sweiger.
Andrew Ziegler.
John Eburr.
Jacob Hüder.
Herman Emerick.
Christian Hoch.
Daniel Sowasch.
Abraham Lemritz.
Sebastian Herb.
Christian Gerber.
Conrad Reiss.
Christian Reiss.
Thomas Hunt.
Philip Shiver.
Jacob Shöfer.
Adam Zidnier.
George Huber.
John Schuler.
Michael Reider.
Henry Reiff.
Christopher Foulk.
Carl Geiger.
John Albrecht.
John Shiver [Shier.]
Nicolas Lemritz.
George Drüy.
Philip Wanemacher.

MISCELLANEOUS LIST

Of Officers and Men—Battalions not given—serving in the Flying Camp at Long Island in August, 1776.

Christian Quiggle.
George Kleber.
Jacob Klingman.
Alexander Duncan, sergeant, Cumberland county.
Christian Kettele.
Richard Currie, died September 16, 1776, at Philadelphia.
Solomon Parke, Philadelphia.
William Huckle.

Patrick Gibson, Colonel William Montgomery.
Samuel McGinness, ensign; Colonel William Montgomery.
——— King, captain.
Elisha Grady, ensign, Captain King's company.
Nathan Sellers, ensign, Philadelphia.
Leonard Fichter, died July 16, 1798.

Men of Captain Stake's Company of Colonel Swope's Battalion of Flying Camp taken prisoner at Fort Washington, November 16, 1776.

———

Sergeants.

Peter Haak.
Henry Counselman
John Dicks.

Corporal.

John Adlum.

Privates.

David Parker.
Hugh Dobbins.
John Strohman.
Christian Strohman.
James Bay.
Joseph Updegraff.
Daniel Miller.
James Dobbins.
Henry Miller, residing in Virginia in 1830.
James Berry.
Henry Hoff.
Daniel Shultze.
William Lukens, negro, waiter in the company.

CAPTAIN MULLAN'S COMPANY OF MARINES—1776.

———

[The following muster rolls appear in a book which contains also the minutes of a Masonic Lodge which met at the Tun Tavern on Water Street, Philadelphia, beginning with the year 1749. Robert Mullan, it seems was a member of this Lodge, Proprietor of the Tavern, and Captain of the Company of Marines, the Muster Rolls of which are here given. The book was found at "Mill Bank," formerly the residence of Nathan Sellers, in Upper Darby near Philadelphia, and now the property of his grandson, Coleman Sellers.]

Pay roll of Captain Robert Mullan's Company of Marines to December 1, 1776.

Captain.

Robert Mullan, June 25, 1776.

First Lieutenant.

David Love, June 25, 1776.

Second Lieutenant.

Hugh Montgomery, June 25, 1776.

Sergeants.

James Coakley, July 1, 1776.
Andrew Read, August 22, 1776.
John McKinley, August 2, 1776.
Warwick Hattabough, September 13, 1776.

Corporals.

George Murray, August 27, 1776.
Adam McFerson, October 22, 1776.
John Cribs, October 13, 1776.
Joseph Grumley, September 17, 1776.

Drummer.

Collin York, June 25, 1776.

Fifer.

Peter York, June 25, 1776.

Privates.

John Hogg, August 21, 1776.
William Barnett, September 1, 1776.
Lawrence Lessee, September 3, 1776.
Benjamin Woodin, August 12, 1776.
Robert Gilmore, August 28, 1776.
William Allison, September 2, 1776.
John Stone, September 2, 1776.
Daniel Foriman, September 2, 1776.
William Carcill, August 19, 1776.
Henry Sharp, September 1, 1776.
George Campbell, August 4, 1776.
James McIlear, August 8, 1776.
Stephen Rutledge, August 22, 1776.

James Stevenson, August 22, 1776.
Votie Gawden, September 9, 1776.
Thomas Murphy, September 2, 1776.
Robert Work, August 16, 1776.
Patrick Quigley, July 16, 1776.
Mark Sullivan, September 10, 1776.
John McFall, August 5, 1776.
William Stone, September 5, 1776.
Stephen Archer, August 13, 1776.
James Cane, September 9, 1776.
Daniel McCarty, turned over to A. Doria, August 10, 1776.
Michael Kelly, September 12, 1776.
Neil Farron, August 16, 1776.
William Beauchamand, September 4, 1776.
Henry Dehart, September 2, 1776.
William Campin, September 11, 1776.
John Speer, August 16, 1776.
George Lafberry, August 5, 1776.
Jacob Guy, August 19, 1776.
Francis Quin, August 15, 1776.
Owen Ward, turned over to A. Doria August 4, 1776.
Robert Douglas, September 2, 1776.
John McClure, August 16, 1776.
John Gilmore, August 28, 1776.
Thomas Gough, August 28, 1776.
Richard Keys, October 3, 1776.
Michael Millar, October 3, 1776.
William Rivelly, October 10, 1776.
Edward Smith, October 2, 1776.
William Rich, September 8, 11776.
Robert Elder, September 7, 1776.
Edward Asberry, August 29, 1776.
Barney Maloy, September 12, 1776.
Thomas McKey, August 27, 1776.
Allan McKey, August 27, 1776.
John Getty, September 11, 1776.
Enoch Jenkins, September 13, 1776.
Henry Hassan, September 10, 1776.
John Lewis, September 25, 1776.
Henry Ripshon, October 21, 1776.
Patrick Harvy, September 17, 1776.
William Dougherty, November 12, 1776.
Isaac Walker (negro), August 27, 1776.
Orange (negro), October 1, 1776.
Thomas Caldwell (deserted), August 20, 1776.
Jesse Redding (deserted), September 2, 1776.

Patrick Russell (deserted), August 11, 1776.
Alexander Cummins (deserted), September 1, 1776.
John McCashon (deserted), August 21, 1776.
Hugh Conolly (deserted), September 8, 1776.
John McClosky (deserted), August 29, 1776.
Thomas Mewhinney (deserted), August 31, 1776.
John Fritzinger (deserted), August 31, 1776.
Joseph Lowrey (deserted), August 31, 1776.
John Hill (deserted), August 16, 1776.
Thomas Sappington (deserted), September 7, 1776.
Joseph Boyce (deserted), August 29, 1776.
William Taylor (deserted), October 10, 1776.
Daniel Cloud (dead), August 21, 1776.
Thomas Atkinson (dead), August 23, 1776.

WILLIAM H. MONTGOMERY, *Lieut.*
SAMUEL NICHOLAS, *Major.*

[Many, if not all of those marked "deserted," on this list were simply "absent without leave," and subsequently "returned to duty."]

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A muster roll of Captain Robert Mullan's Company of Marines April 1, 1777.

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Captain.

Robert Mullan, June 25, 1776.

First Lieutenant.

David Love, June 25, 1776.

Second Lieutenant.

Hugh Montgomery, June 25, 1776.

Privates.

Thomas Hart, November 25, 1776.
Andrew Read, August 22, 1776.
John McKinley, August 2, 1776.
Barney Moloy, September 12, 1776.
Adam McPherson, October 22, 1776.
James Butler, March 1, 1777.
Collin York, June 25, 1776.
Peter York, June 25, 1776.
William Allison, September 2, 1776.
James Cane, September 9, 1776.
Jacob Guy, August 19, 1776.

William Williams, November 25, 1776.
Benjamin Woodin, August 12, 1776.
John Hogg, August 21, 1776.
John Stone, September 2, 1776.
William Stone, September 5, 1776.
Allen McKey, August 27, 1776.
George Campbell, August 4, 1776.
Stephen Rutledge, August 22, 1776.
James Stephens, August 22, 1776.
Robert Work, August 16, 1776.
Stephen Archer, August 13, 1776.
Henry DeHart, September 2, 1776.
John Spear, August 16, 1776.
Francis Quin, August 15, 1776.
Michael Kelly, September 12, 1776.
Robert Douglas, September 2, 1776.
Richard Keys, October 3, 1776.
William Rivelly, October 10, 1776.
Edward Smith, October 2, 1776.
Robert Elder, September 7, 1776.
Henry Ripshen, October 21, 1776.
William Dougherty, November 12, 1777.
Thomas McKey, August 27, 1776.
Joseph Boyce, August 29, 1776.
Daniel McCarthy, August 10, 1776.
John McCashon, August 21, 1776.
John Conolly, September 8, 1776.
Philip Kennedy.
Nicholas Miller, March 1, 1777.
Jacob Murray, March 1, 1777.
George Rice, November 22, 1776.
James Willon, November 5, 1776.
Patrick Clinton, November 22, 1776.
John Brown, December 1, 1776.
William Casey.
Thomas Lesley.
Patrick Preston.
Patrick Brannon.
Isaac, negro, August 27, 1776.
Orange, negro, October 1, 1776.
James Coakley, July 11, 1776; re-enlisted November 15, 1776.
Warwick Hallabough, September 13, 1776; died April 1, 1777.
George Murry, August 27, 1776; re-enlisted April 6, 1777.
John Cribs, October 13, 1776; re-enlisted December 6, 1776.
Joseph Grumly, September 17, 1776.
William Barnet, September 1, 1776; re-enlisted December 5, 1776.

Lawrence Lesey, September 3, 1776; re-enlisted March 13,1777.
Robert Gilmore, August 28, 1776; re-enlisted April 1, 1777.
Daniel Forsman, September 2, 1776; re-enlisted December 3, 1776
William Carcill, August 19, 1776; discharged April 1, 1777.
Henry Sharp, September 1, 1776; re-enlisted December 6, 1776.
James McIllear, August 8, 1776; re-enlisted December 5, 1776.
Votier Gawdon, September 9, 1776; re-enlisted December 5, 1776.
Thomas Murphy, September 2, 1776; re-enlisted December 6, 1776.
Patrick Quigley, July 16, 1776; re-enlisted January 1, 1777.
Mark Sullivan, September 10, 1776; re-enlisted December 5, 1776.
James McFall, August 5, 1776; re-enlisted January 15, 1777.
Neil Farron, August 16, 1776; re-enlisted December 5, 1776.
William Buchanan, September 4, 1776; discharged April 10, 1777.
William Campin, September 11, 1776; re-enlisted December 5, 1776.
George Lasberry, August 5, 1776; died January 16, 1777.
John McClure, August 16, 1776; discharged December 1, 1776.
John Gilmore, August 28, 1776; discharged November 20, 1776.
Thomas Gough, August 28, 1776; re-enlisted December 5, 1776.
Owen Ward, August 4, 1776.
Michael Millar, October 3, 1776; re-enlisted April 10, 1777.
William Rich, September 18, 1776; died March 1, 1777.
Edward Asberry, August 29, 1776; died December 15, 1776.
John Getty, September 11, 1776.
Enoch Jenkins, September 13, 1776; re-enlisted November 15, 1776.
Henry Hassan, September 10, 1776; re-enlisted January 7, 1777.
John Lewis, September 25, 1776; re-enlisted April 16, 1777.
Patrick Harvey, September 27, 1776.
Thomas Livingston, August 25, 1776.

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A coppy of return given in to Major Samuel Nicholas of men enlisted by Captain Robert Mullan since August 9, 1779, to January 1, 1780.

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Abram Lewis, sergeant
Jeremiah Mahon.
Richard Kisby.
Francis Deuprey.
Edward Butler.
John Smith.

John Henry.
Andrew Elbrew.
Samuel Everfelt.
John Fife.
John Egan.
Joseph Hardunck.
Thomas Conner.
James Plowman.
Peter Gurney.
Joseph Desaign.
James Deacon.
James Bryan.
Joseph Craft.
Theodora David.
James Crampton,
Robert McGinnis,
Charles Stephenson,
} On Board Confedrysy with Captain Boyce.
Thomas Harden.
Nathan Marchal.
Thomas Matthews.
Thomas Sappington.
James Bicholas.
Thomas Peckworth.
Richard Coats.
John Smith.
John Dougherty.
Richard Babbington.
John McCashion.
Thomas Sellord.
George McCray.
William Warner.
Andrew Anderson.
James Carvey.
Thomas Paul.
James Murdock.
John Kean.
John Coil.
John Woodford.
John Mackearny.
John Miller.
Patrick Higgins.
John Radue.
Nicholas Ultzman.
John Barbro.
Thomas Smith.
William Baker.

CONVENTION TROOPS.

A return of Militia of Pennsylvania, Ordered into Continental Service as an Escort to the Convention Troops through the State.

Counties.	Captains.	Officers.																				
		Commissioned.						Staff.					Non-commissioned.			Rank and file.							
		Colonels.	Lieut. colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Chaplains.	Adjutants.	Quartermasters.	Surgeons.	Mate.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Drum and fife.	Fit for duty.	Sick, present.	Sick, absent.	On command.	On furlough.	Total.	Total of companies, including officers.	Grand total.
Philadelphia.	Philip Gable,	1	1	..	1	2	1	..	1	1	1	..	4	2	1	12	..	..	..	..	12	28	
	John Reynard,	..	..	..	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	4	2	2	24	..	1	..	..	25	39	
	Josiah Hart,	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	18	..	..	..	..	18	24	
	Benjamin Brooks,	..	..	..	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	4	3	2	45	..	2	..	..	47	60	
	Thomas Hambleton,	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	....	1	18	..	..	..	..	18	23	
	John Shives,	1	..	1	1	2	1	..	1	1	1	..	5	....	..	12	..	..	..	..	12	26	174
	Peter Lawer,	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	2	2	40	..	..	..	..	40	53	
	Stephen Bloom,	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	3	....	2	33	..	..	..	..	33	31	
	Arnold Francis,	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	3	....	..	27	..	2	..	..	29	35	
Bucks.	David Melinger	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	4	4	3	48	..	..	..	..	48	63	145
	John Thomas,	..	..	..	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	3	4	2	29	..	..	..	..	29	42	
	Conrad Stinger,	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	4	2	58	..	..	..	..	58	71	105
	William Walker,	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	....	1	31	..	..	..	..	31	38	
		2	2	2	12	19	10	..	2	4	2	..	45	26	17	385	..	5	..	..	390	....	109
																							533

Mustered at Lancaster, December, 1778, by Lodk. Sprogell, M. M. G. of P.

PENNSYLVANIANS PRISONERS OF WAR—1778.

List of officers belonging to Continental Army, Flying Camp or Militia of the State of Pennsylvania, who were prisoners, and not exchanged before the 15th of August, 1778, together with those taken since.

Brigadier Generals

William Thompson, Continental.
James Irvine, Militia.

Colonels.

Lambert Cadwalader, Militia.
Michael Swope, Flying Camp.
Peter Kichlein, Flying Camp.
Nicholas Lutz, Flying Camp.

Majors.

Andrew Galbraith, Flying Camp.
Solomon Bush, dep. ad. general; Militia.
Aquila Guiles, A. D. C. to General Sinclair; Continental.
George Wright, Militia.
Francis Murray, Continental.

Major of Brigade.

John Harper, Second Pennsylvania brigade.

Captains.

William McKissick, Flying Camp.
Jacob Dritt, Flying Camp.
Conrad Snyder, Flying Camp.
William Scott, Flying Camp.
William McFarland, Flying Camp.
John Jameson, Flying Camp.
John McIlhatton, Flying Camp.
Thomas Campbell. Flying Camp.
James Hamilton, Continental.
Joseph Potts, Continental.
Roger Stayner (taken at home), Continental.
William Newman, Militia.
Robert Semple, Continental.
Edward Heston, Militia.
James Fisher, Militia.

Jacob Weaver, Continental.
Isaac Lilly, Continental.

Lieutenants.

John Richardson, Continental.
Matthew Knox, Continental.
John Lawrence, Continental.
Robert Wilkie, Continental.
Daniel Broadhead, jr, Continental.
John Morgan, Continental.
John Priestley, Continental.
Charles Phile, Continental.
John Helm, Continental.
William Tilton, Continental.
Mathias Weidman, Atlee's regiment, Pennsylvania.
Robert Caldwell, Atlee's regiment, Pennsylvania.
Bernard Ward, Atlee's regiment, Pennsylvania.
John Duiged, Continental.
Joseph Martin, Flying Camp.
John Holliday, Flying Camp.
Zachariah Shugarts, Flying Camp.
Robert Patton, Flying Camp.
Samuel Lindsey, Flying Camp.
Henry Beal (William Bell), Flying Camp.
Hezekiah Davis, Flying Camp.
Joseph Morrison, Flying Camp.
Gabriel Blakeny, Flying Camp.
John Irwin, Flying Camp.
Robert Brown, Flying Camp.
William Crawford, Continental.
Thomas Jenny, Continental.
John Finley, 5th, Continental.
William Stanley, Continental.
John Rudolph, Continental.
Andrew Dover, Continental.
Godfrey Myers, Flying Camp.
Andrew Robinson, Flying Camp.
Thomas Wynn, Flying Camp.
John Craig, Flying Camp.
John Crawford, Flying Camp.
William Young, Flying Camp.
Matthew Bennett, Flying Camp.
Ephraim Hunter, Flying Camp.
James McFarlan, Flying Camp.
Isaac Shimer, Flying Camp.
Jacob Mumma, Flying Camp.
Abner Everets, Flying Camp.
Samuel McElhatton, Flying Camp

Charles Trimball, Flying Camp.
William Ferguson, Flying Camp.
Ebenezer Carson, Continental.
Robert Rankin (R. at his house, Chester county), Militia.
Thomas Armstrong, Militia.
John Cunningham, Militia.
Jacob Bright (at his house, Philadelphia) Militia.
Jonathan Brewer, (R. Proctor's Artillery).
Charles Croxall (Hartley's regiment).
Francis Price, Militia.
George Blewer, Continental.
Charles Clarke, Militia.
Peter Conrad, Militia.
Benjamin Walton (at his house, Bucks county), Militia.
John Blake (R. At his house, Bucks county), Militia.
John Ogburn (R. At his house, Bucks county), Militia.
Thomas Millard (R. At his house, Bucks county), Militia.
Henry Murfits (at his house, Bucks county), Militia.
William Preston, Militia.
James Jones, Militia.
John Stotesbury, Continental.
William Martin, Artillery.
James Smith, Artillery.
Asher Carter, Militia.
John Kerr, Militia.
James Glentworth, Continental.
Samuel Bryson, Continental.

Ensigns.

Peter Paul, Flying Camp.
Ezekiel Hopkins, Flying Camp.
John Vaughan, Flying Camp.
William Richie, Flying Camp.
John Carter, Flying Camp.
John Thompson, Militia.
William Dempsey (R.), Militia.
Joseph Cox Continental.
Andrew McMinn, Militia.
John Green, Militia.
Jacob Summers, Militia.

Adjutants.

John Johnson, Flying Camp.
Daniel Kennedy, Continental.

Quartermasters.

Ephraim Douglas, Continental.
John Ray, Sixth regiment; Continental.

Officers who absented themselves from Long Island and Camp, contrary to their paroles.

Captains.

Jacob Groul, Haller's regiment.
Peter Decker, McGraw's regiment.
—— Bundis, Baxter's regiment.
—— Culbertson, Montgomery's regiment.
Benjamin Wallace, Montgomery's regiment.
—— McClure, Montgomery's regiment.
John McDonald, Swoope's regiment.
—— Davis, Rawlins' regiment.
* Henry Hamburg, Clutz's regiment.

Lieutenants.

—— Shoemaker, Baxter's regiment.
Daniel Jameson, Baxter's regiment.
Robert Vanhorn, Baxter's regiment.
Jacob Drake, Baxter's regiment.
—— Welsh, Swoope's regiment.
*—— Davis, Swoope's regiment.
*—— Clayton, Swoope's regiment.
*—— McClellan, Montgomery's regiment.
—— White, Montgomery's regiment.
—— Wayne, Montgomery's regiment.
—— Smith, Montgomery's regiment.
—— Anderson, Montgomery's regiment.
*—— Darlington, Watts' regiment.
*—— King, McCalister's regiment.
—— Pile, Rawlins' regiment.
—— Baker, Moore's regiment.
—— Thomas, Montgomery's regiment.
—— Shannon, McCalister's regiment.

Ensigns.

*Thomas Reed, McCalister's regiment.
* Jacob Myers, Swoope's regiment.
* Peter Hackenberg, Baxter's regiment.
—— Mulhollin, Baxter's regiment.
—— McIntire, Cadwalader's regiment.
*Samuel Rutherford, Clutz's regiment.

Those marked thus * returned to captivity agreeable to orders.

NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY MILITIA—1778.

THIRD BATTALION.

Return of the Third Battalion of Northumberland Militia, May 1, 1778.

Colonel.

Peter Hosterman.

First Company.

Captain.—Casper Reed.
Total, officers and men, 34.

Second Company.

Captain.—Michael Weaver.
Total, officers and men, 63.

Third Company.

Captain.—Samuel Harris.
Total, officers and men, 54.

Fourth Company.

Captain.—John Mull.
Total, officers and men, 55.

Fifth Company.

Captain.—John Black.
Total, officers and men, 49.

Sixth Company.

Captain.—William Wyrick.
Total, officers and men, 56.

Seventh Company.

Captain.—Adam Shaffer.
Total, officers and men, 82.

Eighth Company.

Captain.—Michael Motze.
Total, officers and men, 46.

FOURTH BATTALION.

Return of the Fourth Battalion of Northumberland Militia, May 1, 1778.

Colonel.

Cookson Long.

First Company.

Captain.—Thomas Wilson.
Total, officers and men, 48.

Second Company.

Captain.—Simon Cool [Cole].
Total, officers and men, 42.

Third Company.

Captain.—Joseph Newman.
Total, officers and men, 43.

Fourth Company.

Captain Thomas Kemplin.
Total, officers and men, 46.

Fifth Company.

Captain.—William Hepburn.
Total, officers and men, 45.

Sixth Company.

Captain.—Alexander Hamilton.
Total, officers and men, 41.

SIXTH BATTALION OF YORK COUNTY MILITIA—1778.

The Petition of a number of the Sixth Battalion of York county.

To the Hon. President or Vice President, and Council, of the free men of the State of Pennsylvania in Council met:

The Petition humbly sheweth that we your humble petitioners, do look upon ourselves not only much agrieved, but even insulted, by reason of a certain John McKinley (a most

avowed enemy of our Constitution), being imposed upon us as a wagon Master for this Battalion. It is very notorious that said McKinley has been long an enemy to the Common Cause of our Country, frequently Speaking most bitterly against the measures Concerted for the defence of our invaluable rights and privileges; has often reported, that he was indeed Somewhat friendly to the Cause at first, but for that reason God had taken away three of his children by death; and that he did not now any man that was Spirited in the Cause, but God had either taken him away by death, or Cast him into a bed of Sickness. When our Militia have been called together, he has frequently used all his influence with Some to prevent their going out. He has also declared that he would join How's Army rather than Submit to the Laws of our State; and absolutely refused to take the oath of Allegiance, and Swore he would Suffer death first; but yet he being told upon receiving his Commission, that he must Either take the Oath, or it would be taken from him, he chose that, which to him it seems was worse than death, rather than not be a Wagon Master. Now having hinted to your Honours the Consistency and before unheard of Zeal of this wagon driver, your wisdoms will at once see how well qualified he is for his Commission. Especially when (to be timely serious), we inform your honors, he has been heard cursing the Council and Assembly; has in the most depreciating manner spoken against our Continental bills of Credit. But we shall not add, unless it be, that when his own Son, David McKinley, was requested by Benjamin Peden. Esqr., to take the oath of Allegiance, he answered that he could not while he was about his Father's house; for if he did he would be perjured every night if he did not inform against his Father. In short such is the man, and such his Tory principles and Conduct, that it will be impossible ever to bring the people here, willingly to serve under him.

We petitioned Joseph Geffreys, County Wagon Master, to have him turned out and another put in his place; but he paid not the least regard to our Petition, and heard our petition just as the King and parliament heard the Petition of the Americans.

Upon the whole, we would humbly beg leave to observe to your honorable body that we cannot but look upon it as an insufferable grievance, and a very great infringement upon our Liberties, that a man of no veracity and so notoriously inimicable to the Common Cause which we are all contending for, Should be Suffered to bear any rule over a people, many of whom have already risked their lives in the noble Cause of

Liberty, and are still determined to persist in the glorious pursuit, though at the risk of Life and Fortune.

We humbly hope, therefore, that proper measures will be taken to turn out Said McKinley, and that some other person may be put in his place. We would recommend Joseph Reed Esqr., Robert Smith, Samuel Crow and John Lusk, as persons fit for that office. Finally we humbly beg that your Honors will take this our prayer under your serious Consideration, and redress our grievances; and we, your petitioners, as in duty bound, Shall ever pray—

Hugh Ross.
Andrew Ross.
James Robison.
John McNary.
John Folerton.
James Sprout.
John Hill.
John Sutor.
George Sutor.
William Blare.
William McCullagh.
James Parker.
John Parker.
Benjamin Peden, Esqr.
Daniel McCollum.
George Henry.
John Lusk.
William Buckhamer.
Jacob Gaven.
John Buchards.
Robert Forsythe.
Henry Robinson.
Moses Wallace.
Robert Fullerton.
William Fullerton.
James Paden.
James Kirk.
John McMullin.
Robert Smith.
William Houlton.
George Henry, Jr.
Rouland Hughes.
Robert Wilkes Findly.
Allan McLean.
William Morrison, Com'r.
Thomas Ramsey.
Nathaniel Smith.
Thomas Gordon.
Andrew Gordon.
James Every.
David Smith.
James Buchanan.
Josiah Scott, Esqr.
James McCandless.
John Semple.
Thomas Steel.
John McKesson.
Patrick Scott.
James Craigmyl.
James Parker.
James Grey.
Patrick Maxill.
James Leeper.
Alexander Leeper.
John McClean.
John Cowen.
John Shnell.
Francis Houlton.
Andrew McCledric.
James Young.
John McCleary.
Samuel Leeper.

[Endorsed] Petition from York county. Read in Council March 13, 1778. Ordered that it be recommended to Mr. Jeffreys to succeed McKinley by appointing another in his stead.

FOURTH BATTALION OF YORK COUNTY.

Petition of the Fourth class of the Fourth Battalion of the York county Militia, April 30, 1779.

To the Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania:

GENTLEMEN:—the humble petition of the Fourth Class of the Fourth Battalion of York County Militia, humbly Sueth, that whereas your Honours have been pleased to send forth your Order, to call out the Fourth Class of the Militia at this time, to go to the frontiers against the Common Enemy, we think ourselves very much agrieved by Said Call, for the following reasons—

First—We were called before, when the enemy was in the City, and we turned out with great Spirit, and underwent much danger and fatigue, and at that time we must either go or pay forty Pounds; but when the Eighth Class was called only one man turned out of the Battalion, and them that Stayed at home got off for paying a trifle—and when the next call came last fall, it was for three classes, when one, if they had turned out, would have raised more men than was wanted; and the three classes joined and paid one volunteer out of a class, which made up the number of men wanted, and there was no more to pay, nor no Appeal held but for those that was Conscience bound; and whereas, we are now called, we are informed we must either go or pay one hundred Pounds; and what further adds to our grievance to be called from home at a time when we should put our Spring crops in the ground, and if we are to stay two months out at this time of the year then we will be deprived of putting any fall crop in the ground—

And now, Gentlemen, we pray you may take our case under your consideration, and put us upon an equal footing with our fellow Citizens, or grant us Such relief as you in your Wisdom may think proper, and we as in duty bound shall ever pray—.

April 24, 1779.

Colonel.

John Andrew.

Adjutant.

William Bailey.

Quartermaster.

Robert Chambers.

Sergeant M'.

David Beaty.

Privates.

Robert Galbreath.
John Hoult.
Chretson Freet.
George Stope.
Philip Honnsley.
Nathan Grimes.
Abraham Houghtailen.
David Dameree.
Henry Buchanan.
William Coule.
Samuel McCush.
George McCans.
James Weer.
Joseph Boagel.
Benjamin Whitley.
William Stragin.
William Reed.
John Sarsley.
John Slammers.
John Hoover.
Robert Willson.
Alexander Bogel.
William Fleming.
David Crosate.
William McGrer.
Robert Campbell.
John McCreesy.

[Endorsed] Petition of the Fourth class of the Fourth Battalion of York county Militia, Read in Council April 30, 1779. Referred for further consideration.

CAPTAIN WILLING'S COMPANY OF MARINES.

List of a Company of Marines commanded by Captain James Willing, of the United American States, commencing the 10th of January, 1778, ending the 3d of June, 1779, inclusive.

Captain.

James Willing.

First Lieutenant.

Robert George.

Second Lieutenants.

Richard Harrison.
George Girty, deserted.

Carpenter.

John Hodgson, died August 30, 1778.

Coxswain.

Solomon Burney, deserted.

Sergeants.

Thomas Beard, discharged.
John Marney, discharged.
Edward Matthews.

Corporals.

Nathaniel Downs, discharged.
Thomas Love, taken prisoner April 12, 1778.

Privates.

John Ash.
Samuel Fury, died August 3, 1778.
John Walker.
Daniel Whitaker, died June 3, 1778.
Philip Hupp.
Henry Hautz.
Mark Foley, discharged.
Henry Hawk, died October 31, 1778.
John Kilpatrick, died September 1, 1778.
Nathaniel Kennison, taken prisoner April 1, 1778.
Richard Murray, dead.
Levin Spriggs.
James Taylor, discharged.
John Henwood, died October 3, 1778.
Lazarus Ryan.
William White.
Richard Roddy, deserted.
Laurence Keenan, deserted.
Jacob Wheat.
Solomon Walker, killed.
Nicholas Walker.
William Posten (gunner), dead.
Ephraim Carey (gunner's mate), died August 10, 1778.
John Burrows, deserted.
William Johnston, hung.
Patrick Doyle, died March 28, 1779.
Jacob Oadham.
William Dove.
David Wallis.
William Brown.
John Stampley, discharged.
Henry Repard.
John O'Bryan, deserted.
Valentine Bolsinger.
Andrew Conoro.
Thomas McDonald.

John Reily, discharged.
Thomas Mitchell, discharged.
Joseph Anderson.
James McDonald, dead.
George McKnight, sick.
Cornelius Cornoble, deserted.
Henry Sholes, deserted.
John Flinman, deserted.
John Seerde.
Peter Collins, deserted.
John Roberts.
John Mann, died August 19, 1779.
Supret Gion, deserted.
John Bush.
Gideon Thomas, died May 17, 1779.
Nicholas Smith, died March 23, 1779.
Charles Suffroy, deserted.
Adam Lainhart, deserted.
John Ceaser.

I do hereby Certify, that I received the above named Men and Officers from Captain James Willing, with orders to proceed to the Illinois and Fort Pitt; which men are disposed off (death and desertions excepted) as specified above, that is to say, such as end on the 3d June, 1779, having joined the service of the State of Virginia in the Illinois Department under my command, and for whom I am accountable. Signed in presense of Brigadier General Clark at Fort Nelson, this Sixteenth day of May one thousand Seven hundred and Eighty-two.

ROBERT GEORGE, *Lieutenant.*

GEORGE CLARK, *B. G.*

TENTH BATTALION, LANCASTER COUNTY MILITIA.

Called out by classes for actual service, June, 1781.

SECOND CLASS.

First Company.

John Ayres.
Alexander Givens.
George Straw.
John Bell, Jr.
David Davis.
George Cochran.

Second Company.

David Paton. John Fleming.

Third Company.

Joseph Little. James Walker.
John Butler.

Fourth Company.

James Spence.

Fifth Company.

James Cogley. George Fridley.

Sixth Company.

William Smith. Richard Fulton.
Thomas Brunson.

Seventh Company.

Did not march, being the fronteer.

Eighth Company.

Jacob Snider. Robert Plunket (marched in Third class).

THIRD CLASS.

First Company.

Michael Stiver. Samuel Polick.
William Forster. Peter Kinter.
Leonard Shots. George Bell.

Second Company.

James Cochran. Andrew Cochran.
William Hogan. Anthony Withrel.

Third Company.

John Chambers. William Thompson.
William Kenedey. Richard Allison.

Fourth Company.

George Carson. Michael Lines.
Robert McClure.

FOURTH CLASS.

First Company.

Elisha Lockert.
Samuel Campbell.
Thomas Nicleson.

Second Company.

James Boggs.
James McMillin.
Robert Huston.
Jacob Larison.
James Caldwell.
John Wilson.
William Jamison.
Thomas Askin.

Fourth Company.

Barney Shoop.
Andrew Wiley.
Benjamin Duncan.
Michael Castle.
George Byerley.

Fifth Company.

John Parker.
Ichabod Randolph.

Sixth Company.

Samuel Hutchison.
Handeater Winderley.
Thomas Dougherty.
John Postlethwait.
Richard Steel.

Eighth Company.

George Frye.
Christian Spayd.
George Lowman.
John Metzger.

FIFTH CLASS.

First Company.

John Kinter.
Joseph Keller.
Jacob Cobler.
John Gartner.
Philip Newpecker.
William Nickleson.

Second Company.

Zachariah Stephen.
William Caldhoon.
John Allen.
William McRoberts.
John McCahan.

Fourth Company.

Leonard Sheetz.
Francis Burley.
Elisha Stewart.

Fifth Company.

Robert Keays. Andrew Berryhill.

Sixth Company.

John McKinney. Arthur Chambers.

Eighth Company.

Jacob King. John Miller.
John McCan.

SIXTH CLASS.

First Company.

John Simpson. John Colgin.
John Cochran. James Burney.
William Murray. Isaiah Winn.

Second Company.

John Cochran. John Hilton.
Samuel Martain. Samuel Thompson.
James Stewart.

Third Company.

James Buchanan.

Fourth Company.

John Gray. Adam Ketchmiler.

Fifth Company.

Robert Elder. Samuel Simpson.
John Fockler. Adam Vantz.
Alexander Berryhill.

Sixth Company.

Peter Brenner. Francis Lerue.
Philip Griner.

Eighth Company.

John Bakestoe. Philip Shocken.
Philip Etlee. Peter Shuster.
William Widner. Daniel Double.

SEVENTH CLASS.

First Company.

James Bell. Moses Lockert.
James Paycoe. Samuel Cochran.
Jesse Weeks. James Burruff.

Second Company.

William Cochran.
Richard McGuire.
Michael Philips.
Henry Humbarger.
William Patterson.
Charles Mulray.
John Wiggins.

Third Company.

Andrew Ritchison.

Fourth Company.

Conrad Bobb.
Jacob Smith.
Matthew Shaw.
Stophel Shoop.
William Walker.

Fifth Company.

Samuel Simpson.
Cornelius Cox.
William Vance.
Thomas Forster.
George Sheets.
Thomas Galliher.
William Buck.
Daniel Roberts.

Sixth Company.

Michael Wolf.
Joseph Hutchison.
Charles McCoy.
Jacob Dagan.
Hugh Crocket.
John Boll.
Peter Roop.
John Morrison.

Seventh Company.

Adam Vertz.
Anthony Frelich.
George Merrick.
Christian Vertz.
George Seale.
Henry Myers.

Eighth Company.

Peter Miller.
Abner Wickersham.
Conrad Bumbaugh.
John Fritz.
John Parks.
Hugh McLoy.
Henry Davis.

PHILADELPHIA MILITIA—1781.

Return of the Sixth Class, City Philadelphia Militia, called out for actual service July 2, 1781.

Daniel McBride.
John Poat.
Jacob Shreck.
William Corbitt.
Michael Shoemaker.
Henry Benner.

Valentine Vinholtz.
John Hembel.
William Kepple.
Peter Stringer.
William Bomberger.
Jacob Sulgar.
William Mason.
Frederick Fissler.
George Perkins.
Matthew Foulk.
Andrew Vanweiler.
Peter Cooper.
Christian Shane.
Jacob Clumberg.
Jacob Huber.
Charles Sights.
Jacob Slimmer.
Jacob Henrigle.
Pastorius Winn.
James Calleger.
George Page.
Peter Heimer.
Adam Rein.
Henry Dietz.
Charles Evert.
Leonard Jacoby.
Thomas Peters.
Matthew Harding.
James Johnson.
Peter Blancher.
Charles Darrah.
Hugh Kerney.
Lewis Reinuck.
John Raphoon.
Michael Sowerwald.
David Gitty.
Thomas Newark.
Isaac Nichols.
John Peterkins.
Michael Roach.
Benjamin Miller.
Cornelius Callahan.
Peter Simonson.
John Beegler.
John Brand.
Martin Wall.
John Springer.
John Brook.
Lawrence Crochan.
John Philips.
John Freas.
Adam Dieder.
Michael Worne.
Jacob Hempleman.
Sebastian Wooley.
John McIntire.
James Dundas.
John Friend.
George Weckerly.
John Spatz.
Peter Pudan.
John Roush.
George Heck.
Charles Rossen.
David Thompson.
Matthew Bryan.
Friederich Burkart.
Charles Cooper.
Jacob Eiler.
John Rohr.
Peter Beck.
Christian Rosen.
Philip Maus.
Alexander Miller.
James Adams.
Thomas George.
Edward Middleton.
Casimer Dillwick.
John Potts.
Thomas Stains.
Daniel McDonald.
John Charters.
Andrew Thompson.
Adam Essler, sergeant.
John Simpson.
Jacob Sohns.
Abraham Vohris.
George Shaw.
David Gilbert.
Henry Harbst.
Nicholas Keyser.
William Wunderlich.

John Moyers.
Jacob Kriner.
Casper Wall.
Martin Gillman.
Michael Katts.
John Godshalk.
John Linton.
Friederick Powell.
Michael Bartholomew.
Jacob Rabsam.
John Taylor.
Lewis Teets.
Jacob Burkart.
Francis Cooper.
Joseph Hall.
Adam Long.
John Lyering.
George Kittling.
Robert Kinsley.
Nicholas Debler.
Thomas Glover.
Joseph Clinton.
Thomas McMahon.
Christian Sheetz.
Henry Williams.
Godfrey Mennie.
Isaac Harris.
Nicholas Shreiner.
Christian Hinkle.
George Shall.
Humphry Williams.
John Wagoner.
John Page.
Philip Pflager.
James Stringer.
Henry Wester.
Philip Young.
Lewis Garnet.
George Willson.
John Rittinger.
James Ervine.
Christian Ritz.
John Hunter.
John Fink.
Anthony Perkenpile.
Adam Matts.
Robert McCulloch.
William Radisher.
Jacob Steinmeyer.
George Lesher.
Philip Reever.
Peter Shryer.
John Singer.
Christian Layer.
John Fromberger.
William Goggin.
Casper Sowder.
John Homes.
Friederick Anthony.
John Crowl.
John Fance.
Daniel Beckly.
Amos Wheaton.
Jacob Ritter.
Michael Stone.
John Haas.
James Gavin.
Charles Miller.
Francis Bower.
Conrad Foster.
Leonard Croneman.
Christian Gentzell.
Adam Beck.
George Snake.
Daniel Knodell.
William Nicholson.
Daniel Evans.
John Manderfield.
Adam Ervin.
Martin Kinsell.
Henry Thiel.
Israel Barge.
John Adams.
Henry Hoover.
George Britt.
Jacob Shingleton.
Francis Woolfall.
Peter Gordon.
Christopher Gossner.
John Murdock.
Peter Sunlighter.
Peter Regimenter.

Jacob Bost.
Jacob Cromley.
Frederick Raveley.
Philip Cromley.
Henry Spell.
Daniel Handy.

PHILADELPHIA, *September* 1, 1781.

Return of the Seventh Class of the Second Battalion, City Philadelphia Militia, called into actual service.

Eberhart Longcopt.
Henry Benner.
John Nonius.
Jonathan Draper.
Robert Lilley.
John Wocherer.
Peter Stringer.
Peter Field.
Daniel McBride.
Nathan Jones.
Joseph Warner.
Jacob Houtchell.
Jacob Suplee.
John Haas.
John Metz.
Christopher Boyerly.
George Cooper, Jr.
William Chain.
Edward McCoy.
William Barnes.
Simon Owens.
Edward Dickins.
Matthew Pratt.
Daniel Craig.
John Brown.
John Dupee.
Henry Wolf.
Friederich Henshaw.

FIRST BATTALION, NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY—1782.

A return of company officers in the First Battalion of Northumberland County Militia, commanded by Colonel John White. Commissioned April 29, 1782.

First Company.

Captain.—Benjamin Patterson.
Lieutenant.—John Lyon.
Ensign.—Henry Vanderslice.

Second Company.

Captain.—George Dougherty.
Lieutenant.—Griffith Kerr.
Ensign.—John Irwine.

Third Company.

Captain.—Paul Baulty.
Lieutenant.—Jacob Youner.
Ensign.—Henry Bucher.

Fourth Company.

Captain.—Michael Sheffer.
Lieutenant.—John Coleman.
Ensign.—Nicholas Hedrick.

Fifth Company.

Captain.—Daniel Broshia.
Lieutenant.—Adam Kemple.
Ensign.—John Yegley.

Sixth Company.

Captain.—Samuel Auchmuty.
Lieutenant.—Casper Snyder.
Ensign.—Philip Youckem.

Seventh Company.

Captain.—Lucass Bross.
Lieutenant.—George Brong.
Ensign.—Jacob Faust.

CAPTAIN SHRAWDER'S RANGING COMPANY—1782.

[Owing to the fact that the following roll gives accurate dates of enlistment, it is reprinted in this volume. See volume 14, page 595.]

Pay roll of Captain Philip Shrawder's Company of Rangers from February 10, 1781, to June 1, 1782.

Captain.

Philip Shrawder, February 10, 1781.

Lieutenant.

Jacob Cramer, February 10, 1781; resigned October 9, 1781.

Ensign.

Lawrence Erb, commissioned February 13, 1782.

Sergeants.

Adolf Chrysoelius, June 13, 1781.
John Beissel, March 9, 1782.

Drummer.

Daniel St. Clair, April 17, 1781.

Privates.

Jacob Reid, March 8, 1781.
John Haine, March 14, 1781.
John Knafsnider, June 13, 1781.
Peter Ricker, June 28, 1781.
George Fuix, August 28, 1781.
Jesse Thomas, August 29, 1781.
William Richardson, August 29, 1781.
Jacob Barral, August 29, 1781.
Joseph Ellis, September 15, 1781.
John McAuley, January 10, 1782.
Elias Frutchman, February 7, 1782.
David Murphy, February 7, 1782.
John Ward, February 9, 1782.
Philip Shaneberger, February 15, 1782.
Leonard Yeager, February 17, 1782.
Jacob Happel, February 26, 1782.
Hondrita Warner, March 1, 1782.
Henry Walker, March 7, 1782.
Philip Fries, March 21, 1782.
Christian Marsh, March 22, 1782.
John Weiss, April 28, 1782.
John Ebert, April 29, 1782.
John Marsh, April 25, 1782.
Michael Gardner, April 29, 1782.
Christian Hartman, May 9, 1782.
Thomas Dyer, January 18, 1782; discharged March 1, 1782.
Peter Diemer, February 18, 1782; discharged April 27, 1782.
George Hornblazer, March 22, 1782; discharged April 27, 1782.
William Taylor, April 2, 1782.

PENNSYLVANIA PRISONERS OF WAR—1782.

List of Prisoners at New York belonging to the State of Pennsylvania, November 19, 1782.

David Florence.
James Wood.
William Morse.
George Feinuer.
Jacob Cooper.
Thomas Lattemore.
James Ireland.
George Warner.

William Pitts.
William Braden.
Joseph Steward.
Henry Williams.
Joseph Bishop.
Lar's Holden.
John Stanly.
Robert Richards.
John Marshall.
John Minly.
Henry Horn.
Anthony Hannah.
Walter Motley.
George Jones.
Elija Crosby.
Adam Hoober.
James Crow.
John Jones.
James Nyland.
John Evington.
David Budd.
Henry Davis.
James Fryar.
John Everhurst.
Archibald Wilson.
William Steward.
Stephen Grimes.
James Maroney.
Richard Marshell.
Joshua Wheeler.
John O'hara.
En'h Narsh.
William Brooks.
Chasp'r Shean.
John Bowman.
Stephen Perkins.
Peter Gardner.
Daniel Guy.
Mathew Gravell.
Joseph Martin.
Charles Heany.
Law's Smyth.
Stephen Briddle.
Peter Kelly.
Thomas Dundas.
Thomas Green.

Paul Ripley.
Edward Magray.
George Kines.
Charles McAuly.
Matthew Furgoe.
William Townsend.
Anthony Curdoa.
Peter Stanly.
John Thomas.
Archibald Harvey.
Richard Jordan.
Zachariah Goforth.
Elija Powell.
Lar's Holden.
Peirs'n Crirs.
John Taylor.
Samuel Playlief.
Thomas Cushin.
John Henry.
Francis Driskell.
Cal. Brown.
William Patties.
Jacob Luprien.
Peter Dikes.
William White.
Richard Mason.
Charles Plake.
George Stanfield.
James Rice.
Benjamin Cumings.
Daniel Twigg.
Hugh Moary.
Peter Stoutt.
Seth Williams.
Richard Stienwicks.
Joseph Burns.
John Anglin.
Daniel Murphy.
Nem'a Green.
John Leech.
John Martin.
Christopher Lessley.
William Hardy.
Joshua Barnes.
Joseph Pester.
James Magowen.

Richard Simpson.
Peter Lansey.
Cal. Spooner.
Thomas Hines.
George Sparks.
David Steelman.
Richard Allen.
Thomas Bryde.
Pig'l Reeves.
John Whitehead.
Thomas Higgins.
Man'n Alderson.
Law's Reece.
John Magowen.
Joshua Lindsy.
Robert Willson.
John Weeks.
Jerm'a Levering.
John Survitt.
William Veers.
Moses Day.
Asa Gilbert.
John Olman.
Jerm'a Feeling.
James Townsand.
Alexander Massey.
Robert Thompson.
Bartholomew Moon.
William Johnston.
William Hanigan.
James Bonwick.
Daniel McKay.
John Hanison.
Joseph Redin.
Gideon Hord.
Alexander Howsett.
Charles Zant.
Henry Bodiman.
John Murray.
Joseph Ferguson.
William Hanlon.
George Park.
George Repott.
George Price.
Thomas Night.
Joseph Martin.
George Grover.
Daniel Ward.
John Hamill.
John Bruce
William Johnston.
John Dinnison.
William James.

PRISONERS WHO VIOLATED PAROLE.

List of American officers prisoners who have violated their paroles, belonging to the State of Pennsylvania.

Colonel.

John Hannum, Chester.

Captains.

Benjamin Wallace, Chester.
James McClure, Chester.
Samuel Culbertson, Chester.
Henry Hambright, Northumberland.
Henry Shoemaker.
Henry Lewis, York.
Henry Clayton, York.

Hugh King, York.
Warner Wyme, Chester.
Thomas White, Chester.
William Anderson, Chester.
Samuel McClelland, Chester.
Robert Darlington, Chester.
Jacob Drake, Bucks.
Robert VanHorne, Bucks.
Daniel Jameson, Bucks.
Samuel Rutherford, Lancaster.

Lieutenants.

Hugh Baker, Bucks.
Arnold Grace.
Christian Swart.
John Hewston, Philadelphia.
William Calhoon.
Henry Jeans, Northampton.

Ensigns.

Jacob Myers, York.
Thomas Reed, York.
John Mulhallen, Bucks.

Quartermaster.

John Rea.

OFFICERS FIFTH LANCASTER COUNTY BATTALION.

Roll of part of Fifth Battalion, Lancaster County Militia, commanded by Colonel James Crawford, who turned out volunteers at request of the Honourable Council of Safety, on December 19, 1776, *and marched to Philadelphia, but were ordered back the* 26*th of the same month by Major General Putnam to bring the rest of the Battalion, and returned again to Philadelphia January* 20, 1777.

Colonel.

James Crawford.

Major.

George Stewart.

Captain.

Robert Boyer.

Lieutenant.

David Watson.

Standard Bearer.

James Montgomery.

Quartermaster.

John Whitehill.

Sergeant.

Henry Smith.

Privates.

Thomas Johnson.
Thomas Johnston.
John Campbell.
James Johnson.
Isaac Martin.
John McFadden.

Passed in Council of Safety to be charged to William Atlee, Esq., to whom Major Stewart is to be accountable, June 24, 1777.

THOMAS WHARTON, Jr., *President.*

To J. M. NESBITT, Esq.

PHILADELPHIA MILITIA, 1777-1780.

[The following list is from an account for services rendered and settled for.]

FIRST BATTALION.

1777. *Colonel.*

William Bradford, Esq.

Captains.

Adam Lechler.
Ezekiel Letts.
Charles Syng.
John Linton.

1778. *Major.*

Alexander Boyd.

Captains.

John Byrns.
Robert Smith.
Samuel McLane.
George Taylor.
Thomas Bradford.
George Snyder.

1780. *Lieutenant Colonels.*

Benjamin G. Eyre, Esq.
James Read, Esq., of the First, now of the Second battalion.

Captains.

Richard Humphreys.
John Reynolds.
Lazarus Stow.
David Tew.
John Davis.
George Ingels.
John Hewson.
Philip Wagoner.
John Kling.
Isaac Cooper.
George Nice.
William Bowers.
John Bergman.
George Forepaugh.
John Pisant.
Alexander Russell.

Lieutenants.

Philip Alberger.
Daniel Pohlman.
John Painter.

SECOND BATTALION.

1777. *Colonel.*

Sharp Delaney, Esq.

Quartermaster.

Edward Evans.

Captains.

John Downey.
William Young.
Robert Duncan.
Philip Pancake.
Jonathan Wainright.
Thomas Pugh.
William McCulloch.
James Hood.
Davis Bevan.
John Imlay.

Lieutenants.

John Cornish.
John Lybrand.

Ensign.

Edward Paschall.

SECOND, NOW THIRD BATTALION.

1780. *Lieutenant Colonel.*

Joseph Marsh.

Quartermaster.

Samuel Cuthbert.

Captains.

James Pearson.
Andrew Summers.
Joseph Watkins.
William Linnard.
James Lang.

Lieutenants.

Thomas Rice.
Samuel Goodman.
Samuel Scott.

THIRD BATTALION.

1777. *Colonel.*

Jacob Morgan, Esq.

1777. *Lieutenant Colonel.*

William Will.

Quartermaster.

John Willson.

Captains.

Peter Merlin.
George Esterly.
Jacob Weidman.
Williamson Tolbert.
George Reinhard.
1779. John Peters, Jr.
Conrad Rush.
Jacob Geiger.
James Pickering.
George Smith.

1780. *Quartermaster.*

Adam Melcher.

Captains.

Alexander Quarrier.
John Geyer.
Michael Gilbert.
Andrew Burkhart.

1777. *Lieutenants*

Theobald Sheidall.
John Peters, Jr.
Ezekiel Merriam.
1780. Ludwig Fohrer.
Henry Shrupp.

Ensigns.

Andrew Young.
John King.

FOURTH BATTALION.

1777. *Colonel.*

John Bayard, Esq.

Lieutenant Colonels.

John R. Smith.
1780. Paul Cox.

1771. *Quartermaster.*

John Keble.

Lieutenants.

Titus Matlack.
Edward Oxley.
John Wilson.

Captains.

Christian Shaffer.
Lazarus Pine.
Adam Foulk.
Isaac Austin.
Charles W. Peale.
Lambert Willmer.
Anthony Wilkinson.
Jeremiah Fisher.
John McCartney.
1780. James Hood.
Edward Paschall.
John Flinn.
John McCalla.
James Rossbottom.
William ~ample.
John Cornish.
John McCalla, Jr.

Ensign.

Philip Hagner.

FOURTH, NOW SIXTH BATTALION.

1781. *Lieutenant Colonel.*

Joseph Dean, Esq.

Captains.

Jacob Martin.
James Rossbottom.
John McCalla, Jr.
William McDowell.
William Semple.
John Cornish.
Charles W. Peale.
Adam Esler.
Robert Ralston.

Lieutenants.

Anthony Fanan.
Thomas Hood.

FIFTH BATTALION.

1777. *Colonel*

Joseph Copperthwaite, Esq.

Captains.

George Forepaugh.
George Nice.
Samuel Baker.
William Bowers.
Philip Wagoner.
John Bergman.
Isaac Cooper.
1779. Jacob Bender.
Richard Salter
Anthony Lechler.
Andrew Bowers.
Anthony Leghner.

Lieutenants.

Isaac Warner.
Conrad Miller.

Ensign.

William Rush.

FIFTH, NOW FOURTH BATTALION.

1780. *Lieutenant Colonel.*

John Shee.

Captains.

Christian Shaffer.
Adam Foulk.
Elijah Weed.
John Barker.
Thomas Willis.
Nathaniel Twining.
John McCartney.
Isaac Austin.

1782. Alexander Russell.
1784. Joseph Greenway.
1785. Luke Morris, Jr.

Lieutenant.

Jacob Esler.

SIXTH, NOW FIFTH BATTALION.

1777. *Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel.*

Robert Knox, Esq.

Major.

Thomas Casdorp.

Captains.

Jacob Sinck.
John Smith.
Joseph Rhoads.
Philip Ryan.
Christian Grover.
Warwick Coates, Jr.
1780. Silas Engles.
Thomas Austin.
Joseph Falkner.
Jonathan Griece.
James Brown.

1781. *Adjutant.*

William Robinson.

1782. *Captain.*

Joseph Falconer.

ARTILLERY BATTALION.

1777. *Colonel.*

Jehu Eyre, Esq.

Captains.

Samuel Massey.
John Ruper.

Peter Brown.
Andrew Summers.
William Prowell.
William Linnard.
John McCulloch.
John McGinley.
James Lang.

Lieutenant.

Samuel Powell.

Sergeant.

Richard Salter.

Privates, Philadelphia Militia, 1777–1780.

Adam Handel.
Rynear Gilbert.
Philip Lurrett.
George Teace.
Thomas Glover.
John Tyler.
James Loinerd.
John Brown.
Michael Albright.
Peter Bingham.
Hugh Baker.
Nicholas Walter.
Hugh Shaffer.
William Jacobs.
Peter Haas.
Joseph Keyser.
John Kensly.
Frederick Dushong.
John Meyers.
John Dean.
Adam Lechler.
Andrew Lobstein.
John Syng.
James Hendrickson.
George Getly.
Amos Wheton.
Jacob Lehre.
Michael Shafer.
Solomon Vendlin.
Thomas Pugh.
Jacob Cooper.
John Adam.
John McCartney.
Jacob Foulk.
John Kuhn.
Thomas Hill.
Francis Buck.
Philip Fleeger.
John Grover.
Israel Hendrickson.
Archibald Stewart.

MISCELLANEOUS LIST

Of soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line, Associators and Militia, who were in actual service during the war of the Revolution, 1775–1783.

Corrections to Volume XIII.

John Farmer, died at Abingdon, Va.
Henry Fiss, ensign.
William Huckle.
William Manlove, captain Flying Camp.
William Miller.
William Mills, instead of Miles.
Daniel Stever.
John Marvin, instead of Marrie.
John Watts.
Francis Watts.
Rev. John Woodhull, instead of Woodwell.
Joseph Crane, instead of Ambrose.
Martin Thomas, ensign, First Lancaster county battalion, 1777.
James Moorhead, second lieutenant; resigned.
Hugh Moore, court martial man; Third battalion, Lancaster county, 1777.
Jacob Stoneman, court martial man; Third battalion, Lancaster county, 1777.
Samuel Wilson, court martial man; Third battalion, Lancaster county, 1777.
Andrew Gross, court martial man; Third battalion, Lancaster county, 1777.
James Patterson, court martial man; Third battalion, Lancaster county, 1777.
John Hays, court martial man; Third battalion, Lancaster county, 1777.
Daniel Hughston, instead of Huston.
John McGawin, instead of McSawin.
Valentine Egle, lieutenant, Eighth battalion, Lancaster county, 1780.
Joseph Whitmore, ensign, Eighth battalion, Lancaster county, 1780.
Emanuel Duey, instead of Ferree.
Jacob Stone, instead of Baltzer.

Jasper [Moylan,] ensign, Fourth battalion, Philadelphia city, 1777.

[The date of Commissions of Officers of Third Battalion, Lancaster county, p. 355, is July 1, 1777. That of Sixth battalion, p. 358, is July 31, 1777. That of Eighth battalion, p. 371, is May 10, 1780. All the battalions of 1780 were in active service.]

Jonathan Smith, died at Amboy. October 13, 1776.
John Campbell, killed October 30, 1776.
James McCory, killed at Fort Washington. November 16, 1777.
Dugald Campbell, died in New Jersey, January, 1777.
Patrick McClelland, killed, 1777.
Joseph Watson, killed, December, 1777.
Robert McCoy, captain; killed at Crooked Billet, 1778.
William Dean, captain, killed at Crooked Billet.
William Sterret, captain; killed at Crooked Billet
William Richards, "standard bearer," Second battalion of Chester county Associators, June, 1775.

LISTS OF PERSONS

Pensioned by the United States,

RESIDING IN PENNSYLVANIA,

WHO SERVED IN THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

1820-1825.

PENNSYLVANIA PENSIONERS—1820.

[The following list differs from that which follows, the rank and kind of service being designated. Many of the pensioners, however, did not serve in the Pennsylvania Line, but these are not designated.]

A list of persons residing in the State of Pennsylvania, who have been placed on the Pension Roll of the United States, under the act of Congress of the 10th of March, 1818, shewing the rank or capacity in which each served, and made in compliance with a request of the Senate of Pennsylvania.

A

William Amberson, ensign.
Robert Allison, lieutenant.
Stephen Archer, marine.
Thomas Anderson, 1st, lieutenant.
Jonathan Arnold, private.
Thomas Anderson, 2d, private.
John Adams, private.
Jonathan Arnold, private.
George Anderson, private.
Enoch Anderson, 1st, captain.
Enoch Anderson, 2d, captain.
James Andrews, private.
John Antrein, private.
John Akaly, private.
John Allison, sergeant major.
Elijah Atwood, private.
David Allen, private.
Mathias Ambrister, private.
Elisha Ames, private.
Ephraim Ames, private.
Deliverance Adams, private.
Adam Anderson, private.
Robert Anderson, private.
Jacob Allen, private.
Nicholas Angst, private; d. 1718.
John Anthony, private.
David Alshouse, private.
Samuel Anderson, private.

Christopher Avery, private.
John Arthur, private.
Jedediah Adams, private.

B.

Jacob Bower, captain.
John Brewer, private.
William Bitterley, private.
Rufus Bennett, private.
Patrick Butler, private.
Robert Barckley, private.
John Brisbin, captain.
Charles Betts, private; died Jan'y 15.
James Boyle, private.
Thomas Burn, private.
Daniel Broadhead, lieutenant.
Emanuel Bollinger, private.
James Brown, Sr., private.
Daniel Bloom, private; died May 29, 1819.
William Black, private.
Daniel Bowen, private; stricken from the roll, not Continental.
Daniel Bergmeyer, private.
Thomas Beatty, sergeant.
Charles Bryan, private.
Samuel Burnes, private; died October 21, 1818.
Robert Buchanan, private.
Isaac Berlin, private.
Frederick Boyer, private.
James Berry, private.
John Buchanan, private.
James Blair, private.
Thomas Burk, fifer.
Elijah Bowman, private.
James Baker, private.
George Baylor, private.
Benony Bates, corporal.
John Brown, private.
George Bleakly, private; died June 3, 1818.
Eden Burroughs, lieutenant.
Alexander Buchannan, private; died March 25, 1819.
Joseph Bryan, private.
John Bar, private.
William Bargenhoff, matross.
James Bradford, private.
Stephen Barnum, sergeant.
Archibald Birth, private.

Alexander Brown, private.
John F. Beckarth, dragoon.
John Becker, private; died March 2, 1819.
Jeremiah Bannon, private.
John Beatty, 1st, private.
Yost Borger, private.
John Burnhart, private.
Robert Bailey, private.
John Brown, private.
Jonathan Brown, private.
George Buyers, sergeant.
Andrew Bird, private.
Lewis Bender, private.
Peter Buckalew, private.
William Brown, private.
Stephen Bennett, private.
William Blake, sergeant.
James Brown, 2d, private.
William Barr, private.
James Buchanan, private.
Benjamin Bosworth, private.
Joseph Batterson, private.
William Butler, private.
Benjamin Burd, captain.
Nathan Bostwick, ensign.
Edward Bess, private.
Ebenezer Beeman, private.
George Bowers, private.
John Bernard, private.
William Bills, sergeant.
Stephen Ballard, private.
Henry Bentley, private.
Peter Brecker, private.
John Boon, private.
John Benson, private.
John Baylie, private.
John Brennon, private.
Moses Balding, private.
Bartholomew Bratton, private.
Mathias Buckter, private.
William Blakeney, captain.
James Bigelow, private.
John Beaty, 2d, private.
Martin Breehall, private.
Benjamin Bennett, private.
Daniel Barnhart, private.

James Barnes, private.
Nehemiah Barnes, sergeant.
John Jacob Bower, private.
George Bowers, 2d, private.
Thomas Buchanan, captain.
John Burnham, private.
John Borry, private.
Thomas Bowland, private.
Andrew Blanchard, private.
Benjamin Bidlock, private.
John Boyle, private.
George Becktel, private.
Jacob Betts, private.
Elias Bennett, fifer.
Frederick Boyer, trumpeter.
Thomas Berry, private.
Michael Bitz, private.
Daniel Black, private.
Charles Bison, or Bisson, private.
Ebenezer Bartlett, private.
George Beaver, private.
William Barnes, private.
David Boggs, private.
Andrew Bryson, private.
John Blundin, private.

John Clark, 2d, major.
Francis Carberry, private.
Darius Calkins, private.
John Cavenough, corporal.
Miles Crowley, private.
Alexander Campbell, private.
Greenwood Carpenter, private.
Martin Claubaugh, private.
Thomas Craig, colonel.
Daniel Callaghan, private.
Robert Campbell, private.
John Craig, captain.
Blaney Cochran, private.
John Cosper, private.
William Cline, private
David Crider, private.
Daniel Cross, private.
John Collins, private.
Andrew Crawford, private.

Edward Carlton, private.
John Crossan, private.
Joseph Cooper, private.
Thomas Clark, private.
John Carey, private.
Edward Cavanaugh, private.
Joseph Cunningham, private.
Samuel Campbell, private.
Andrew Carman, private.
Nicholas Conly, private.
Eli Catlin, captain.
Marmaduke Curtiss, lieutenant.
William Campbell, private.
Felix Christman, private.
Joseph Chapman, lieutenant.
John Casey, private.
Edward Cochran, private.
John Callender, private.
McDonald Campbell, fifer.
Philip Coldwater, private.
William Chadwick, private.
Casper Camp, private.
Richard Cooper, private.
John Clark, 3d, captain.
Timothy Culver, sergeant.
Patrick Carney, private.
Charles Cooper, private.
Nehemiah Curtiss, sergeant.
Barnabas Cole, private.
Nicholas Cassidy, private.
John Clark, sergeant.
James Clendenin, private.
Ebenezer Corey, private.
Samuel Callender, private.
Timothy Collins, sergeant.
Jacob Cramer, private.
Isaac Caster, private.
Nathaniel Coburn, fifer.
Anthony Carner, private.
John Clark, 5th, major.
Mathias Crout, private.
Samuel Castile, private.
Dennis Carrol, private.
Robert Campbell, 2d, private.
Henry Clemens, private.
Joel Cook, private.

John Churchfield, private.
James Crutchlow, private.
Richard Cheyney, private.
Benjamin Carson, private.
Peter Clemence, private.
Peter Carrigan, private.
Tobias Cold, private.
John Clevidence, private.
Samuel Cooper, private.
Leonard Corl, private.
John Carothers, private.
George Cooper, private.
William Collins, private.
Benjamin Clark, private.
Henry Cornelius, private.
William Cork, private.
John Conway, private.
George Conner, Sr., private.
John Crawford, lieutenant.

D.

William Donaldson, private.
Jesse Dickinson, private.
Nathaniel Donnell, major.
John Dornbauch, private; died January 24, 1819.
William Dixon, or Dickson, private.
James Duncan, private.
James Dixon, sergeant.
Samuel Davis, lieutenant.
James Duff, private.
Charles Dickey, private.
Lambert Dorland, private.
Andrew Dover, lieutenant.
John Dover, lieutenant.
Robert Duncan, private.
David Dimock, private.
Benjamin Decker, private.
Levi Davis, private.
John Deveney, private.
Samuel Dehart, private.
James Donoho, sergeant.
Thomas Dill, private.
Denis Dempsey, private.
Daniel Deiley, private.
John Dougherty, private.
Patrick Dixon, private.

William Drake, private.
Michael Dolin, private.
William Davidson, private
John Daly, private.
Peter Dych, private.
Andrew Douglas, sergeant; died November 16, 1818.
Jacob Dowderman, private.
Dennis Dunning, drummer
Walter Dyer, lieutenant; died April 2, 1819.
James Dougherty, private.
Jacob Dixon, private.
Jacob Doddridge, private.
Isaac Daud, private.
Michael Dearmond, private.
Michael Dodson, private.
Leonard Devons, private.
Henry Davidhiser, private.
Christian Dentzler, private.
Isaac Dunn, private.
Daniel Davis, private.
John Donnelly, private.
William Denning, private.
Samuel Dunlap, private.
William Davis, private.
William Dougherty, private.
Philip Dock, sergeant.
Henry Doll, private.
Martin Doll, private.
William Davis, 2d, private.
Ludwig Dorman, private.
John Donaldson, sergeant.
Thomas Davis, private.
George Ditrick, private.
Richard Draught, drummer.
Ezra Doty, private.
Dennis Dailly, private.
Michael Dewalt, private.

E.

Abel Evans, private.
John Elliot, lieutenant.
John English, private.
James English, private.
Michael Elly, corporal.
John Eickhols, private.
Edward Edgerton, private.

David Edgar, private.
John Eckart, private.
George R. Everson, captain.
Emanuel Ebb, private.
John Everhart, private.
Evan Evans, corporal.
John Eldred, private.

F.

Simon Flynn, private.
Conrad Fry, private.
William Ferrell, private.
John Furnell, private.
Jacob Fetzer, private.
John Faust, private.
William Forbes, sergeant.
George Ferdinand Fagundus, private.
Charles Francis, private.
Peter Felix, private.
Michael Fink, private.
Peter Fleck, private.
George Firing, private; died June 8, 1819.
Jacob Flesher, mariner; stricken from roll, not Continental.
Abraham Faith, private.
Consider Fuller, corporal.
John Fissmire, private.
Henry Fry, private.
Simon Fletcher, private.
Philip Freeman, private.
Samuel Ferguson, private.
Daniel French, 2d, private.
William Farnshild, private.
Michael Frederick, private.
Henry Fratt, private.
Jonathan Fowler, private.
Martin Freaze, private.
Jacob Fry, private.
Michael Ferrick, private.
Zephon Flower, private.
David Fox, trumpeter.
Peter Fricker, private.
Peter Flory, private.
Andrew Fox, private.
John Fox, marine.
Nathan Forbes, private.
Thomas Ford, private.

Isaac Ford, private.
George Foltz.
George Funk.
Joseph Fuller.
Isaac Franks, ensign.
David Forrest, private.
John Finley, major by brevet.

G.

Jacob Grace, gunner; died May 4, 1819.
George Gideon, private.
Asa Gillet, private.
George Godfrey, or Filker, private.
Robert Galway, private.
John Guthry, private.
John Gregory, private.
Andrew Gardner, drum major.
Israel Greenleaf, private.
Ambrose Gaylord, private.
Hugh Gowan, private.
Daniel Graham, private.
Thomas Gilmor, private.
James Greenland, private.
John Goldy, sergeant.
Jonathan Grey, private.
Alexander Galbraith, private.
John Gordon, 2d, private.
Alexander Graydon, captain.
Joel Gray, private.
William George, private.
Thomas Gordon, private.
Enos Granniss, lieutenant.
John Griffith, private.
Stephen Gilbert, private.
Timothy Green, private.
James Gray, private.
John Gillespie, private.
William Glendy, private.
George Gangworr, private.
Jacob Glassmeyer, private.
Levi Griffith, lieutenant.
Abraham Greenwalt, private.
John Gibson, lieutenant colonel.
John Graham, private.
Joshua Gibbs, private.
John Green, private.

William Guthrie, private.
Alpheus Gillet, private.
Solomon Goff, private.
David Gee, private.
Samuel D. Goff, private.
Joshua Griffin, private.
John Gunnell, private.
James Gooding, private.
Robert Gordon, private.
Alexander Gray, private.
Isaiah Grovier, private.
Jacob Grigher, or Geigh, private.
William Gillaspy, private.
Joseph Gray, private.
Nathaniel Gates, mariner.
Jacob Grubb, private.
Adam Granlin, private.
Asa Geer, private.

H.

Lewis Harter, private.
James Hagerman, private.
John Hoskins, private.
Hugh Hafferman, sergeant.
Israel Harding, private.
James Heaton, private.
Frederick Hubley, lieutenant.
James Hutton, private.
Thomas Hamilton, private.
John Hannah, sergeant.
Abraham Horn, private.
Valentine Horse, private.
John Hastings, private.
Cornelius Hoffman, private.
Frederick Hill, private.
Leonard Hanse, private.
William Howell, private.
James Hogg, private.
John Heller, private.
John Henesy, private. died June 10, 1819.
John Heisam, private.
George House, private.
John Hamilton, private.
John Hutchinson, drummer.
George Hoofnoggle, dragoon.
John Heminger, private.

Christian Hubbert, private.
John Hodge, lieutenant.
Thomas Holland, private.
William Howe, private.
Jacob Holden, private.
Peter Hebbiger, private.
Thomas Hennen, private.
Abel Hennon, private.
John Holliday, captain.
Henry Hamrick, private.
Frederick Hubner, private.
Wakeman Hull, private.
Martin Hart, private.
Joseph Henderson, private.
Nicholas Hart, private.
Jacob Houts, private.
Alexander Howden, private.
Melchior Hefflish, private.
William Henderson, private.
Adam Harboll, private.
George Hallman, private.
William Hamson, private
Conrad Hiles, private.
Michael Huffnagle, captain.
John Harris, private.
James Holmes, drummer.
James Hamilton, hospital surgeon.
John Hemminger, private.
Seth Holmes, private.
Andrew Hendrake, private.
Timothy Hall, private.
Adam Happall, private.
John Hamilton, 2d, private.
David Hunt, private.
Israel Hewitt, private.
Henry Hilger, private.
Christian Huffman, private.
Francis Harbison, private.
Philip Huston, private.
George Heiber, private.
George Henning, private.
Jacob Hunt, private.
Francis Henery, private.
Henry Hummel, private.
George Heckman, private.
Andrew Hamilton, private.

John Hind, private.
Daniel Harper, gunner.
James Hook, captain.
Cornelius Haskins, private.

I. and J.

John Irvine, 1st, private.
John Jenkins, lieutenant.
John Johnston, private.
John Irvine, 2d, private.
Hugh Johnston, private.
Barney Idle, private.
John Jamison, private
Thomas Jones, sergeant.
Peregrine Jones, private.
Philip Jones, private.
Joseph Johnston, private.
Jacob Justice, private.
Jonathan Jennings, private.
Crocker Jones, private.
Barney Johnson, fifer.
Phineas Jones, private.
Michael Jordan, private.
Michael Joiners, private.
John Johnston, second sergeant.
Gershom Joy, sergeant.
Joshua Jackson, private.
James Jacobs, private.
Joseph Johnson, private.
William Jackson private.
Francis Jamison, private.
Artema-dores Ingersoll, private.
Philip Isenhour, private.
Philip Jacoby, private.
Joel Jones, private.

K.

Samuel Kearsley, captain.
James Kelly, private
George Keller, private.
Francis King, private.
Philip Krug, or Knigh, private.
George Kibber, private.
Robert King, lieutenant.
Frederick Keller, private.
John Keesy, private.

John Kendall, sergeant.
Joseph King, private.
Alexander King, sergeant.
John Keemle, surgeon.
Frederick Kemmerer, private.
James Keep, private.
Peter Kip, sergeant.
Henry Klunck, or Clung, private.
Samuel Kokogai, musician.
Martin Kisenceders, private.
Daniel Kougher, private.
Patrick Kane, private.
Michael Kuhns, private.
William Kelly, private.
John Ketcham, private.
William Kernachan, private.
Peter Kinney, private.
Adam Koch, private.
William Kerr, private.
George Kappes, private.
Dennis Kean, private.
Joseph King, private.
Lewis Kintz, private.
Simeon King, private.
Samuel Kellogg, private.
George Kerstetter, private.
Henry Keyser, mariner.

L.

Jacob Lewis, private.
John Lynn, private.
Joseph Lorentz, sergeant.
Jedediah Lyon, corporal.
Henry Lipkey, private.
John Lockman, assistant surgeon.
Thomas Lloyd, private.
Anthony Lehman, private.
Thomas Lucas, captain.
Robert Lyon, lieutenant.
David Logan, private.
Jacob Lindey, private.
Peter Lawyer, private.
Robert Lackey, private.
Jehu Lewis, private.
Mungo Lindsey, private.
Philip Lauman, private.

George Likens, private.
Henry Lebo, private.
William Littell, private.
Daniel Lawrence, ensign.
Daniel Lee, captain.
George Lucas, sergeant.
Joseph Linebock, private.
John Loyd, private.
Samuel Lewis, private.
Hartman Lathiser, ensign.
Thomas Little, private.
Lewis Lewis, private.
Serring Line, private.
Benjamin Lyon, lieutenant.
Henry Lotz, marine.
Joseph Ledyard, Sr., private.
Jesse Losey, private.
Henry Lushbaugh, private.
John Lemmon, private.
John Lafferty, private.
James Lawson, private.
Daniel Leany, private.
Michael Lynch, private.
John Lavery, private; died June 17, 1819.
Henry Layman, private.
Hezakiah Leach, private.
John Lane, private.
John Lassly, private.
William Leary, private.
David Lindsey, private.
Abraham Loper, sergeant.
George Lenon, private.
Archibald Leech, private.
Amos Lawrence, private.
Matthias Little, private.
Frederick Livenberg, private.
Philip Lesh, private.
Thomas Ligget, private.
Melekiah Labar, private.
William Leard, private.
William Lock, private.

M.

Alexander McCurdy, private.
William Magaw, surgeon.
Colin McLachlin, sergeant.

Henry Maag, ensign.
Andrew McLure, sergeant.
Elnathan Miner, private.
Clement Masters, private.
William Mapes, private.
Thomas McFall, 2d, private.
Henry Malcom, surgeon.
Francis Maxwell, captain.
Jonathan Morris, captain.
Samuel McMillan, private.
Conrad Mitsco, private.
Barney McGuire, private.
Jacob Moyer, private.
Conrad Myers, private.
John Miller, first sergeant.
John McKeowen, private.
Edward McMasters, private.
John Michall, private.
Richard Mahew, private.
James Maxwell, 2d, private.
John Metz, private.
Joseph Madon, private.
William McGinnis.
Daniel McMaith.
William Murray.
Richard Meiggs.
James Mitchell.
Peter Mayer.
George Morris.
John McMurray.
John Morris.
Charles McLain.
Robert McLaughlin.
Peter McBride.
Christian Miller.
James Maxwell, 3d.
William Mills.
Enoch Morgan, lieutenant and paymaster.
Alexander Martin, lieutenant.
William McMullen, private.
John McMullen, private.
Peter Martin, private.
Dennis Mooney, marine; stricken from roll, not Continental.
Robert Muzzy, lieutenant.
Daniel McFatrick, private.
James Mahony, private.

Jacob Murry, private.
James Mitchell, sergeant major.
Andrew McPherran, private.
John McDowell, private.
John Miller, 2d, private; died December 11, 1818.
Atchison Mellin, private.
William Moore, private.
James Moon, private.
John Manan, private.
James McKim, private.
Neal McGerry, private.
Conrad Miller, private.
Nathaniel P. Moody, private.
Henry McCartneys, private.
John Marshall, captain.
Jacob Miller, private.
Henry Mozer, sergeant.
Jacob Miley, private.
Andrew Marker, sergeant.
Daniel McCann, private.
William Mason, private.
Henry McEwen, private.
Alexander McLain, private.
Thomas McKeen, private.
Daniel McCarty, private.
Baltzer Meese, private.
William Martin, private.
Stephen Miller, private.
Francis McDonald, private.
Patrick Martin, private.
Charles March, private.
John McDowell, 2d, private.
John Martin, private.
Christian Miller, 2d, private.
David Marshall, private.
George McSwine, private.
William McConnell, private.
John McCoy, lieutenant.
James Matthias, private.
William Moore, captain.
Claudius Martin, private.
Owen Murphy, private.
David Marshall, lieutenant.
James Morris, private.
John McCar, private.
Caleb Miles, private.

William Mileham, private.
John Montgomery, private.
John Moart, private.
Jacob McLean, private.
Almond Munson, private.
Isaac Morley, private.
Samuel Mellon, private.
Alexander McBride, private.
Thomas McDowell, private.
John McGaw, private.
John McClelland, private.
John Melone, private.
Thomas Murray, private.
Jacob Moyer, 2d, private.
Jacob Marks, private.
Godrey Miller, private.
Adam Musketmuss, private.
Philip Means, private.
Peter Miller, private.
James Murray, private.
David McCollom, private.
John McCracken, private.
Michael Mullen, private.
John Murphy, private.
Josiah Mills, private.
Robert Murdock, private.
James Martin, private.
David Maffet, master's mate.

N.

John Nicholson, sergeant.
Jonathan Nichols, private.
William Norton, private.
John Newell, private.
John Nowlan, private.
James Newbury, private.
William Newill, private.
Anthony Newhouse, private.
William Nichols, sergeant.
Christopher New, private.
James Norton, private.
Robert Nichols, private.
Jonathan Newman, private.
Henry Neider, private.
Samuel Newcome, private.
James Neill, sergeant.

O.

John O'Neil, private.
Samuel Osburne, private.
Hugh Otterson, private.
Andrew Oliphant, private.
Murty O'Dorner, private.
James Osbourn, private.
Joseph Orr, private.
Andrew O'Brien, private.
John Ohmet, private.
Robert Oldis, private.
Peter Ox, private.
Henry O'Neil, private.
Robert Owens, private.
Adam Oury, private.
Dedrick Ourhand, private.

P.

Christian Popst, private.
Michael Peter, private.
Michael Pace, Jr., private.
Alexander Patterson, captain.
John Parkhurst, corporal.
Abraham Parmetter, private.
Benjamin Peck, private.
Conrad Pudding, private.
Samuel Pollard, private.
James Peale, lieutenant.
George Preise, private.
Christian Pemberton, private.
John Patton, private.
Anthony Peters, private.
George Phile, private.
Henry Piper, private.
Henry Pennsinger, private.
Aaron Powers, private.
Ephraim Pratt, private.
Elijah Putnam, private.
Comfort Peters, private.
Jared Phelps, musician.
Frederick Powell, private.
James Pratt, private.
Gideon Post, fifer.
John Patridge, private.
John Postman, private.
Robert Peling, sergeant.

Robert Potter, private.
Aaron Perkins, private.

Q.

Edward Quiglev, private.
Henry Quick, private.

R.

John Ryan, sergeant.
Frederick Riveley, private.
Robert Richie, private.
David Ramsay, private.
Abraham Ribbet, sergeant.
Conrad Rimee, private.
Thomas Randolph, private.
Frederick Rice, private.
Andrew Ralston, private; died August 31, 1819.
Peter Reese, private.
Thomas Ryerson, lieutenant.
Isaac Rosebrough, private.
James Russell, private.
John Rowan, private.
William Russell, private.
Abraham Rinker, private.
Philip M. Russell, surgeon's mate.
Thomas Rathbun, private.
John Ryan, private.
John Renison, private.
Godfrey Rarick, private.
Henry Rowland, private.
Benedict Reynolds, private.
Giles Reed, private.
Stephen Roberts, private.
Frederick Reeger, private.
Benjamin Renels, private.
Jacob Rusk, private.
George Runyan, private.
Mark Rodes, sergeant.
Paul Russell, private.
Samuel Ramble, private.
Isaac Rose, private.
James Ryburn, private.
Michael Reigle, private.
Conrad Reichswisk, private.
Zephaniah Rogers, private.
Abijah Reynolds, private.
James Rolls, private.

George Rees, private.
Abrahm Roser, private.
Thomas Roberts, private.
George Rishell, private.
Isaac Rynearson, private.
Russell Rose, private.
Isaac Raymon, private.

S.

John Savidge, captain.
Henry Swartaga, private.
James Stewart, 1st, private.
John Staples, private.
Daniel St. Clair, captain.
Eliphalet Smith, corporal.
James E. Smith, captain.
George Strous, private.
James Stewart, 2d, private.
Peter Shumway, private.
Richard Stone, private.
Frederick Shrib r, private.
George S. Searles, private.
Christian Shockey, private.
Moses Smith, private.
Samuel Scott, private.
Adam Stall, private.
William Smith, private.
Deadlove Shadow, private.
Jacob Stoner, private.
Hugh Sweeny, private.
Andrew Sax, private.
Edward Smith, private.
John Stidinger, private.
Samuel Spicer, private.
John Smith, 2d, private.
Jacob Strous, private.
John Spering, private.
Francis Shover, private.
John Snider, private.
Henry Shuler, private.
Daniel Salladay, or Solloday, private.
Samuel C. Seely, lieutenant.
George J. John, private.
John Stoner, captain.
Thomas Smith, 1st, private.
David Steel, captain; died February 4, 1819.

John Strunk, private.
James Stephenson, marine.
John Stephenson, private.
Henry Southard, private.
Adam Stonebraker, private.
Thomas Smith, 2d, private; stricken from roll, not Continental.
Christopher Steinhyser, private.
Ichabod Shaw, private.
Uriah Springer, captain.
Philip Peter Schriver, private.
Christian Shryock, private.
George Slotterback, private.
Jacob Shiveley, private.
Abraham Steiger, private.
Elijah Starr, private.
Thomas Stratton, private.
Lawrence Speigel, private.
John Stewart, private.
John Spicer, private.
John Shaffer, private.
James Searsh, private.
Daniel Stoy, private.
David Statzer, private.
Michael Spatz, marine.
Ebenezer Seeley, private.
Baltus Stone, private.
Henry Sypert, private.
John Saylor, private.
Benjamin Stagg, private.
William Schieb, private; died October 24, 1818.
John Studellman, private.
Peter Shears, or Sheese, private.
James Sloan, sergeant.
Richard Sparr, private.
Moses Swartwood, private; suspended.
James Smith, 1st, private.
James Smith, 2d, private.
William Scott, 2d, private.
Roger Stayner, captain.
Henry Stroop, lieutenant.
William Schofield, lieutenant.
David Sohn, private.
Frederick Shaffer, private.
Thomas Stevens, private.
Oliver Scott, private.

Matthias Schroyer, private.
Daniel Steever, private.
Samuel Severance, private.
James Satterlee, fifer.
Job Stiles, private.
Thomas Smith, 3d, private.
John Steel, private.
Henry Snyder, private.
Adam Shoeman, private.
Peter Saurman, private.
Daniel Shuttell, private.
Samuel Smiley, private.
Andrew Stoope, private.
John Spires, private.
Jacob Stricker, private.
Robert Shandler, private.
John Smith, 3d, private.
John Smith, ensign.
John Shubert, private.
Joshua Spear, private.
Philip Shrader, private.
Philip Smith, private.
John Leonard Spong, private.
Adam Smith, lieutenant.
Adam Swager, private.
Levi Sterling, sergeant.
Henry Shoup, Sr., private.
Joseph Smith, private.
James Shields, private.
Samuel Seeley, Sr., private.
Elisha Satterlee, private.
Conrad Smith, private.
Nathaniel Stevenson, private.
William Stevens, private.
Edward Sweeny, private.
Ludwig Shoup, private.
Ichabod Seaver, private.
William Stone, mariner.
Samuel Shrott, private.
Jacob Seivert, private.
Luke Swetland, private.
Jonathan Stratton, private.
Edward Smith, private.
Adam Specht, private.
John Sims, private.
John Smith, 4th, private.

John Spalding, private.
Stephen Sparrow, private.
Adam Snyder, private.
Frederick Stillwaggon, private.
Robert Sturgeon, sergeant.
George Scott, private.

T.

Elihu Trowbridge, lieutenant.
Thomas Thompson, private; died February 12, 1819.
William Taylor, dragoon.
Henry Turney, private.
Isaiah Tuttle, private.
David Thomas, private.
Charles Tipper, private.
Absalom Timms, private.
Leonard Toops, private.
John Trees, private.
William Tenant, private.
William G. Turner, private.
George Trine, private.
William Tindall, private.
Thomas Turner, private.
Epaphras Thompson, private.
Benjamin H. Trowbridge, private.
John Teal, sergeant.
William Tanner, private.
Thomas Thacker, private.
William Tenery, private.
Henry Tibbin, private.
Simon Taylor, private.
John Thompson, 2d, private.
Obadiah Thatcher, private.
James Toner, private.
John Tudor, private.
Lambert Thompson, private.
Patrick Turner, private.
Archelaus Temple, private.
John Tiffany, private.
Joseph Thomas, private.
James Thayer, private.
Andrew Tryer, sergeant.
Ezekiel Thomas, sergeant.
Moses Tyler, private.
Samuel Tubbs, private.
William Taylor, 2d, private.
William Tye, private.

U.

Isaac Upthegrove, private.

V.

John Vangardner, private.
Thomas Vaughn, private.
Philip Varner, private.
Bernard Valentine, private.
John Verner, private.
Daniel Vergeson, private.

W

Stacey Williams, private.
William Williamson, priva
Michael Waltz, private.
Robert Wood, private.
Lewis Woolf, private.
Abraham Warren, private.
Valentine Weirick, private.
John Winn, private.
Christopher Weigle, private.
Benjamin Wheeler, private.
Robert M. Wilson, 2d, boatswain.
Michael Warner, private.
Andrew Wilson, private.
George Wiseman, private.
William Waddle, private.
Patrick Welsh, private.
Joseph Wren, private.
Jacob Windolph, private.
John Wort, private.
Jacob Werts, private.
Ralph Woolman, private.
Samuel Whitehead, private.
Michael Waggoner, private.
John Welsh, private.
Michael Wheeland, private.
Thomas West, private.
Amos Wilkinson, lieutenant.
Joseph Williams, private.
Ephraim White, private.
John Wandel, private.
Cornelius Wear, private.
Martin Wethknecht, private.
Robert Wilson, 2d, private.
James Watson, private.
John Wilson, private.

Edward Woodman, private.
George Wrightmire, private.
Jacob Winters, private.
Joseph White, dragoon.
James Winters, private.
William Williams, private.
Gideon Woodmansee, private.
James Wilkins, private.
Henry Weaver, private.
John Whitty, private.
William Webber, private.
Joseph Wescoat, private.
Nehemiah Wilson, private.
Alexander Wilson, private.
Jacob Whiter, private.
Joseph Welsh, private.
Consider Wood, private.
Lewis Waltman, private.
Michael Weirick, private.
Samuel Wharton, private.
Benjamin Watson, private.
Edmund Weston, private.
Nathan Winton, private.
John B. Webster, captain lieutenant.
Adam Weaver, private.
Isaac Wheeler, private.
Isaac Wall, private.
Frederick Williams, private.
Frederick Willhelm, corporal.
Absalom Wright, private.
John Weasey, private.
Frederick William Wack, private.
Silvanus Wade, private.
Joseph Williams, private.
Ichabod Ward, private.
John West, private.
Joseph Walker, corporal.
Jacob Wesmer, fifer.
Conrad Wills, private.
William Willard, private.
David Willson, private.
Wollery Whiteman, private.
John Whitley, private.
Simeon Wylie, private.
James Winning, private.
George Wilhelm, private.

Y.

Robert Young, private.
John F. Yengling, private.
John Youse, private.

Z.

George Ziegler, private.
John Zeans, private.
Michael Zeller, private.

I hereby certify that the foregoing sheets of thirty-five pages, are truly copied from the Records of the War Department.

In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the Seal of the said Department, this fifteenth day of January, in the year of Lord one Thousand Eight Hundred and twenty.

J. C. CALHOUN.
Secretary of War.

REVOLUTIONARY PENSIONERS IN 1825.

[The following certified list includes, besides those who served in the Pennsylvania Line, the Militia, and those resident in Pennsylvania at the time who were in the service of other States in the war. It differs somewhat from the list printed in Volume Eleven of this series of Pennsylvania Archives.]

A list of persons residing in Pennsylvania who have been placed on the pension list of the United States, on account of Revolutionary service, shewing the names of those who have died, as also those who served in the Pennsylvania Line.

David Alshouse, P. L.
William Anderson, P. L.
Robert Allison, P. L.
Thomas Anderson, P. L.
Jonathan Arnold.
Thomas Anderson, 2d, P. L.
George Anderson, P. L.
Enoch Anderson, 1st, P. L.; dead.
Enoch Anderson, 2d, dead.
James Andrews.
John Antrein, P. L.
John Akaley, P. L.
John Allison, P. L.

Elijah Atwood.
David Allen.
Mathias Armbruster, P. L.
Elisha Ames.
Adam Anderson, P. L.
Robert Anderson, P. L.
Jacob Allen, P. L.
Nicholas Angst, P. L.
John Anthony.
Samuel Anderson.
Christopher Avery.
John Arthur, P. L.
Jedediah Adams.
Jacob Allen.
Isaac Artis.
Titus Allen.
Isaiah Adkins.
Shewbart Armitage, P. L.; dead.
George Arnold.
Samuel Auchmuty, P. L.
David Austin.
Robert Barckley, P. L.
Jacob Bower, P. L.
John Brewer, dead.
William Bitterley.
Rufus Bennett, P. L.
Patrick Butler, dead; P. L.
John Brisban.
James Boyle, P. L.
Thomas Burn, dead.
Daniel Brodhead, P. L.
Emanuel Bollinger, P. L.
James Brown, Sr., P. L.
Daniel Bloom, P. L.; dead.
William Black.
Thomas Beatty, P. L.; dead.
Charles Bryan, P. L.
Robert Buchanan.
Frederick Boyer, P. L.
James Berry, P. L.; dead.
John Buchanan.
James Blair.
Thomas Burk, P. L.
Elijah Bowman, P. L.
James Baker, P. L.
George Baylor, P. L.

Benony Bates.
John Brown, P. L.
Eden Burroughs.
Alexander Buchanan, dead.
Joseph Bryan, P. L.; dead.
John Bar, P. L.
William Bargenhoof, P. L.
James Bradford.
Stephen Barnum, dead.
Archibald Birth, dead.
Alexander Brown, dead; P. L.
John F. Beckarth, dead.
John Becker, P. L.; dead.
John Beatty, 1st, P. L.
Yost Borger, P. L.
John Burnhart.
Robert Bailey, dead.
John Brown.
Jonathan Brown.
George Buyers.
Lewis Bender, P. L.
Peter Bucklew.
William Brown, P. L.; dead.
Stephen Bennett.
William Blake, P. L.
James Brown, 2d.
William Barr.
James Buchanan, P. L.
Benjamin Bosworth
Benjamin Burd, P. L.; dead.
Nathan Bostwick.
Edward Bess, P. L.; dead.
Ebenezer Beeman.
George Bowers.
John Bernard, P. L.
William Bills, dead.
Stephen Ballard, P. L.
Henry Bentley, P. L.; dead
Peter Bricker, P. L.
John Boon, P. L.
John Benson.
John Baylie, P. L.
John Brennon, P. L.
Moses Balding, P. L.
Bartholomew Bratton.
Mathias Buckler, P. L.

William Blakeney, dead.
James Bigelow.
John Beatty, 2d, P. L.
Martin Brechal.
Benjamin Bennett.
Daniel Bernhart.
James Barnes.
Nehemiah Barnes.
John Jacob Bower, P. L.
George Bowers, 2d.
Thomas Buchanan, P. L.; dead.
John Borry, P. L.
Thomas Bowland.
Andrew Blanchard.
Benjamin Bidlack.
John Boyle, P. L.; dead.
George Becktel.
Jacob Betts.
Elias Bennett.
Frederick Boyer.
Michael Bitz, P. L.; dead.
Daniel Black, P. L.
Ebenezer Bartlett.
George Beaver, P. L.
William Barnes, P. L.
David Boggs, P. L.
Andrew Bryson, P. L.; dead.
John Blundin.
Abner Blanchard.
John Battin.
John Brownlee, P. L.
William Beeton.
Isaac Broom, P. L.
Thomas Bevington, P. L.
Joseph Britton, P. L.
Hubbard Burrows.
Isaac Brownson.
Jacob Barlett.
William Brown, 2d, P. L.
Henry Brim, P. L.
Dewalt Bilman, P. L.
Abraham Booker.
Jacob Beetam, P. L.
John Bartley.
Thomas Bingham, P. L.
John Battles.

Daniel Bergmeyer, P. L; dead.
Bristol Budd, alias Bristol Sampson.
Andrew Bird, P. L.
Adam Branthiser, or Branthever, P. L.
William Burk, P. L.
Thomas Brown.
Ralph Boon, P. L.
Leonard Buck, P. L.; dead.
Jacob Balmer, P. L.; dead.
Patrick Buck, P. L.
Henry Barnhart, P. L.
Peter Betz.
William Branch.
Benjamin Beaver, P. L.
Edward Burgess.
Yost Bleecher, P. L.
George Bomgardner.
Jabez Baldwin.
Isaac Berlin, P. L.
William Butler, P. L.
Charles Bison, or Bisson, P. L
Sebastian Bowers.
Jeremiah Bannon, P. L.
John Clark, 2d, P. L.; dead.
Francis Carberry.
Darius Calkins.
John Cavenough, P. L.
Miles Crowley, P. L.; dead
Alexander Campbell.
Martin Claubaugh.
Daniel Callaghan, P. L.
Robert Campbell, P. L.
John Craig, P. L.
Blaney Cochran, P. L.
John Casper.
William Cline, P. L.
David Crider, P. L.
Daniel Cross, P. L.
John Collins.
Andrew Crawford, P. L.
Edward Carleton, P. L.
John Crossan, P. L.
Joseph Cooper, P. L.
Thomas Clark, P. L.; dead.
John Carey.
Edward Cavanaugh, P. L.

Joseph Cunningham, P. L.
Andrew Carman.
Eli Catlin.
Marmaduke Curtis.
William Campbell, P. L.; dead.
Felix Christman, P. L.
Joseph Chapman, dead.
John Casey, dead.
Edward Cochran, P. L.
John Callender.
McDonald Campbell.
Philip Coldwater.
William Chadwick.
Casper Camp, P. L.
Richard Cooper.
Patrick Carney, P. L.
John Clark, 3d.
Timothy Culver.
Charles Cooper, P. L.
Nicholas Cassidy, dead.
John Clark, 4th, P. L.
Ebenezer Corey.
Samuel Callender.
Timothy Collins.
Jacob Cramer.
Isaac Caster.
Nathaniel Coburn.
Anthony Carner.
John Clark, 5th, P. L.
Mathias Crout, P. L.
Samuel Castile, P. L.
Dennis Carroll, P. L.
Robert Campbell, 2d.
Henry Clemens.
Joel Cook.
John Churchfield, P. L.
James Crutchlow, P. L.
Richard Cheyney.
Benjamin Carson, P. L.
Peter Clemence, P. L.
Peter Carrigan, P. L.
Tobias Cole.
John Clevidence.
Samuel Cooper.
Leonard Corl, P. L.
John Carothers, P. L.

William Collins, P. L.
Benjamin Clark.
Henry Cornelius.
William Cork.
John Conway, P. L.
George Connor, Sr., P. L.
John Crawford, P. L.
Henry Curtis, alias Henry Bass
Thomas Campbell, P. L.
George Crow, P. L.
William Corneguy, P. L.
Robert Campbell, 3d, P. L.
Robert Cochran, P. L.
Andrew Cramer.
John Coleman, P. L.
John Cook, P. L. ; dead.
Thomas Chockley, dead.
William Carson, P. L.
Robert Cuning, P. L.
Daniel Chamberlain.
Patrick Cavenough, P. L.
John Clark.
Henry Cook, P. L.
Dennis Cain.
Samuel Clark.
Philip Creekbaum.
William Cavin, P. L.
Patrick Clemons, P. L.
James Curry, P. L.
Samuel Campbell, P. L.
Daniel Conklin.
Moses Chamberlin.
John Campbell, P. L. ; dead.
Peter Crawford, dead.
Garret Clawson.
Isaiah Clevinger.
James Clendenning, P. L.
John Connaway.
John Carter.
Ebenezer Coe, P. L.
Samuel Chase, P. L.
Caleb, or Cutlip Crumlow, P. L.
Nathaniel Coulter.
William Corn.
John Cunias, P. L.
Joseph Cummings.

Simon Chesley.
Conrad Coffroth.
Martin Carringer, P. L.
Thomas Craig, P. L.
Nicholas Conty, P. L.
George Cooper.

William Donaldson.
Jesse Dickinson.
Nathaniel Donnell, dead.
John Dornbauch, P. L.; dead.
William Dixon, or Dickson, P. L.
James Duncan.
James Dixon, P. L.
Samuel Davis, dead; P. L.
James Duff, P. L.
Charles Dickey, P. L.; dead.
Lambert Dorland, P. L.
John Dover, P. L.
Robert Duncan.
David Dimock.
Benjamin Decker, P. L.
Levi Davis, P. L.
John Deveney, P. L.
Thomas Dill, P. L.
Dennis Dempsey.
Samuel Deiley, P. L.
John Dougherty, P. L.
Patrick Dixon, P. L.
William Drake.
Michael Dolin.
William Davidson, P. L.
John Daly, P. L.
Peter Dych.
Andrew Douglass, dead.
Jacob Dowderman, P. L.; dead.
Dennis Dunning.
Walter Dyer, dead.
James Dougherty, P. L.
Jacob Dixon, P. L.
Jacob Doddridge.
Isaac Daud.
Michael Dearmond, P. L.
Michael Dodson.
Leonard Devons.
Henry Davidhiser, P. L.

Christian Dentzler, dead.
Isaac Dunn.
John Donnelly, P. L.
William Denning, P. L.
Samuel Dunlap.
William Davis.
William Dougherty.
Philip Dock, P. L.
Henry Doll, P. L.
Martin Doll, P. L.
William Davis, 2d, P. L.
Ludwig Dorman, P. L.
John Donaldson, P. L.
Thomas Davis, P. L.
George Detrich, P. L.
Ezra Doty.
Dennis Dailly, P. L.
Michael Dewalt, P. L.
John Davis, P. L.
Samuel Dunham, dead.
Christian Durr, dead.
James Dickens.
Patrick Dixson, P. L.
George Dias, or Dice.
Moses Day.
John Drally, dead.
John Deis, P. L.
Andrew Dover, P. L.
John Davis, 2d.
Christian Dull, dead.
John Dusky, dead.
Alexander Duncan, dead; P. L.
Joseph Davis, P. L.
John Dedier, Sr., dead; P. L.
Daniel Davis.

Abel Evans, P. L.
John English, P. L.
James English, P. L.
John Eichols, dead; P. L.
Edward Edgerton, P. L.
David Edgar, dead; P. L.
John Eckart, P. L.
George R. Everson, dead.
Emanuel Ebb.
John Everhart, P. L.; dead.

Evan Evans, P. L.
John Eldred, dead; P. L.
Arthur Eckels, P. L.
John Eply, P. L.
John Evans.
Jonathan Edwards.
Henry Erwin, or Irwin, P. L.
Casper Ebner, P. L.
Henry Ensminger.
William Erwin.

Simon Flynn, P. L.; dead.
Conrad Fry, P. L.
William Ferrell, P. L.
John Furnell, dead.
Jacob Fetzer, P. L.; dead.
John Faust, P. L.
William Forbes, P. L.
George Ferdinand Fagundus, dead.
Charles Francis, P. L.
Peter Felix, P. L.
Michael Finke, P. L.
Peter Fleck, P. L.
George Firing, P. L.; dead.
Abraham Faith, P. L.
Consider Fuller.
John Fisemire, dead.
Henry Fry.
Simon Fletcher, dead; P. L.
Philip Freeman.
Daniel French, 2d.
William Farnshild.
Michael Frederick, P. L.
Henry Fratt, P. L.
Jonathan Fowler.
Martin Freaze, P. L.
Jacob Fry.
Michael Ferrick.
David Forrest.
Zephon Flower.
David Fox.
Peter Fricker.
Peter Flory, P. L.
Andrew Fox.
Nathan Forbes.
Thomas Ford.

Isaac Ford.
George Foltz.
George Funk.
Joseph Fuller.
Isaac Franks.
John Finley, P. L.
Henry Frankfort.
Daniel Finly.
Maurice Fitzgerald.
Philip Fry, P. L.
Elias Frutchman, P. L.; dead.
David Ford.
Thomas Foster.
John Fox.
Rufus Fitch.
Henry Fisher.
Mathias Foos, P. L.
Thomas Fullerton, P. L.

Jacob Grace, P. L.; dead.
George Gideon.
George Godfrey alias Felker, P. L.
Robert Galway.
John Gregory, P. L.
Andrew Garden.
Israel Greenleaf.
Ambroze Gaylord.
Hugh Gowan.
Daniel Graham, P. L.
Thomas Gilmor, dead.
James Greenland, P. L.
John Goldy.
Jonathan Guy, dead; P. L.
Alexander Galbraith, P. L.; dead.
John Gordon, 2d, P. L.; dead.
Alexander Graydon, P. L.
Joel Gray, P. L.; dead.
William George, P. L.
Thomas Gordon, P. L.
Enos Granniss.
John Griffith, P. L.; dead.
Stephen Gilbert, P. L.; dead.
Timothy Green.
James Gray.
John Gillespie.
William Glendy, P. L.

George Gangwoir, P. L.
Jacob Glassmeyer, P. L.
Levi Griffith, P. L.
Abraham Greenwalt, P. L.
John Gibson.
Joshua Gibbs.
John Green, P. L.
William Guthrie, P. L.
Alpheus Gillet.
Solomon Goff.
David Gee.
Samuel D. Goff.
Joshua Griffin.
John Gunnell.
James Gooding.
Robert Gordon.
Alexander Gray, P. L.
Jacob Grigher, or Geiger, P. L.; dead.
William Gillaspy.
Joseph Gray.
Nathaniel Gates.
Jacob Grubb, P. L.
Adam Gramlin, P. L.
Asa Geer.
Joseph Geddes, P. L.
Joseph Grover.
John Ganey, P. L.
John Gauf, or Graff, P. L.
Obadiah Gore.
Hugh Gill.
Valentine Gruber.
James Gardner, P. L.; dead.
James Green, 1st.
John Garrison.
Jeremiah Geise, P. L.
Jacob Gideon.
John Geyer, or Gier, P. L.

Lewis Harter.
James Hagerman, P. L.
John Haskins, P. L.
Hugh Hafferman, P. L.
Israel Harding.
James Heaton.
Thomas Hamilton, P. L.
John Hannah, dead.

Abraham Horn, P. L.
Valentine Horse, P. L.
Cornelius Hoffman, P. L.
Frederick Hill, P. L.
Leonard Hanse, P. L.
William Howell, P. L.
James Hogg.
John Heller, P. L.
John Henesy, P. L.; dead.
John Heisam.
George House, P. L.
John Hamilton, P. L.
George Hoofnoggle, P. L.
John Henninger.
Christian Hubbert, P. L.
John Hoge, P. L.
Thomas Holland.
William Howe, P. L.
Jacob Holden, P. L.
Peter Heblinger, P. L.
Thomas Hermen.
Abel Hennon.
John Holliday, P. L.; dead.
Henry Hamrick.
Frederick Hubner.
Wakeman Hull.
Martin Hart, P. L.
Joseph Henderson.
Nicholas Hart, P. L.; dead.
Jacob Houts, P. L.; dead.
Alexander Howden.
Melchior Hefflish.
William Henderson.
Adam Harboll, P. L.
George Hallman, P. L.
William Hamson, P. L.; dead.
Conrad Hiles, dead.
Michael Huffnagle, P. L.; dead.
John Harris, P. L.
James Holmes, P. L.
James Hamilton, P. L.
John Henninger, P. L.
Andrew Hendrake, dead.
Timothy Hall.
Adam Happall.
John Hamilton, 2d, P. L.; dead.

David Hunt.
Israel Hewitt.
Henry Hilger.
Christian Huffman, P. L.
Francis Harbison, P. L.
Philip Huston.
George Heiber.
George Henning, P. L.
Jacob Hunt, dead.
Francis Henery, P. L.
Henry Hummel, P. L.
George Heckman, P. L.
Andrew Hamilton, dead.
John Hind.
Samuel Harper.
James Hook, dead.
Cornelius Haskins.
Benjamin Huff.
George Huber, P. L.
George Hart, P. L.
Henry Hooven, P. L.; dead.
John Harris, 2d, P. L.
John Hartchy.
Edward Hegin, P. L.
Cornelius Hutchison, P. L.
Michael Hare, P. L.
Stephen Hetfield.
Thomas Harwood.
Conrad Hine, P. L.
Robert Hazlett, P. L.; dead.
John Hawkenberry, dead.
Job Heart.
Nicholas Hart, 2d.
John Hubbell, Jr.
James Hogge, P. L.; dead.
James Hutton, P. L.
Bartlett Hinds.
George Hortman.
James Harper, P. L.
Jacob Harbaugh.
Elias Hardy.
Frederick Hubley, P. L.; dead.
Frederick Heberly.
Benjamin Hains, dead.
William Hamilton.
John Hening.

John Hutchinson, P. L.
John Handell, dead.
Martin Harman.
Joseph Hicks.
James Hughes.
William Horder, P. L.
Jacob Hoff, P. L.
John Heller, P. L.
Jacob Hartline.
Thomas Hamilton, P. L.
Andrew Higgins.

John Irvine, 1st, P. L.
John Irvine, 2d, P. L.
Barney Idle, P. L.
Artemadores Ingersoll.
Philip Isenhour, P. L.

John Jenkins.
John Johnston.
Hugh Johnston, P. L.
John Jamieson, P. L.
Thomas Jones.
Peregrine Jones, P. L.
Philip Jones, P. L.; dead.
Joseph Johnston, P. L.
Jacob Justice, P. L.
Jonathan Jennings.
Barney Johnson, dead.
Michael Jordan.
Michael Joiners, P. L.
John Johnston, 2d, dead.
Gersham Joy, dead.
Joshua Jackson.
James Jacobs, P. L.; dead.
Joseph Johnson.
William Jackson.
Philip Jacoby, P. L.; dead.
Joel Jones.
James Josiah.
Seth Jewel.
Nathan B. Jennings.
Benjamin Johnson.
Richard Jackson.
Solomon Jordan.
William Johnston, P. L.

Nicholas Jacoby, P. L.
Joel Jones.

Samuel Kearsley, P. L.
James Kelly, P. L. ; dead.
George Keller, P. L.
Francis King, P. L.
Philip Krug, or Krugh.
George Kibler, P. L.
Robert King, P. L.
Frederick Keller, P. L.
John Keisy, P. L.
John Kendall.
Joseph King.
Frederick Kemmerer, P. L.
James Keep.
Peter Kip.
Henry Klunck, alias Henry Clung.
Samuel Kokogai, P. L.
Martin Kisenceders, dead.
Daniel Kougher, P. L.
Patrick Kane, P. L.
Michael Kuhns, P. L.
William Kelly, P. L. ; dead.
John Ketcham, P. L.
Peter Kinney, P. L.
Adam Koch.
William Kerr, P. L.
George Kappes, P. L.
Dennis Kean, P. L.
Lewis Kintz, P. L.
Simeon King.
Samuel Kellogg.
George Kerstetter.
Henry Keyser, dead.
David Kinsey, dead.
Adam Kough, P. L.
John Kerner, P. L. ; dead.
John Kerr, P. L.
Amos Kenney.
Adam Koveler, P. L.
Ebenezer Keeler.
William Kernachan, P. L.
Bela Kent.
Andrew Klinesmith, P. L.
George Kersch, or Kirst, dead.

Philip Kinder, P. L.
Joseph King, P. L.
John Keemle.
George Kibber, P. L.
James Kirk, P. L.
John Kirk.
Alexander King.

John Lynn, P. L.
Joseph Lorentz, P. L. ; dead.
Jedediah Lyon, dead.
Henry Lipkey, P. L. ; dead.
John Lochman, dead.
Thomas Loyd.
Anthony Lehman, P. L.
Thomas Lucas, dead.
Robert Lyon, P. L. ; dead.
David Logan, P. L.
Jacob Lindey, P. L.
Peter Lawyer, P. L.
Robert Lackey, P. L.
Jehu Lewis, P. L.
Mungo Lindsey, P. L.
Philip Lauman, P. L.
George Likens, P. L.
Henry Lebo, P. L.
William Littell, P. L.
Daniel Lawrence.
Daniel Lee.
George Lucas, P. L.
Joseph Linebock, P. L.
John Loyd, P. L.
Samuel Lewis, P. L.
Hartman Lathiser.
Thomas Little, P. L.
Lewis Lewis.
Serring Line.
Benjamin Lyon, P. L.
Joseph Ledyard, Sr., P. L.
Jesse Losey.
Henry Lushbaugh, P. L.
John Lemmon, P. L.
James Lawson, P. L.
Daniel Leany, P. L.
Michael Lynch, P. L.
John Lavery, P. L. ; dead.

Henry Layman, P. L.
Hezekiah Leach, dead.
John Lane.
John Lassly.
William Leary, P. L.
David Lindsey, P. L.
George Lenox, P. L.
Archibald Leech, P. L.
Amos Lawrence.
Matthias Little, dead.
Frederick Livenberg, P. L.
Philip Lesh, dead.
Thomas Ligget, P. L.
William Leard.
William Lock, P. L.
Jacob Lewis.
Abraham Lancer, alias Lansert, P. L.
Nicholas Leib, P. L.
Laban Landon.
Samuel Lovett.
John Lorain, P. L.
John Lockert, P. L.
George Lindersmith, P. L.
Matthias Lockman, P. L.
John Lahey.
John Lazier.
Abraham Loper, dead.
Michael Little.
David Loveliss.
Richard Lewis.
Peter Livingood.
Philip Jacob Lott, P. L.
John Logan, P. L.
William Lattimore, P. L.
John Lock.

Alexander McCurdy, P. L.
William Magaw, P. L.
Colin McLachlan, P. L.
Andrew McLure.
Henry Magg.
Elnathan Miner.
Clement Masters.
William Mapes.
Thomas McFall, 2d, P. L.
James Maxwell.

Jonathan Morris.
Samuel McMillan.
Barney McGuire, P. L.
Jacob Moyer, P. L.
Conrad Myers, P. L.
John Miller, 1st.
John McKeowin, P. L.
Edward McMasters, P. L.
John Michall, P. L.
Richard Mahew.
James Maxwell, 2d, P. L.
John Metz, P. L.; dead.
Joseph Madon, P. L.
William McGinnis, P. L.
Daniel McMath, P. L.; dead.
William Murray.
Richard Meiggs, P. L.
James Mitchell, P. L.
Peter Mayer, P. L.
George Morris, P. L.
John McMurdy, P. L.
John Morris, P. L.
Charles McLain, P. L.; dead.
Robert McLaughlin, P. L.
Peter McBride, P. L.
Christian Miller, P. L.
James Maxwell, 3d, P. L.
William Mills, P. L.
Enoch Morgan, P. L.
Alexander Martin, P. L.
William McMullen, P. L.
John McMullen, P. L.
Peter Martin, P. L.; dead.
Daniel McFatrick, P. L.; dead.
James Mahony, P. L; dead.
Jacob Murry, P. L.
James Mitchell, P. L.
Andrew McPherran, P. L.
John McDowell, P. L.; dead.
John Miller, 2d, P. L.; dead.
Jacob Miller, P. L.
William Moore.
James Moon, P. L.
John Manan, P. L.
James McKim, P. L.
Neal McGerry, P. L.

Conrad Miller, P. L.
Nathaniel P. Moody.
Henry McCartney, P. L.
John Marshall, P. L.; dead.
Henry Mozer.
Jacob Miley.
Andrew Marker, P. L.
Daniel McCann, P. L.
William Mason, P. L.
Henry McEwen, P. L.
Alexander McLain, P. L.
Thomas McKeen, P. L.
Daniel McCarty, P. L.
Baltzer Meese, P. L.
William Martin, P. L.; dead.
Stephen Miller.
Francis McDonald, P. L.; dead.
Patrick Martin, P. L.
Charles March, P. L.
John McDowell, 2d, P. L.
Christian Miller, 2d, P. L.; dead.
David Marshall.
George McSwine, P. L.
William McConnell.
John McCoy.
James Mathias.
William Moore, P. L.; dead.
Claudius Martin, P. L.; dead.
Owen Murphy, P. L.
David Marshall, P. L.
James Morris, dead.
John McCar, P. L.; dead.
James Martin.
Caleb Miles.
William Mileham, P. L.
John Montgomery, P. L.
John Moart, P. L.
Jacob McClean, dead.
Isaac Morley.
Samuel Mellon, P. L.
Thomas McDowell.
John McGaw, P. L.
John McCleland, P. L.
John Melone.
Thomas Murray, P. L.
Jacob Moyer, 2d, P. L.

Jacob Marks, P. L.
Godfred Miller.
Adam Musketmuss, P. L.; dead.
Philip Means.
Peter Miller.
James Murray, P. L.
David McCollom.
John McCracken, P. L.
Michael Mullen, P. L.
John Murphy, P. L.; dead.
Josiah Mills.
Robert Murdock, P. L.; dead.
David Maffet.
James McKinzey.
Andrew McKee, P. L.
Henry Miller, P. L.
George Masser.
William Mullen, P. L.
John McConaghy, dead.
William Marx, P. L.
Jeremiah Murray, P. L.
John McKinney, P. L.
Reuben Mickle.
Hugh McElrevy, or McRevy, P. L.; dead.
Martin Miller.
Zenos Macomber.
Daniel Mahony, P. L.; dead.
John Marks, P. L.
John Miller, 3d, P. L.
James Moore, P. L.; dead.
Alexander Moore.
William McCord, P. L.
Andrew Moore, P. L.
Michael McMullen, P. L.; dead.
Robert McDonald, P. L.
George Mundle.
Daniel McCoy, P. L.; dead.
Martin Miller, 2d.
Adam Mushler.
Leonard Moyer, P. L.
Jacob Miller, 2d, P. L.; dead.
Solomon Moss, dead.
Philip Mick, P. L.
Robert Mure, or Murry, P. L.
Matthew Murry.
Charles McCoy, P. L.

Jesse Merrill.
John McKee, P. L.
James McKinley, P. L.
Alexander Moffat.
John McQuinn.
James McCann, P. L.
John McLeod, P. L.
David Matteson.
James McGee.
David Williams Martin.
John Maclain.
Almond Munson.
Valentine Miller, P. L.
Edward McMasters, P. L.
Levi Merrit.
John Murtin, dead.
Jonathan McConnell.
David Marsh, P. L.
Philip Miller.
Daniel McCarty, P. L.
John Mitchell.

John Nicholson, P. L.
Jonathan Nichols, dead.
William Norton.
John Nowlan, P. L.
James Newbury, P. L.
William Newill.
Anthony Newhouse, P. L.
William Nichols.
Christopher New, P. L.
James Norton.
Robert Nichols.
Jonathan Newman.
Henry Neider.
Samuel Newcome, P. L.
James Neill, P. L.
Frederick Nipple, P. L.
William Nelson, P. L.; dead.
Philip Nagel, P. L.

John O'Neal.
Samuel Orsburne.
Hugh Otterson, dead.
Andrew Oliphant, P. L.
Murty O'Dorner, P. L.

James Osbourne, P. L.
Joseph Orr, P. L.
Andrew O'Brien.
John Ohmet, dead; P. L.
Robert Oldis, P. L.; dead.
Peter Ox.
Henry O'Neil.
Robert Owens.
Adam Oury, P. L.
Dedrick Ourhand, P. L.
Matthew Organ, P. L.
Richard Oldham, dead.
Angus Onear, P. L.

Christian Popst, P. L.; dead.
Michael Peter, P. L.
Michael Pace, dead.
Alexander Patterson, P. L.
John Parkhurst.
Benjamin Peck, P. L.; dead.
Conrad Pudding.
Samuel Pollard.
James Peale.
George Preise, P. L.
Christian Pemberton, P. L.
John Patton, P. L.
Anthony Peters, P. L.
George Phile, P. L.
Henry Pennsinger, P. L.
Aaron Powers.
Elijah Putnam.
Comfort Peters.
Jared Phelps.
Frederick Powell, P. L.
James Pratt, P. L.
Gideon Post.
John Patridge, P. L.
John Portman, P. L.
Robert Peling, P. L.
Robert Potter.
James Parsons.
John Peters.
William Poor, P. L.
Thomas Pierce.
Henry Piper.
John Pratt.

Nathan Parrish.
William Palmiteer, P. L.
Peter Pool.
Elias Pollock.
John Putnam.
John Polhemus.
Aaron Perkins.

Edward Quigley, P. L.; dead.
Henry Quick.

John Ryon.
Frederick Rively.
Robert Richie, P. L.
David Ramsay, P. L.
Conrad Rimee, P. L.
Thomas Randolph.
Frederick Rice.
Andrew Ralston, P. L.; dead.
Peter Reese, P. L.; dead.
Isaac Rosebrough, P. L.
James Russell, P. L.
John Rowan, P. L.
Abraham Rinker, P. L.
Philip M. Russel.
Thomas Rathburn.
John Ryan, P. L.
John Renison, P. L.
Godfrey Rarick, P. L.; dead.
Henry Rawland.
Benedict Reynolds.
Stephen Roberts.
Frederick Reeger.
Benjamin Renels.
Jacob Rusk, P. L.
George Runyan, P. L.
Mark Rodes, P. L.
Paul Russell, P. L.
Samuel Ramble.
Isaac Rose, dead.
James Ryburn, P. L.
Michael Reigle.
Conrad Reichswick.
Abijah Reynolds.
George Rees, P. L.
Abraham Roser, dead.
Thomas Roberts, dead; P. L.

George Rishell, P. L.
Isaac Rynearson.
Russell Rose.
Nathan Rowley.
Christian Riffert.
Samuel Rutan.
James Reed, P. L.
John Ryan, 2d.
Peter Radabach, P. L.
Conrad Runnion.
Simon Rockwood, dead.
Amos Roberts, P. L.
James Reed, P. L.
Joseph Roberts, P. L.
Simon Ruffcorn, P. L.
William Robinson, P. L.
Thomas Ryerson.
Reuben Rowley.
William Russell, P. L.

John Savidge, P. L.
Henry Swartaga.
James Stewart, 1st, P. L.
John Staples.
Daniel St. Clair, P. L.
Eliphalet Smith.
James E. Smith, P. L.
George Strous, dead.
James Stewart, 2d, P. L.
Peter Shumway.
Richard Stone, P. L.
Frederick Shriber, P. L.
Christian Shockey, P. L.
Moses Smith.
Samuel Scott, P. L.; dead.
Adam Stall.
William Smith, P. L.; dead.
Deadlove Shadow, P. L.
Jacob Stoner, P. L.
Hugh Sweeny, P. L.; dead.
Edward Smith, P. L.
John Stedinger, P. L.
Samuel Spicer, P. L.
John Smith, 2d, P. L.
Jacob Strous, dead.
John Spering, P. L.

Francis Snover, P. L.
John Snider.
Henry Shuler, dead.
Daniel Salliday, or Salloday, P. L.
Samuel C. Seely.
George J. Sohn, P. L.
Thomas Smith, 1st, P. L.
John Strunk, P. L.
James Stephenson.
John Stephenson, P. L.
Henry Southard.
Adam Stonebraker.
Christopher Steinhyzer, P. L.
Ichabod Shaw.
Philip Peter Schriver, P. L.
Christian Shryock, P. L.; dead.
George Slotterback, P. L.
Jacob Shively, P. L.
Abraham Steiger, P. L.; dead.
Elijah Starr, P. L.
Thomas Stratton.
Lawrence Speigle, P. L.
John Stewart, P. L.
James Search, dead.
Daniel Stoy, P. L.
David Stalzer, P. L.
Michael Spatz.
Ebenezer Seely.
Baltus Stone, P. L.
Henry Sypert.
John Saylor, P. L.
Benjamin Stagg, P. L.
William Scheib, P. L.; dead.
John Studleman, P. L.
James Sloan, P. L.; dead.
Richard Sparr.
Moses Swartwood, P. L.
James Smith, P. L.; dead.
James Smith, 2d.
William Scott, 2d, P. L.; dead.
Roger Stayner, P. L.
Henry Stroop, P. L.
William Schofield, P. L.; dead.
David Sohn, P. L.
Frederick Shaffer, P. L.; dead.
Thomas Stevens.

Matthias Shroyer.
Daniel Steever, P. L.
Samuel Severance.
James Satterlee.
Job Stiles.
Thomas Smith, 3d, dead
John Steel.
Henry Snyder, P. L.
Adam Shoeman, P. L.
Daniel Shuttell, P. L.
Samuel Smiley, P. L.
Andrew Stoope.
John Spires.
Jacob Stucker, P. L.
Robert Shandler.
John Smith, 3d.
John Smith.
John Shubert, P. L.; dead.
Joshua Spear.
Philip Shreder, dead.
Philip Smith.
John Leonard Spong, P. L.
Adam Smith.
Adam Swager, P. L.
Levi Sterling.
Henry Shoup, Sr., P. L.
Joseph Smith.
James Shields, P. L.
Samuel Seely, P. L.
Elisha Satterlee.
Conrad Smith.
Nathaniel Stevenson, P. L.
William Stevens, P. L.
Edward Sweeny, P. L.
Ludwig Shoup, P. L.
William Stone.
Samuel Shrott, P. L.
Jacob Seivert, P. L.
Luke Swetland, dead.
Edward Smith, P. L.
Adam Specht, P. L.
John Sims.
John Smith, 4th, P. L.
John Spalding.
Adam Snyder, P. L.
Frederick Stillwaggon, P. L.; dead.

Robert Sturgeon, P. L.
George Scott, P. L.
John Schneider.
George Stewart, P. L.; dead.
Joseph Stilwell.
Nicholas Shenefelt, P. L.
David Sultz, P. L.
Jacob Springer, dead.
Henry Skinner.
David Shearer.
Henry Sampson.
Michael Shultz, P. L.
Lemuel Standlief.
Alexander Stevenson, P. L.
John Stoner, P. L.
Benjamin Sweeten.
Andrew Sands, P. L.
Nehemiah Sherwood.
Robert Shepherd, P. L.
Peter Smith, P. L.
Jonathan Scott, P. L.
Benjamin Seely, 1st.
Thomas Shaffer, P. L.
Uriah Springer.
Nicholas Salehammer, P. L.
Hugh Stewart, P. L.; dead.
George Sutch.
Jonathan Stratton.
Ephraim Sutton, P. L.
George S. Searles.
Samuel Salter.
Michael Scott.
James Steed, P. L.
Ichabod Seaver.
Stephen Sparrow.
David Shearer.
Mathias Shaner.
Roger Stayner, P. L.
Andrew Sax, P. L.

Henry Turney, dead.
Isaiah Tuttle.
David Thomas, P. L.
Charles Tipper, P. L.
Absalom Timms.
Leonard Toops, P. L.

John Trees, P. L.
William Tenant, P. L.
William G. Turner, P. L.
George Trine, P. L.
William Tindall.
Thomas Turner.
Epaphras Thompson.
William Tye, P. L.
Benjamin A. Trowbridge.
John Teal, P. L.
William Tanner, P. L.
William Tenery.
Henry Tibben, P. L.; dead.
Simon Taylor, P. L.
Obediah Thatcher.
James Toner.
John Tudor, dead.
Lambert Thompson, dead.
Patrick Turner, P. L.
Archelaus Temple.
John Tiffany.
Joseph Thomas.
James Thayer.
Andrew Tryer, P. L.
Ezekiel Thomas.
Moses Tyler.
Samuel Tubbs.
William Taylor, 2d.
William Todd, P. L.
Solon Trescott.
John Thompson, 2d, P. L.
David Taylor.
Daniel Turner, P. L.
Jacob Thrush, P. L.
Joseph Thayer.
John Taylor.

Isaac Upthegrove.

John Vangardner, P. L.
Thomas Vaughn, P. L.
Philip Varner, P. L.
John Verner, P. L.
Daniel Vergeson.
Abraham Van Fleet.
John Vanarsdaln.

Stacey Williams, P. L. ; dead.
William Williamson.
Michael Waltz, P. L.
Robert Wood.
Lewis Woolf.
Valentine Weirick, P. L.
Christopher Weigle.
Benjamin Wheeler.
Michael Warner, P. L.
William Waddle, P. L.
Patrick Welsh.
Joseph Wren, P. L.
Jacob Windolph, P. L.
John Wort.
Jacob Wertz, P. L.
Ralph Woolman.
Samuel Whitehead.
Michael Waggoner.
John Welsh.
Michael Wheelan, P. L.
Thomas West, P. L.
Amos Wilkinson, P. L.
Joseph Williams, P. L.
Ephraim White.
John Wandel.
Cornelius Wear, P. L.
Martin Wethknecht, P. L.
Robert Wilson, 2d, P. L. ; dead
James Watson, dead.
John Wilson, P. L.
Edward Woodman.
George Wrightmire, P. L. ; dead.
Jacob Winters.
Joseph White, P. L.
James Winters, P. L.
William Williams.
Gideon Woodmansee.
James Wilkins, P. L.
Henry Weaver, P. L.
John Whitty.
William Webber.
Joseph Wescoat.
Nehemiah Wilson.
Joseph Welsh, P. L.
Consider Wood, dead.
Lewis Waltman, dead; P. L.

Michael Weirick.
Samuel Wharton, dead; P. L.
Benjamin Watson, P. L.
Edmund Weston.
Adam Weaver, P. L.
Isaac Wheeler.
Isaac Wall, P. L.
Frederick Williams.
Frederick Willhelm.
George Wilhelm, dead.
Absalom Wright.
Frederick W. Wack.
Silvanus Wade.
Joseph Williams.
John West.
Joseph Walker.
Jacob Wisner, P. L.
John Wesey, P. L.
Conrad Wills, P. L.; dead.
William Willard, P. L.
David Willson.
Wollery Whiteman, P. L.
John Whiteley.
Simon Wylie.
James Winning, P. L.; dead.
Daniel Welker, P. L.; dead.
Henry Walker, dead.
John Wetz, P. L.
Michael Weaver, dead.
John Warner.
William White, P. L.
Edward Walker.
Samuel Woodruff.
Ephraim Woodruff.
Silas Wolcut, P. L.
Nathan Winton.
Galbreath Wilson.
Robert M. Wilson, 2d.
Michael Wisler, P. L.
Isaac Woodruff.
Barney Wells, P. L.
John B. Webster, P. L.
George Wiseman, P. L.
Joseph Whipple.
Andrew Wilson, P. L.
Ichabod Ward, dead.

George Waggoner.
Joseph Ward.

Robert Young, P. L.
John F. Yengling.
John Youse, P. L.
Henry Yebel.

George Ziegler.
John Zeans, P. L.
Michael Zaller, P. L.
John Zellner, P. L.

I hereby certify that the foregoing pages, numbered from one to forty-two, are truly copied from the Pension rolls in this Department.

J. L. EDWARDS.

I hereby certify that James Lewis Edwards, who has signed the foregoing certificate, is charged with the superintendence of the Pension business, and the keeping of the rolls and all papers in relation to said business in the Department of War; and that to his certificate full faith and credit are to be given. In testimony whereof I have caused the seal of the said Department to be affixed, and have hereunto subscribed my name this thirty-first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five.

J. C CALHOUN,
Secretary of War.

DIARY OF

CAPTAIN JAMES DUNCAN,

OF

Colonel Moses Hazen's Regiment,

IN THE

YORKTOWN CAMPAIGN,

1781.

[Captain James Duncan, the author of the Journal which follows, was born in Philadelphia in 1756. He graduated at Princeton College, and was preparing for the ministry as the War of the Revolution opened, when he volunteered and was commissioned an officer in Colonel Hazen's regiment (Congress' Own), serving with distinction until its close. When the county of Adams was erected he was appointed the first prothonotary, a position he held twenty-one years. In 1822 he removed to Mercer county, where he resided until his death, which occurred June 24, 1844.]

A YORKTOWN JOURNAL.

CAMP BEFORE YORK.

October 2, 1781.—It may not be amiss to take notice of a few remarkable occurrences prior to the commencement of this journal. The army were never so universally deceived in regard to the operations of the campaign as at this time. New York was thought to be the object, and no maneuver left untried to confirm this opinion, when all on a sudden, the army decamped from W. Plains, crossed the North river, and proceeded by a circuitous route to Springfield, in New Jersey, where, after a halt of a few days (in order the better to deceive the enemy), they took their route for Trenton, at which place the artillery stores with our regiment and some other troops embarked. We were now no longer at a loss to know our place of destination. We arrived at Christiana bridge and from thence marched by land to the head of Elk, where the French troops with the rest of our army joined us in a very short time. Here we were delayed for 6 or 7 days, being busily employed in embarking ordnance stores of all kinds on board the vessels. In the meantime the French troops with some other corps of our army proceeded by land for Baltimore. The bay not being able to furnish a sufficient number of vessels, the Rhode Island regiment with ours was obliged to embark on board a number of flat-bottomed boats, which had been constructed at Albany and brought to this place. We set out on this arduous and very hazardous undertaking about September 15, and arrived at Williamsburg the 26th. On our passage we hugged close to the western shore, but the many bays and mouths of rivers we were obliged to cross rendered it excedingly dangerous. I think the rivers in their order were as follows, viz: Elk, Susquehannah, Petapsco, Severn, Patuxent, Potomac, Rappahannock, Pequankitank, York and James. The bays were numerous. Among the largest is Mock Jack, better than 20 miles across.

The weather in general was very favorable excepting at the time of our crossing the mouth of Rappahannock, when on a sudden, a furious wind arose, which occasioned a very rough sea. A number of boats were dismasted, sails torn to pieces, and the whole in the utmost distress. We, however, all made around the point into a safe harbor, excepting Colonel Antill

who, missing the point, was obliged to stretch for Given's island. After repairing our rigging it was determined to proceed a safer course than that which Colonel Antill took, by sailing across Pequankitank bay into the mouth of a river which forms Given's island. In this attempt I shipped water several times and had all my sail torn to pieces. Some of the boats were more prudent and did not cross that day. However we all arrived safe, and were detained there two days by the storm. Three vessels sailing in the bay were the same day foundered. A miraculous escape! I cannot but mention the very polite treatment we received from the inhabitants of Given's island.

I have said we arrived at Williamsburg the 26th; the 27th and 28th were detained at this place in making preparations for the siege, and on the 29th the allied army moved down toward York (distant from Williamsburg about 12 miles), and made a short halt about two miles distant from the enemy's outworks when a few shots were fired from the French pieces at some of Tarleton's horse, who immediately dispersed. In the evening we proceeded about half a mile farther and encamped for the night. In the course of the night three deserters came in with little or no intelligence that could be depended upon. On the morning of the 30th we had orders to approach the enemy's works. After marching a short distance we were ordered to load, and proceeded within half a mile of the enemy's works on the left. One brigade of infantry was halted, while the First brigade, commanded by General Muhlenburg, crossed a small morass and paraded in order of battle, marched a small distance in front; but the enemy, not firing, they wheeled to the right and took their post in the line; a picket was now turned out (the better to favor reconnoitering parties), which advanced in front nearly halfway to the enemy, until they were obliged to retreat by the fire of a field piece from the enemy's works. (It was said his excellency, the commander-in-chief, was in front of this picket the whole time reconnoitering.) The sentries were, however, continued at their posts and regularly relieved the whole day. One of the sentries was so unfortunate as to receive a wound on his foot from a cannon ball, which obliged the surgeons to make an immediate amputation of his leg. We sustained no other harm from their firing, although they frequently overshot us.

The remainder of the day was employed in reconnoitering the enemy; and toward evening the whole army encamped nearly on the ground they had before occupied. Before we proceed it may be proper now to take some notice of the different corps and the arrangement of the army. The Marquis de Lafayette's

division of L. infantry, composed of Muhlenburg's and Hazen's brigades on the right of the front line, and nearest the enemy; the Baron Steuben's division, composed of the Marylanders, Pennsylvanians and Virginians on the left of the front line. The Jersey trcops in the rear of the infantry, and the York in rear of Steuben's division, with the park of artillery and sappers and miners in the center, forming the second line; the militia forms the corps de reserve, and the French troops, commanded by Count Rochambeau, on the left of the whole. We passed this night with little or no disturbance from the enemy, but guess our agreeable surprise when on the morning of the ensuing day (October 1) we found the enemy had evacuated all their front works, and retreated about half a mile. We knew no other way to account for this than that their works being too extensive and weak, they were afraid of a storm.

This morning Colonel Scammel was unfortunately wounded and taken by the enemy, as he was too closely reconnoitering, and sent on parole to Williamsburg. No sooner was the enemy's works evacuated than they were taken possession of by our pickets, supported by the whole army, who marched up for that purpose, and continued on the lines a great part of the day, although the enemy at certain times fired very briskly from their pieces. About 8 o'clock this morning the French grenadiers attacked and carried a small battery, with the loss of four killed and six wounded. Ten companies were ordered out early this morning for fatigue, of which I had the honor to command one. Until 11 a. m. we were employed in cutting and stripping branches for gabions. On being furnished with shovels, spades, pickaxes, etc., we were ordered up to the lines, where we continued inactive until about an hour before sunset. In the meantime, the engineers were employed in reconnoitering the enemy's works, and fixing on proper places to break the first ground. Let me here observe that the enemy by evacuating their works had given us an amazing advantage, as the ground they left commanded the whole town, and nothing but the reasons before alleged could have justified them in so doing, as by contrary conduct they must have very much retarded the operations of the siege.

The engineers having fixed on and chained off the ground in two different places to erect their works within point blank shot of the enemy, the parties were called on. Five companies were ordered to an eminence on the right and five to another on the left. It happened to be my fate to be stationed on the left, a place the most dangerous of the two, as it was nearest to the enemy, and more exposed to the fire from the enemy's batteries.

We were now conducted to a small hollow near the ground. Five men were ordered by the engineer to assist him in clearing away the rubbish, staking out and drawing the lines of the work. This was in the face of open day, and the men went with some reluctance; a little before this we had a shot from the enemy which increased their fears. At dusk of evening we all marched up, and never did I see men exert themselves half so much or work with more eagerness. Indeed, it was their interest, for they could expect nothing else but an incessant roar of cannon the whole night. I must confess I too had my fears, but fortunately for us they did not fire a shot that whole night. I am at a loss to account for it, for the moon shone bright, and by the help of their night glasses they must certainly have discovered us. We were relieved about daybreak, and scarcely had we left the trenches when the enemy began their fire on both works from three pieces.

October 2.—The works were so far finished in the course of the preceding night that the men worked in them this day with very little danger, although the enemy kept up an almost incessant fire from two pieces of artillery. A drummer, rather too curious in his observations, was this day killed with a cannon ball.

October 3.—Last night four men of our regiment, detached with the first brigade, were unfortunately killed (on covering party) by one ball; one of the men belonged to my own company (Smith), a loss I shall ever regret as he was, without exception, one of the finest men in the army. A militia man this day, possessed of more bravery and prudence, stood constantly on the parapet and d——d his soul if he would dodge for the buggers. He had escaped longer than could have been expected, and, growing fool-hardy, brandished his spade at every ball that was fired, till, unfortunately, a ball came and put an end to his capers. This evening our brigade was ordered for an evening party, and in the course of the night a deserter went to the enemy, informing them of our situation, in consequence of which they directed a few shots our way, but did no harm.

October 4.—This morning, on leaving the ground, the enemy were complaisant enough to favor us with a shot, but did no execution. Fatigues were continued in the works as usual, and suffered little or no harm. This day's orders gives us an account of Tarleton's defeat on the Gloucester side on the 3d. He was attacked by Duke de Lauzun's legion and the militia grenadiers, commanded by Weeden. Tarleton lost 50 men, killed and wounded, the officer who commanded his infantry

killed, and himself badly wounded, with very little loss on our side.

October 5.—We had more firing from the enemy last night than any night since the commencement of the siege, but don't learn that they did any other harm than delay the operation of the works. This day the regiment was employed in cutting and making fascines, and a regiment from every brigade in the army ordered out for some extra fatigue duty this evening.

October 6.—The parties did not go out, and nothing extraordinary happened this day.

October 7.—The regiments ordered for the extra duty were last night employed in drawing the line of circumvallation. This line extends itself to the river on each side the town, and at all places nearly equally distant and better than 200 yards in front of the former works. The enemy discovered us, although the night was pretty favorable, but the chief of their fire was directed against the French. They were, no doubt, much astonished in the morning to find themselves so completely hemmed in on all sides, and trenches so deep that we could sustain little or no harm from their fire. The trenches were this day to be enlivened with drums beating and colors flying, and this honor was conferred on our division of light infantry. And now I must confess, although I was fond of the honor, I had some fear, as I had no notion of a covered way, and more especially as I was posted in the center with the colors. We however did not lose a man in relieving, although the enemy fired much. The covered way was of infinite service. Immediately upon our arrival the colors were planted on the parapet with this motto: *Manus Haec inimica tyrannis.* Our next maneuver was rather extraordinary. We were ordered to mount the bank, front the enemy, and there by word of command go through all the ceremony of soldiery, ordering and grounding our arms; and although the enemy had been firing a little before, they did not now give us a single shot. I suppose their astonishment at our conduct must have prevented them, for I can assign no other reason. Colonel Hamilton gave these orders, and although I esteem him one of the first officers in the American army, must beg leave in this instance to think he wantonly exposed the lives of his men. Our orders were this night that if the enemy made a sortie and attempted to storm the trenches we were to give them one fire from the barquet, rush over the parapet and meet them with the bayonet.

October 8.—Some time before daylight this morning we were very much surprized at the conduct of a picket that had been posted some little distance in front of our works. They were

fired upon by the enemy, never returned a single shot and retreated into our works in the utmost disorder. Captain Weed, who commanded the picket, was again ordered out, but the enemy had retired. How he will be answerable for his conduct time will discover, as I dare say he will soon be obliged to give an account. One man of our picket was killed, though some think it was by our men, as there had been other parties ordered out.

The fire of the enemy was this day chiefly directed against the parties employed in erecting batteries. We were relieved about 12 o'clock and sustained no harm during our tour excepting two men badly wounded; but we had scarcely left the trenches when a man working on the parapet had his arm shot off. As soon as we arrived in camp we changed our ground further to the right. Nothing extraordinary happened the remainder of the day.

October 9.—Last night the troops in the trenches as well as great part of this day, were busily employed in finishing the batteries, and about 4 o'clock this afternoon an American battery was opened, consisting of three 24-pounders, three 12's and four 10-inch mortars. The enemy's fire was chiefly directed against this battery, and the others that were nearly finished.

October 10.—Last night the men were busily employed in finishing the batteries, and early this morning four more were opened against the enemy, viz: One American battery on our left, consisting of four 18-pounders; the grand French battery, consisting of 11 24-pounders, two 13-inch mortars, two howitzers, and six 10-inch mortars; and another French battery of four 18-pounders and two howitzers. The fourth is on the left of the French, but am not able as yet to ascertain the number of guns. About 12 o'clock this day our division relieved the trenches, and from that time the enemy fired but very little until the evening. This afternoon our American bomb battery was opened of four 10-inch mortars. A flag came out with Secretary Nelson. He informs us our fire did great execution last night; that we had killed 11 or 12 of their officers, that his black servant was killed by his bedside, and that the first gun fired killed two commissarys as they were sitting at their wine.

October 11.—Last night commenced a very heavy cannonade and the enemy returned the fire with no less spirit. Being apprehensive of a storm, they often fired in every direction. The largest of the enemy's vessels was set on fire by the bursting of a shell or red hot ball from some of our batteries, and communicated it to another, both of which were burnt down.

They must have lost a considerable quantity of powder in the last, as there was an explosion which made a heavy report. The whole night was nothing but one continual roar of cannon, mixed with the bursting of shells and rumbling of houses torn to pieces. As soon as the day approached the enemy withdrew their pieces from their embrazures and retired under cover of their works, and now commenced a still more dreadful cannonade from all our batteries without scarcely any intermission for the whole day. We were relieved about noon this day, and went home very much fatigued.

October 12.—Last night we began the second parallel and extended it better than half round the enemy. This parallel is better than three hundred yards in front of the other, and close upon the enemy's right works. No sooner had the morning made its appearance and the enemy discovered our very near approach, than they commenced a very heavy fire from the batteries, and in the course of the day no little surprised us by opening five royals, as we were in hopes they had no shells, by their not giving them on the first parallel.

October 13.—Last night we were employed in strengthening the line, and began a French battery and a redoubt. We lost several men this night, as the enemy by practice were enabled to throw their shells with great certainty. About noon this day our division relieved the trenches, and about 2 o'clock advanced to the second parallel. Captain White and one private of Colonel Wee's regiment were this day killed by a horizontal shell. The militia suffered much this afternoon.

October 14.—The enemy last night kept up a continual blaze from several pieces of cannon of nine royals and some howitzers. Early in the night the fire was chiefly directed against the French, who were just on our left, but about 10 o'clock our people [began] to erect a battery. They soon discovered us, and changed the direction of their fire. It happened to be our lot to lie in the trenches just in the rear of the battery exposed to all their fire; and now were I to recount all the narrow escapes I made that night it would almost be incredible. I cannot, however, but take notice of a remar' able and miraculous one indeed. About midnight the sentry called "A shell!" I jumped up immediately to watch the direction, but had no suspicion of its coming so near until it fell in the center of the trench, within less than two feet of me. I immediately flung myself on the banques among some arms, and although the explosion was very sudden and the trench as full of men as it could possibly contain, yet not a single man was killed and only two of my own company slightly wounded. I should not forget here that Captain Hughes and Dr. Anderson, two

intimate friends and very worthy officers, were sitting close by me at this time. We all counted it a most miraculous escape. Fatigue parties were still continued at work in the open face of day at the battery, although they suffered much.

Ten men of Colonel Barber's regiment were killed and wounded in a very few minutes, five of whom belonged to Captain Fry's camp. Our division was relieved about 12 o'clock, and on our march home two of our men were wounded by the bursting of a shell. About 5 o'clock this day we were again ordered for the trenches.

October 15.—I have just said we were ordered yesterday to the trenches. The French grenadiers were ordered out the same time and all for the purpose of storming two redoubts on the enemy's left. Our division arrived at the deposite of the [MSS. illegible] a little before dark where every man was ordered to disencumber himself of his pack. The evening was pretty dark and favored the attack. The column advanced, Colonel Guinot's regiment in front and ours in the rear. We had not got far before we were discovered and now the enemy opened a fire of cannon, grape shot, shell and musketry upon us, but all to no effect. The column moved on undisturbed and took the redoubt by the bayonet without firing a single gun. The enemy made an obstinate defense (but what cannot brave men do when determined)? We had 7 men killed and 30 wounded. Among the latter were Colonel Guinot, Major Barber and Captain Oney. Fifteen men of the enemy were killed and wounded in the work, 20 were taken prisoners besides Major Campbell, who commanded, a captain and one ensign. The chief of the garrison made their escape during the storm by a covered way. [MSS. suddenly breaks off.]

JOURNAL

OF

SAMUEL McNEILL, B. Q. M.

"HIS ORDERLY BOOK."

1779.

[Samuel McNeill, whose brief journal is herewith published, was born in Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, August 29, 1753. He was a volunteer in Captain Longstreth's company, and wounded at the battle of Princeton. He was subsequently appointed Brigade quartermaster to General Hand's Brigade, and was on the expedition of General Sullivan against the New York Indians in 1779. Late in life he suffered severely from his wounds, and died from the effects thereof, the 8th of May, 1817.]

SAMUEL McNEILL, "HIS ORDERLY BOOK."

TIOGA, *August* 26, 1779.

This day about 12 o'clock marched from Tioga and Incamped on a plain $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles from Tioga. Nothing material Happened this day.

August 27.—Marched about nine o'clock, at eleven came to a Defile about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile in Length, which Detained the army Till 10 o'clock at night, before the whole of the baggage was through. General Hand Marched the light troops near seven Miles this Day and Incamped at the North end of a Cornfield, the cornfield suposed to Contain about 30 acres. This cornfield had been Regularly Plowed and well Tended. Exceeding good.

An officers Command of Rifle men being sent to the Top of a Large mountain on our Right to reconoitre, Returned and said they Saw a number of the Enemies Fires. Our course this Day, N. 36.

August 28.—The army crossed the Tioga River twice, it being very high and Rapid, Lost several horses and many more loads, Consisting of flour and ammunition. About Nine o'clock at night the Light Troops incamped at Shemung, an Indian Town burned by our Troops, August ye 21st.

August 29.—The Light Troops Marched at 7 o'clock A. M. The main Body marched at Ten, the whole continued their march Till about Eleven, when the Light Troops, Commanded by General Hand was Fired upon. He sent forward some Riflemen in order to amuse the Enemy while he could make Discoveries. He soon found they had formed a breastwork with Several Bastines, the whole near a mile in Length and about 3 feet high, Suposed to be defended by about Six hundred Indians and Two hundred white men, their Commander-in-Chief, Butler; also was there, Brant, McDonald, Two Levi Paulings and one Q. M. Pauling, also a number of white officers, their names not known. General Hand, would, after Putting himself in a proper Position, have attacked their works, sword in hand, had not General Sulivan Sent orders to the Contrary. General Hand Continued Transmitting his Discoveries to General Sulivan from time to time, while the Artillery was Crossing an Exceeding bad Defile, and the men had to hitch Dragropes to the waggons, and with the help of Horses, it took

one hundred and Twenty men to each waggon to draw it up the Hill. At 12 o'clock the artillery was brought before the enemy's works. The Riflemen kept up a slow fire, amusing the Enemy, and in order to keep them from Turning out of their works to make Discoveries, the artillery was planted in the most advantagious Place at about 400 yards Distant. The artillery Consisted of Pieces as follows, viz.: Two Howitz's and Four Threes.

General Poor marched from our right in order to gain their rear—the artillery began a slow fire. General Hand fixed Bayonets in order to Force their works the instant General Poor gained their rear. However the artillery did not continue their slow fire, as was Expected, but soon began to pour into their works shells, round and grape shott amazingly. The Indians very soon left the Fort to Butler and his Despicable Gang, who suddenly followed. General Poor fell in with their Right wing, on their retreat, when a very heavy Fire Insued. General Hand being close on their rear, his Front opened a heavy Fire, which obliged the Enemy to run in Confusion to the River Tioga, which was within a mile of our Left. They Crossed the River, Leaving a number of their Dead on the ground. Fifteen scalps we got—the Hurry of our Pursuit obliged us to leave a number on the Ground not scalped. We had Two Killed and Nine wounded, we also took two Prisoners, one a Tory from Scohary, the other a Negro from the Same Place. We continued our march till about 10 o'clock P. M., when we Incamped near Newtown, where the Enemy had been Incamped for some time.

August 30.—We lay by this Day in order to put ourselves in a proper position for following the enemy very rapid.

August 31.—Marched about Ten miles and Incamped on a very Pleasant Flat of ground. On our Right was a very Fine Creek and on our left was an Exceeding fine rising Piece of Ground. Lay this night without alarm.

September ye 1, 1779.—Marched at ten o'clock, passed through several swamps; at one P. M. came to the Grand Dividing Ridge from whence the waters all run Northerly Toward the Lakes. The instant we came to the Ridge, which was so low as to be but Perceivable, we Discovered the head of a large water which runs into the South end of the Seneca or Conisadaga Lake, and continued our course down towards water, the Course of which is near Due North, Till we came to Catrina's Town or otherwise Queauchguaga. We arrived at C. Town at twelve P. M. When we came to within hearing of their Dogs it was about Eleven O'Clock P. M., when we formed. General Hand ordered the Musquetry to Form in two

Solid Colloms, the Riflemen formed in Front of the whole. In this Position we entered the Town without firing a Shot; the Enemy had left the town but a few minutes before we entered it. We found some Cattle, such as Horses, Cows and Hogs, also found in one of the houses an old Squaw Scarce able to walk, Supposed to be about 100 years of age. Our Indians took great care of her During our Stay at that place, and by General Sulivan's order built a Bark Cabin near the waterside and gave her Bread, meat and Indian Corn sufficient to last her six weeks. I confess I think she was the greatest object of Pitty I ever Saw.

September 2, 1779.—This day lay by in order to draw provisions, wash our clothes, &c. Nothing material happened, myself being ordered out with the Surveying Party. Discovered the Seneca Lake about 5½ North of Incampment.

September 3, 1779.—Marched at Eight o'clock A. M. At about Six miles came in sight of the East side of the Seneca Lake, continued on the East Side of the Lake eleven and a half miles to our Incamping ground through the Best and Greatest Body of Good Land I ever saw. None of the Enemy seen this Day; nothing material Happened. Incamped on a plain; our cattle had nothing to eat but Pea-vine, and that only one hour in the evening, then Tyed to the Trees till ½ after five in the morning of the 4th, when we marched.

September ye 4, 1779.—Marched this day at half after five A. M. Passed through the best land I ever saw, and still continues such as far as we could see; continued all this Day nearly Paralel to the Lake, incamped Two miles in Front of the Main Body on a very Pleasant Summit a little higher than the flats in sight of the Lake. Our course this day, N. 20 E. Distance, 13 miles.

September ye 5, 1779.—Marched at 10 A. M. Continued in Sight of the Lake about 2½ Miles, when we arrived at a town called Appletown or otherwise, Containing about 10 good Indian Houses. We soon Destroyed the Town and encamped on the ground where it stood. Course North.

September ye 6, 1779.—Marched at Eleven A. M., about 3 Miles and Encamped on the Lake Side, one of the most pleasant situations I ever saw. Nothing material happened this day. Course N. S. W. Distance, 3 miles.

September ye 7, 1779.—The General beat at five A. M. We marched at Six through very fine land and Pleasant plains; at eight and a half miles came to the place where the Lake Emptys itself. From it flows an Exceeding fine River about Thirty yards wide. River Runs 12 miles Easterly, where it Emptys itself into the River that runs from the Kiuga Lake and is

Called the Seneca River, which runs into Lake Ontario. We crossed the River, which was about 3 feet deep, without any loss. Course until we crossed the Lake, N. 15, W.

As soon as we crossed the River the Part turned Due west, along the North end of the Lake. We marched about half a mile in order to give room for the rest of the Troops to form; as soon as we were formed we marched on in Several Colloms in order to surround the Capital of the Seneca Nations, which was between 2 and 3 miles west of the Crossing Place. About sundown the Troops formed a junction in the Town, but found nothing of any great value; the Enemy had left it about two days before we got into it. We found a white child, supposed to be between 3 and 4 years old, could speak nothing but Indian. Our Interpreters told us it said its Mother had left it sick. We supposed it had been taken at Cherry Valley. The Capital of the Seneca Nations is called Conodesogo, and consisted of about 100 houses, some of them very good Indian houses. Distance this day, eleven miles and a half.

Headquarters, near Chemung, August 27, 1779.

Parole, America; C. S. Spain.

Brigadier of the Day, General Clinton.

Field Officer, Lieut.-Col. Dearbourne.

Brigade Major, ——— Fisk.

It is with great grief and astonishment the Commander-in-Chief is informed that some of the soldiers steal the stores of the army, and even the private allowance of their messmates, while others are so vile as to throw away their provisions. This Discovers an unjust and ungenerous Disposition, as well as Inattention to their own comfort and Safety. The General declares as the Army has Drawn provision to a Certain period, will not suffer the army to Return through want of provision until that period be expired. The General positively declares also he will order five hundred lashes to be imprinted upon any person Detected in the before mentioned offences, and in addition thereto to draw only one pound of Flour and meat per week during the campaign. The General being well convinced of the inatention of Some Brigade Commissarys and Conductors of Horses, Positively Orders that the Brigade Commissary be answerable for all the provision Delivered to them, and that they make the Conductors accountable to them. When provisions are lost no excuse will be admitted, except the Brigade of the Day, upon hearing the Evidence, certifies that the loss was Enevitable. All other losses are to be accounted

for by the Commissarys and Conductors, who are to have an entire stoppage of their wages until the Same be Compensated, as also subject to a trial by Court Martial. As the troops will have such a quantity of corn at this place as will be amply sufficient for a day's provision, the Flour they have on hand is to Extend one day longer than it was issued for. Commissarys of Brigade and Corps are particularly to notice this order and regulate their issues accordingly. The Troops to hold themselves in readiness to march at the Shortest notice in Common order for Chemung.

First Gun a signal for the General, Second for the Assembly, Third for the March to beat.

One man more to be added to Captain Seelin's corps of pioneers.

B. O.

Field Officer of the Light Corps to-morrow, Major Church.

Adjutant, ——— Boss.

———

Headquarters, 12 miles from Catharine's Town, September 3, 1779.

Parole, Boundbrook; C. Sign, Brunswick.

Brigadier for to-morrow, G. Maxwell.

Field Officer, Collonel Dayton.

Brigadier Major, ——— Ross.

The General is exceeding surprised that his orders respecting pack horses are so little attended to, by which neglect the army and its retinue have been frequently much endangered; he now positively orders that the following arrangements of them be Punctually Complyed with—the pack horses of General Poor and Clinton.

[Abruptly ends.]

SUPPLEMENTAL LIST

OF

PENNSYLVANIA SOLDIERS

IN THE

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

LIST OF SOLDIERS,

Militia, Flying Camp and Rangers from Pennsylvania who were applicants for State annuities, giving residence at the time, with statement of service during the Revolution. Taken from the Journals of Assembly.

Alsworth, Andrew, Butler, Flying Camp.

Allison, Thomas, Indiana; in Colonel Watts' regiment of Flying Camp; afterwards wagon-master in light dragoons until June, 1778.

Allen, Peter, Huntingdon; in Colonel Watts' Flying Camp; subsequently in Captain Thomas Alexander's company, Colonel Piper, stationed in Sinking Valley to protect the lead mines.

Allen, John, Butler; in Colonel Potter's regiment at Trenton, Princeton, and skirmishes at Piscataway and Quibbletown; served under Colonel Antes at Big Island.

Bittenbender, Conrad, Northampton; taken prisoner at Fort Washington; released February, 1777.

Boude, Samuel, lieutenant; killed at Brandywine.

Bodle, Abraham, Fayette; in Captain Boyd's company of Rangers; wounded in right thigh at Frankstown when in pursuit of Indians.

Beard [Bardt], Henry, of New York; a native of York county; served in Captain Fred. Kurtz's company, Colonel John Andrews' regiment, General Potter's brigade; wounded in December, 1777.

Bonner, Thomas, Adams; Captain Orbison's company, Fifth battalion, York County Associators.

Brunson, Daniel, Dauphin; in Captain John Reed's company, Flying Camp; taken prisoner at Long Island.

Bobst, Michael, Lehigh; served under General Stanwix, 1758-9, against Indians on the frontier; served as major in the Revolution.

Beard, Adam, Berks; lieutenant of Associators May 17, 1777; in service March 1, 1778.

Boltzley, Jacob, Monongalia county, Virginia; enlisted in Pennsylvania militia August 1, 1780, serving seven months.

Bush, Henry, Pike; served in the Associators and Flying Camp.

Bradley, William, Allegheny; served in Flying Camp; taken prisoner at Fort Washington, and confined on Jersey prison ship.

Bower, David, Lancaster; served as commissary of provisions; d. in 1823.

Brown, John, Philadelphia: served as private in Captain Robert Kirkwood's company, Delaware regiment, and in Pennsylvania Associators.

Bean, William, served in Flying Camp.

Brandon, William, Butler; served on the frontiers until 1779.

Barkelow, James, Union; served in Flying Camp.

Blythe, Samuel, Franklin; captain of a company of rangers in 1780.

Bower, Adam, Somerset; major in the militia; died about 1813.

Bodine, Frederick, Lycoming; served in Captain Calhoun's company, Colonel Hunter's regiment, on the frontiers.

Buyers, George, in Captain William Scott's company, Lancaster county Associators.

Bury [Berry], John, Lancaster; in Captain Jacob Glotz's company, Colonel Cunningham's regiment of Flying Camp.

Campbell, Thomas, Franklin; captain in Flying Camp; taken prisoner at Fort Washington; released November 9, 1778; subsequently captain of Rangers until 1780.

Clark, John, Northumberland; in Colonel James Murray's regiment; wounded in hand.

Coulter, Nathan, Washington; in service on the frontiers in 1781 to 1783; on Sandusky Expedition.

Connor, John, in Captain David Wilson's company of Flying Camp; taken prisoner at Fort Washington and confined on Jersey prison ship.

Coyle, Manassah, Fayette; in 1781 in Captain Orr's company on expedition down the Ohio, and August 24, 1781, taken prisoner by the Indians.

Charles Leonard, Bedford; served as ranger on the frontiers.

Carmany, John, Lancaster; served in one of the Lancaster county Battalions of the Flying Camp on Long Island.

Clark, John, Allegheny; Captain in Pennsylvania Line; commanded a sub-legion under St. Clair, and was wounded at the Miami.

Curtis, Marmaduke, a lieutenant in the militia in 1776.

Cook, Reuben, Tioga; "minute man" in Colonel Stroud's regiment in 1776.

Cary, Samuel, Luzerne; taken prisoner by Indians July 3, 1778, at Wyoming, battle on Abraham's Plains.

Cowan, William, Westmoreland; captain on the frontiers.

Campbell, Thomas, Westmoreland; ranger on the frontiers.

Carter, Thomas, Venango; spy under Lieutenant Hunter; subsequently, in 1777, under Captain Clark.

Carson, James, Mifflin; under Captains Clark and Sanderson.

Campbell, John, Franklin; in Captain Samuel Blythe's company of rangers in 1780.

Dougherty, Henry, Jr., Lycoming; private in Colonel James Potter's regiment; wounded at Piscataway, February, 1777.

Darr, Leonard, of Mt. Joy township, Lancaster; in Colonel Curtis Grubb's company; wounded at Powles Hook, made prisoner in hospital and died soon thereafter.

Dunlap, Robert, in Captain Willard's company, Colonel William Montgomery's Battalion; taken prisoner at Fort Washington.

Duffy, Terrins, Tioga; in Captain Moser's company in 1776, in the regiment commanded by Colonel Crawford to New York under General Roberdeau.

Eichelberger, George, Dauphin; served in Flying Camp.

Frew, Alexander, Beaver; served in Third company, Eighth battalion, York county militia in 1781.

Fisher, Samuel, Northumberland; captain May 21, 1777. Northumberland county battalion; made prisoner at Guelph Mills, Chester county, and kept in captivity three years.

Gump, Frederick, Greene; served in Chester county militia, Captain Culbertson's company in the Flying Camp.

Gallendin, Jacob, Fayette; waggoner in Flying Camp; at Amboy.

Gillespie, James, Jr., wounded on the Sandusky expedition.

Gallagher, Thomas, Mifflin; at Crooked Billet; cut and mangled by the British.

Gentzler, Conrad, York; ensign in the Associators; killed near Perth Amboy in 1776.

Graham, James, Mifflin; ranger on the frontiers.

Graeff, Garret, York; captain in Flying Camp; taken prisoner at Fort Washington, and died in captivity.

Gorman, William, Franklin; with Wayne in his campaign against the Indians.

Gelwicks, George, Mifflin; ensign 1776–7, in Captain Eichelberger's company of York County Associators, and marched to Amboy to guard the prisoners captured with Burgoyne; subsequently ensign in Captain Foreman's company York county militia, and marched to Guelph Mills.

Hunter, John, Westmoreland; private Fourth company, Second regiment, Westmoreland county militia; wounded in the service.

Hyleman, Martin, Chester; in Captain McKissack's company, Colonel Baxter's regiment; taken prisoner at Fort Washington; after release served in Captain Thomson's company, Colonel Lacey's regiment, and wounded in the head near the "Burned Mill."

Harbeson, John, Allegheny; in Captain Clark's company, under General St. Clair, and wounded in the back at the defeat in 1791.

Holmes, Samuel, Berks; in Captain John Van Etten's company, Colonel Stroud's regiment; April 20, 1780, wounded in battle with the Indians on the frontiers.

Hamilton, William, Indiana; in Captain Samuel McCune's company of the Flying Camp; took sick at Fort Lee.

Hoffman, Philip, Lancaster; served several tours in the militia, 1776–77.

Hermanies, John, Franklin; served three tours in the militia.

Hughes, John, Lycoming; in June, 1778, in Captain Simon Cole's company, Colonel Antes' command; in 1779 scouting in Buffalo Valley.

Irwin, James, Philadelpia; served as captain during the Revolution.

Ickes, Peter, York; captain in the militia.

Irwin, James (2d), Philadelphia; served two tours in the militia; d. prior to 1825.

Johnson, Richards, Mifflin; served in Colonel Hazlett's (Delaware) regiment until discharged in December, 1776; went to Carlisle and served in Colonel Watt's regiment; in service on the frontiers of Cumberland, Northumberland, Bedford and Westmoreland counties; ensign in 1780; subsequently lieutenant.

Justice, Peter, Indiana; in Captain Stokeley's company of rangers.

Kennedy, John, Butler; in Flying Camp.

Kreider, Jacob, Northampton: in Flying Camp; taken prisoner at Fort Washington; released on parole, February, 1777; exchanged May, 1780.

Kerr, Thomas, in Captain Robert Clark's company, Flying Camp; taken prisoner at Long Island, and died in captivity.

Kocher, Conrad, Northampton; served on the frontiers.

Kerr, William, Perry; served seven months in Colonel Potter's regiment.

Kinsey, William, Bucks; in Captain Thompson's company in 1776; was at White Marsh, Germantown, Chestnut Hill and the taking of the Hessians at Trenton; in 1824 aged sixty-nine.

Koutz, Thomas, Lancaster; in 1776 in Colonel Ross' Flying Camp; in 1777 in Captain John Miller's company.

Lauther, James, Franklin; served three tours in the militia; d. 1826.

Light, John, Lancaster; served as captain in the militia.

Little, Henry, Adams; served seven months in Colonel Potter's regiment; seventy-seven years of age in 1826.

Little, Andrew, Adams; served seven months in Colonel Potter's regiment.

Lewis, James, Chester; in Captain James McClure's company, Colonel William Montgomery's regiment of the Flying Camp; taken prisoner at Fort Washington; confined on prison ship Jersey, and died shortly after.

Langenbach, Michael, Northampton; in Flying Camp; taken prisoner at Fort Washington and confined on Jersey prison ship.

Lutz, Henry, Northampton; in Captain Hagenbush's company of Flying Camp; taken prisoner at Long Island, August 7, 1776.

Lemmon, John, Armstrong; enlisted in the Maryland Line in 1775; subsequently served in the Cumberland county battalion of the Flying Camp; afterwards served in the marine service; in 1821 seventy-six years of age, and blind since 1793.

McGee, Patrick, in Captain Houston's company, Colonel Watts' regiment of the Flying Camp; taken prisoner at Fort Washington; paroled in January, 1777.

Morrison, Alexander, Lancaster; wagoner, Captain Samuel Hewitt's company in 1778.

McVickar, Duncan, served two months in Captain William Wilson's company at Potter's Fort in Penn's Valley; and several tours on the frontiers.

McGregor, William, Allegheny; in Captain Wilson's company of the Flying Camp; taken prisoner at Fort Washington, and died shortly after release from captivity.

McFarron, John, killed by the Indians at Piper's Fort in 1782.

Martin, Richard, Lycoming; served on the frontiers under Colonel Samuel Hunter from 1776 to 1778.

Martin, Thomas, Lycoming; served on the frontiers under Colonel Samuel Hunter from 1776 to 1778.

Means, Hugh, Mercer; in Captain John McDonald's company Bedford county militia in 1779, serving eight months; in 1781, 3d of June, in an engagement with the Indians near Bergod's Gap, was wounded in the arm.

Markle, Bernard, Dauphin; on ship Hyder Ally, Captain Barney, April 8, 1782; wounded in the engagement with the General Monck.

Machimer, William, Berks; served in 1776 in Captain Joseph Hiester's company of the Flying Camp.

Moser, John, Northampton; served in the Flying Camp.

Musney, Jacob, Lehigh; lieutenant in the Flying Camp.

Meloy, John, Mifflin; served five several tours in the militia.

Markle [Merkle], Christian, Northumberland; in 1776 served in the Flying Camp; was teamster under General Wayne at Valley Forge; subsequently in Berks county militia, Captain Landig.

McCrum, William, Bucks; served with the Associators at Trenton, Princeton and Brandywine; in 1826 aged seventy-three years.

McWilliam, John, Armstrong; in Captain Robert Buyers' company, Lancaster County Associators at Amboy; afterwards with Captain William Scott at Trenton.

Newell, William, Bedford; served as orderly sergeant in Bedford County Associators in 1777; in 1823 was seventy-seven years of age.

Nye, Samuel, Washington; served with the militia on the frontiers.

Plumb, Jacob, Somerset; wounded and taken prisoner at Piper's Fort in 1782.

Purdy, James, Mifflin; captain and colonel of a battalion on the frontiers during the Revolution; one of his sons drowned in Juniata while pursuing Indians; two others, captain and lieutenant, killed at St. Clair's defeat.

Pool, Conrad, Berks; in 1777 served in Captain William Scull's company; killed in action in New Jersey.

Penegar, Amos, Philadelphia; in 1777 in Captain Rudolph's company, General Irvine's brigade, at Brandywine and Germantown; in 1779 was ensign in Colonel Davis' regiment.

Patterson, Benjamin, State of New York; in 1776 served in Captain Cambleton's company.

Paul, Benjamin, Chester; in Captain Heatherland's company of Flying Camp; subsequently in quartermaster's department Colonel William Evans' regiment; in Captain Eyre's company at Brandywine.

Roth, Christian, Northampton; served in Flying Camp, and taken prisoner at Fort Washington; released on parole in February, 1777; exchanged May, 1780.

Ritchie, William, Montgomery; served in Captain Thomas Craig's company, Colonel William Baxter's regiment; taken prisoner at Fort Washington, and held two years.

Rogers, George, Lancaster; served in Captain Zantzinger's company Flying Camp; subsequently Captain Clark's company, Colonel Cunningham.

Robb, Samuel, Butler; in Captain William Armstrong's company, Colonel William Montgomery's regiment of Flying Camp; taken prisoner at Fort Washington; after release was wagon-master three years.

Reed, Samuel, Indiana; in Captain Thomas Craig's company of Flying Camp; taken prisoner at Fort Washington.

Ream, Henry, Lancaster; served several tours as lieutenant in the militia.

Salmon, Joseph, Northumberland; Captain in Colonel James Murray's Battalion on the frontiers; taken prisoner by the Indians in 1781, and kept a captive in Canada two years.

Spar, Valentine, Westmoreland; served on the frontiers in Colonel Christopher Trubey's regiment; was in General St. Clair's campaign of 1791, and wounded at the Miami.

Shook, John, Northampton; in Captain John Arndt's company, Colonel Kechline's battalion of Flying Camp; taken prisoner at Fort Washington, and confined on Jersey prison ship.

Smith, George, Bedford; served in Colonel Piper's regiment; subsequently in Captain Boyd's ranging company; in June, 1781, taken prisoner by the Indians and held in captivity until November, 1784.

Smith, Thomas, Mifflin; in Captain Templeton's company; taken prisoner at Fort Freeland, and held captive three years and five months.

Stahl, John, Union, served with the militia.

Sellers, George, Westmoreland; ranger under Captain Shannon on tour to Wheeling; subsequently with Captain Leasure, guarding the frontiers.

Scout, James, ucks; served in the Associators.

Stewart, Thomas, Franklin; served under General Wayne in his campaign against the Indians.

Shaffner, George, Lancaster; was a major in the militia; died prior to 1828.

Spriggell, Joseph, Cumberland; in Colonel Curtis Grubb's regiment; subsequently in Captain Henry Neems' company; afterwards Colonel Benjamin Mills' regiment, and wounded at the battle of Fort Montgomery.

Sharp, James, Butler; served six months against the Indians during the Revolution; in 1823 was 82 years old.

Thompson, John, Indiana; in Captain Wilson's company of militia.

Titlow, John, Bucks; served under General Potter; wounded in the foot at the battle near Yellow Springs, and was at Brandywine.

Trexler, John, commissioned captain May 10, 1778, and marched to Wyoming.

Ulrich, George, Northumberland; in Captain Michael Weaver's company, Northumberland county, in 1780.

Underwood, John, Cumberland; was commissioned March 15, 1776, ensign Fifth Battalion, Lancaster County Associators, and served subsequently as lieutenant and captain.

Van Gordon Wilhelm, served under Captain Henry Shoemaker at Wyoming, and wounded in hip in action with Connecticut settlers, July 20, 1784.

Vogan, Samuel, served in Captain Brown's company, Lancaster County Associators.

Wallace, James, private in Colonel Watts' regiment, and taken prisoner at Fort Washington.

Wallace, John, served in Captain Thomas Robinson's company of rangers, and killed in an engagement on Bald Eagle Creek in 1782.

Walter, John, served in Captain Brown's company of Lancaster County Associators.

Wilson, Matthew, Allegheny; served on the frontiers of Northumberland county; was a spy among the Indians during the Revolution; was out four summers.

Weigant, John, Northampton; was adjutant of militia regiment during the Revolution.

Wolf, George, Northampton; served three several tours on the frontiers against the Indians on the Delaware, north of the Blue Mountain, first as sergeant, then as lieutenant and afterwards a captain of the militia.

Wright, Robert, Cumberland; in Captain Thomas Brewster's company Fourth battalion, Colonel Thomas McKean, General Cadwalader's brigade of Philadelphia in 1776.

Weitzel, Philip, Lancaster; served three months in Captain Jacob Glotz's company, Colonel Cunningham's regiment of the Flying Camp.

Young, Felix, Cumberland; in 1781 marched to Lancaster, guarding prisoners.

Young, William, Northampton; lieutenant of Flying Camp; a prisoner two years.

RETURN OF OFFICERS ON PAROLE AUGUST, 1778.

Andrew Galbreath, major, Colonel Watts' regiment of Flying Camp; commissioned September 18, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

John McElhatton, captain, Colonel Watts' regiment Flying Camp; commissioned July 19, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

Thomas Campbell, captain, Colonel Watts' regiment Flying Camp; commissioned September 25, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

William McFarlane, captain, Colonel Watts' regiment Flying Camp; commissioned September 16, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

Andrew Robinson, second lieutenant, Colonel Swope's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned August 22, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

James McFarlane, third lieutenant, Colonel Watts' regiment Flying Camp; commissioned July 8, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

John Vaughan, ensign in Colonel Montgomery's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned August 28, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

William Scott, captain, Colonel Clotz' regiment Flying Camp; commissioned September 16, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

William Beall, first lieutenant, Colonel Clotz' regiment Flying Camp; commissioned September 6, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

Thomas Armstrong, first lieutenant, Colonel (Irvine's) regiment, militia; commissioned May 6, 1777; taken near the White Horse September 16, 1777.

William Demsy, Colonel Hannum's regiment of militia; commissioned 1777; taken at Gulph Mills December 11, 1777.

Charles Clarke, first lieutenant, Colonel Murray's regiment of militia; commissioned June, 1777; taken at Gulph Mills December 11, 1777.

William Preston, second lieutenant in the artificers of artillery, militia; commissioned November 11, 1777; taken near Bustle Town February 14, 1778.

William Newman, captain, Colonel Bell's regiment of militia; commissioned February, 1778; taken near Crooked Billet February 24, 1778.

Robert Patton, first lieutenant, Colonel Swope's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned August 24, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

John Craig, second lieutenant, Colonel William Baxter's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned September 6, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

Matthew Bennett, second lieutenant, Colonel Baxter's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned September 19, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

John Carter, ensign, Colonel William Baxter's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned September 19, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

James Ledden, wagon master in Pennsylvania service; taken at Bristol April 17, 1778.

Francis Grice, lieutenant, Colonel Mifflin's regiment of Pennsylvania militia; commissioned June 5, 1775; taken near Germantown September 25, 1777.

William McKissack, captain, Colonel Baxter's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned August 8, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

Jacob Dritt, Colonel Swope's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned August 23, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

Conrad Snider, captain, Colonel Watts' regiment Flying Camp; commissioned September 7, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

John Jamison, captain, Colonel Baxter's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned September 17, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

John Holliday, first lieutenant, Colonel Watts' regiment Flying Camp; commissioned July 10, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

Zachariah Shugart, first lieutenant, Colonel Swope's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned August 22, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

Samuel Lindsey, first lieutenant, Colonel Montgomery's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned September 6, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

Hezekiah Davis, first lieutenant, Colonel Montgomery's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned September 7, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

Joseph Morrison, first lieutenant, Colonel McAllister's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned September 9, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

Gabriel Blakeney, first lieutenant, Colonel Watts' regiment Flying Camp commissioned September 11, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

John Erwin, first lieutenant, Colonel Baxter's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned September 17, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

Robert Brown, first lieutenant, Colonel Baxter's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned September 18, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

Peter Conrod, first lieutenant, Colonel Stroud's regiment of militia; commissioned May 1, 1777; taken at Frankfort January 10, 1778.

Asher Carter, first lieutenant, Colonel McElvain's regiment of militia; commissioned May 6, 1777; taken at Bristol April 17, 1778.

Godfrey Myers, second lieutenant, Colonel Baxter's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned July 9, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

Thomas Wyn, second lieutenant, Colonel Montgomery's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned August 27, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

John Crawford, second lieutenant, Colonel Watts' regiment Flying Camp; commissioned September 7, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

William Young, second lieutenant, Colonel McAllister's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned September 18, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

Ephraim Hunter, second lieutenant, Colonel Watts' regiment

Flying Camp; commissioned September 29, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

Isaac Shymer, ensign, Colonel Baxter's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned July 9, 1776; taken prisoner at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

Jacob Mummey, ensign, Colonel Baxter's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned July 9, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

Ezekiel Hopkins, ensign, Colonel Montgomery's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned August 27, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16 1776.

William Richey, ensign, Colonel Baxter's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned September 6, 1776; taken at Fort-Washington November 16, 1776.

Samuel McElhatton, ensign, Colonel Watts' regiment Flying Camp; commissioned September 25, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

John Green, ensign, Colonel McElvain's regiment of militia; commissioned May 6, 1777; taken at Bristol April 17, 1778.

Charles Wilson, volunteer in Colonel McAllister's regiment Flying Camp; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

Robert Rankin, first lieutenant, Colonel Taylor's regiment of militia; commissioned May 6, 1777; taken out of his house September 14, 1777.

Benjamin Walton, first lieutenant, Colonel McVaugh's regiment, militia; commissioned May 12, 1777; taken out of his house February 14, 1778.

John Blake, first lieutenant, Colonel McVaugh's regiment, militia; commissioned May 12, 1777; taken out of his house February 14, 1778.

John Osburn, first lieutenant in Colonel Eyre's regiment, militia; commissioned September 13, 1777; taken out of his house February 14, 1778.

John Kemp, lieutenant on Sloop Sachem; commissioned March 24, 1777; taken at sea April 5, 1777.

Joseph Martin, first lieutenant, Colonel Baxter's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned July 9, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

Abner Everett, third lieutenant, Colonel Baxter's regiment Flying Camp; commissioned July 9, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

John Cunningham, first lieutenant, Pennsylvania militia; taken near Philadelphia September 16, 1777.

Henry Murfits [Murfield], lieutenant, Pennsylvania militia; commissioned May 6, 1777; taken at his own house February 19, 1778.

Jacob Sommers, ensign in Pennsylvania militia; taken at his own house May 1, 1778.

Peter Paul, ensign, Flying Camp; commissioned July 21, 1776; taken at Fort Washington November 16, 1776.

John Ray, quartermaster, Pennsylvania militia; taken February 24, 1778.

Thomas Kennedy, volunteer; taken April 22, 1777.

Thomas Millard, second lieutenant, Pennsylvania militia; commissioned May 1,1777; taken February 14, 1778.

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